

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

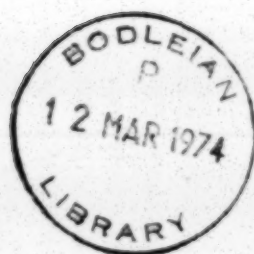
V O L. XVI.

Ἱστορία; ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐλαῖς γὰρ εὐνήσεις ἀκόπως,
ἀπὲρ ἑτέροι συνέξαν ἱγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D. Pomaredé Sc.

D U B L I N :
Printed by JAMES ESDALL, for the EDITORS:
M,DCC,XLVI.



CONTENTS

O F

VOLUME XVI.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE Roman history, from the death of Theodosius the Great, to the taking of Rome the first time by the Goths.

Page 1

CHAP. XXX.

From the taking of the city by the Goths, to the death of Theodosius II.

65

CHAP. XXXI.

From the death of Theodosius II. to the total failure of the western empire in Augustulus.

118

CHAP. XXXII.

From the dissolution of the western empire, to the death of Justinian the Great.

159

CHAP. XXXIII.

From the death of Justinian the Great, to the deposing Irene, and the promotion of Nicephorus.

190

CHAP. XXXIV.

From the promotion of Nicephorus, to the death of Basilus II.

244

CHAP. XXXV.

From the death of Basilus II. to the taking of Constantinople by the Latins.

302

CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. XXXVI.

From the expulsion of the Greeks, to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the utter destruction of the Roman empire. 363

C H A P. XXXVII.

The history of the Carthaginians, to the destruction of Carthage by the Romans.

S E C T. I.

A description of Carthage, and some account of the origin of that city. 410

S E C T. II.

A description of Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage. 425

S E C T. III.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, learning, and trade, of the Carthaginians. 440

S E C T. IV.

The chronology of the Carthaginians. 520

S E C T. V.

The history of the Carthaginians, from the foundation of their city, to the first Punic war. 535

Directions to the Book-binder for placing the Cuts, Maps, &c.

A MAP shewing the antient situation of Carthage, Utica, Tunes, and the Carthaginian bay; with a bird's view of the situation of antient Carthage. 420

2. Two Siculo-Punic medals; the fashion of the aqueduct near old Carthage; and the monstrous serpent killed by the Romans on the banks of the Bagrada. 502

A N.

Universal History.

C H A P. XXIX.

The Roman history, from the death of Theodosius the Great, to the taking of Rome the first time by the Goths.

THEODOSIUS divided, as we have observed above, the empire at his death, between his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; but as they were too young to govern of themselves, *Arcadius* being but eighteen years old, and *Honorius* not yet eleven, he committed the former to the care of *Rufinus*, and the latter to that of *Stilicho*^a. *Rufinus* was a native of *Eause* in *Gascony*^b, and not of *Eusa* in *Bosporus*, as some have imagined, misled by the authority of *Tiro Prosper*^c. He appeared first at court in the reign of *Theodosius*, who, being taken with his uncommon address, and extraordinary qualities, raised him, about the year 390, to the post of *magister officiorum*, to the consular dignity in 392, and the same year to that of prefect of the east, leaving him at *Constantinople* vested with almost an absolute and unlimited power, when he set out for the west in 394, to make war on *Eugenius*^d. *Rufinus* was well-shaped in his person, tall, of a graceful mien, and sprightly genius^e. He professed the christian religion, and was baptized in 394, on occasion of the solemn consecration of a church,

Rufinus
prime minister to
Arcadius.

His character.

^a OROS. l. vii. p. 221. AMBR. ferm. de divers. p. 117. ZOS. p. 780. ^b CLAUD. in Ruf. l. i. p. 12, 13. ^c DE MARCA histoire de Bearn, p. 24. ^d ZOS. l. iv. p. 773. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 382. AMB. ep. 50. p. 309. ^e PHILOST. l. xi. c. 3. p. 528. ZOS. l. viii. c. 17. p. 780.

which he had built, together with a palace, near *Chalcedon*^f. He could never have gained the esteem and confidence of *Theodosius*, without the appearance, at least, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. *St. Ambrose* ranked him among his friends, and was glad to see him preferred^g. He lived in great intimacy with *Symmachus*, if the last letters of that writer's third book are, as they are commonly thought, addressed to him. In those letters *Symmachus* commends his lively genius, his eloquence, and the delicacy of his raillery^h. He likewise extols his virtue, his sincerity, and disinterestedness, and the penetration of *Theodosius* in chusing so worthy a ministerⁱ. But the same writer blames him more after his death, than he had flattered him in his life-time^k. *Claudian* charges him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiousness, and all the crimes and evil qualities, of which human nature is capable^l. *Suidas* and *Zosimus* speak of him as a great dissembler, and one who trampled under foot all laws, both human and divine, when they stood in the way of his unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice^m. *St. Jerom* likewise charges him with avariceⁿ; *Orosius*^o, *Philostorgius*^p, and *Marcellinus* in his chronicle^q, with having stirred up the barbarians against the empire, in order to raise himself, in that confusion of affairs, to the sovereignty. *St. Ambrose* reproaches him in *Theodoret* as the author of the massacre of the inhabitants of *Theffalonica*^r. *Zosimus* ascribes to his treachery the death of *Promotus*, killed by the barbarians in 391, and the downfall and misfortunes of *Tatianus* and his son *Proculus*, in 392^s. But other writers question the innocence both of the father and son, as we have already observed. *Stilicho*, who ruled with no less absolute sway in the west under *Honorius*, than *Rufinus* did in the east under *Arcadius*, was originally a *Vandal*, whence he is styled by *St. Jerom* a demi-barbarian^t. *Claudian*, who was no less biassed in his favour, than prejudiced against his rival *Rufinus*, mentions none of his ancestors, besides his father, who had a considerable command in the army under *Valens*^u. *Stilicho* himself bore arms from his childhood, and rose by degrees to the post of *magister utriusque militiae*, that is, of general both of the horse and foot^w. He commanded the Roman

Stilicho
first mini-
ster to Ho-
norius.

*His cha-
racter.*

^f PALLAD. hist. Laus. c. 12. p. 915. ^g AMB. ep. 50. p. 309.
^h SYMM. l. iii. ep. 82, 83, 88. p. 137. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k Idem,
l. vi. ep. 15. p. 233. ^l CLAUD. in Ruf. l. i. & ii. ^m SUID.
p. 691, 692. ZOS. l. v. p. 780. ⁿ HIER. ep. 3. p. 26.
^o OROS. p. 221. ^p PHILOST. p. 528. ^q MAR. chron. p. 79.
^r THEODOR. l. v. c. 17. p. 728. ^s ZOS. l. iv. p. 773. ^t HIER.
ep. xi. p. 93. Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 14. ^u OROS. l. vii. c. 38.
p. 222. ^w CLAUD. de laud. Stilic. l. ii. p. 124. ^w PROSP.
l. iii. c. 38. p. 150. GRUT. p. 112.

troops,

troops, according to *Zosimus*, for the space of twenty-three years; that is, from 385, to 408, and attended *Theodosius* in all his wars ^x. That prince must have entertained a great opinion of him, since he preferred him to all those who courted his niece *Serena*, whom he had adopted after the death of her father *Honorius*. By her *Stilicho* had a son, named *Eucherius*, born at *Rome* in 389, while *Theodosius* was in that city, and two daughters, *Maria* and *Thermantia*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of our history. *Theodosius* would not have honoured *Stilicho* with his alliance, had he not professed the christian religion; but, as he is more commended by the pagan than christian writers, and his son *Eucherius* openly declared himself against christianity, we cannot, upon the bare testimony of *Baronius*, believe him to have been, not only a zealous, but a pious christian. *Zosimus* writes, that, during the twenty-three years he commanded the *Roman* armies, he never sold any military employments, or deprived the soldiers, as others hath done, to enrich themselves, of the least share of their pay. The same writer extols his moderation, in not preferring his son *Eucherius* to any considerable employments, tho' he had a just title to the first in the state ^y. But other writers ^z charge him even with a design of raising his son to the empire, and deposing his lawful sovereign *Honorius*, his ward and his son-in-law; for that prince married successively both *Stilicho's* daughters. *Zosimus* endeavours to clear him from this charge; but at the same time owns him to have been in the highest degree corrupt and partial in the administration of justice; to have countenanced those who plundered the provinces, provided they shared with him the spoils; and to have in a short time acquired, by the most unlawful means, immense riches ^a. We read the same thing in *Suidas* ^b, who seems to have copied it from *Eunapius*. To re-assume now the thread of our history: Upon the death of *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, to whom the eastern provinces had been allotted, repaired immediately to *Constantinople*, while *Honorius* continued at *Milan*, to awe with his presence the barbarians inhabiting the countries bordering on *Rhætia*, who were said to be in arms, and ready to break into the empire. As *Honorius* was but a child, and *Arcadius* a youth, without either parts or experience, both princes bore the bare name of emperors, the whole power being lodged in *Rufinus* and *Stilicho*, of whom the former ruled with an absolute sway in the east, and the other in the west. These two ministers agreed, says *Zosimus*, in plundering the province, and im-

Both ministers agree in plundering the people.

^x Zos. l. iv. p. 777. ^y Idem, l. v. p. 110, 111. ^z PHILOST. p. 461, 465. ^a Zos. p. 780—789. ^b SUID. p. 690, 691.

Rufinus
aspires at
the sove-
reignty.

poverishing whole nations, to enrich themselves; but at the same time, jealous of each other's grandeur, neither of them thought himself safe, while his rival continued in power^c. *Stilicho* pretended, that *Theodosius* in dying had committed to his care both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires: hence, looking upon the power which *Rufinus* enjoyed in the east as a mere usurpation, he was constantly meditating with himself in what manner he might compass his ruin, and engross the whole authority to himself^d. On the other hand, *Rufinus*, not satisfied to rule with an absolute sway under *Arcadius*, began to aspire at the sovereignty; and thinking the readiest way to attain it, was to marry his daughter to the young prince, who, he imagined, would not look upon it as any disparagement to assume his father-in-law for his colleague, he caused overtures concerning this match to be made to him with the utmost secrecy; which, however, soon became the public talk, and heightened the aversion which the people had already conceived against him, on account of his arrogance, avarice, and arbitrary proceedings^e. While this affair was on foot, *Eucherius*, the emperor's uncle, thinking himself ill used by *Lucianus*, count of the east, complained of him to *Arcadius*, who cast the whole blame upon *Rufinus*, by whose interest he had been raised to that post. *Lucianus* was the son of *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, in the latter end of the reign of *Constantius*; and having purchased the favour of *Rufinus*, by presenting him with rich possessions, had been recommended by him to the emperor, who thereupon made him count of the east, in which office he is said to have acquitted himself with the greatest justice, moderation, and integrity; insomuch, that he refused even to comply with a request of the emperor's uncle, which appeared to him inconsistent with equity. This being misrepresented to *Arcadius*, *Rufinus*, instead of protecting one who had purchased his favour at so great a price, left *Constantinople*, without imparting his design to any one; and hastening to *Antioch* with a small retinue, entered that city in the dead of the night, caused *Lucianus* to be apprehended, and when he was brought before his tribunal, commanded him, tho' no one appeared against him, to be beaten with leaden balls fastened to cords, till he expired. This barbarous proceeding highly provoked the inhabitants of *Antioch*; and *Rufinus*, to appease them, ordered a magnificent portico to be built, which was deemed the most stately edifice in all *Syria*^f. From *Antioch* *Rufinus* returned in

A remark-
able in-
stance of
Rufinus's
cruelty and
arbitrary
proceed-
ings.

^c Zos. l. v. p. 780. ^d Idem ibid. p. 782. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. & conf. Hon. 3. p. 38. ^e Zos. p. 780. ^f Idem, l. v. p. 780, 781.

great haste to *Constantinople*, pleasing himself with the thoughts of his future affinity with the emperor; but, upon his arrival, he found *Arcadius* immoveably determined to marry *Eudoxia*, who had been proposed to him by the eunuch *Eutropius*; and accordingly the nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-seventh of *April* of this year 395, to the great disappointment of *Rufinus*^g. *Eudoxia* was a *Frank* by nation, the daughter of the famous count and general *Bauto*, who had been consul in 385, and not of the emperor *Gratian*, or of the famous general *Pro-motus*, as some have advanced without sufficient grounds^h. As she was a woman of great address, of a haughty and imperious temper, she soon gained an absolute sway over the weak prince her husbandⁱ. Some writers have questioned her modesty^k; but from that charge she is cleared by others, though all agree in accusing her of an insatiable avarice, which often prompted her to most flagrant acts of injustice. However, she had some outward appearance of piety, favoured the catholics, shewed great respect to the prelates and clergy; and having prevailed upon the emperor in 401, to demolish the temple of *Marnas*, and other temples at *Gaza*, she built in that city a most stately and magnificent church, which from her was called *Eudoxiana*. Hence *St. Chrysostom* publicly commended her as the mother of the church, the patroness of the saints, the support of the poor, &c.^l. But the cruel persecution she afterwards raised against her panegyrist, has rendered her name infamous in the history of the church. But to return to *Rufinus*: That minister found himself disappointed as to the marriage of his daughter, and his alliance with the imperial family; and at the same time dreaded the credit of the eunuch *Eutropius*, but more the arms of *Stilicho*, who pretended to have been by *Theodosius* appointed guardian to both his children, and was preparing to march into the east, to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. In order therefore to defeat the designs of *Stilicho*, and to have an opportunity of getting rid of *Eutropius*, and even of seizing the sovereign power, he resolved to set all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmost confusion^m. With this view he privately stirred up, by his emissaries, the *Hunns*, who penetrated as far as *Antioch*, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing every-where unheard-of crueltiesⁿ. At the same time he encouraged the famous *Alaric* to put himself at the head of

Arcadius marries Eudoxia.

Her character.

Stilicho claims the same power in the east as in the west.

Rufinus stirs up the Hunns and Goths to invade the empire.

^g Idem, p. 781, 782. Chron. Alex. p. 710. ^h Vide VAL. rer Franc. l. ii. p. 65. PHILOST. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. ⁱ CEDREN. p. 334. ^k Zos. l. v. p. 795. ^l CHRYS. tom. 4. p. 853. ^m OROS. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. ⁿ SOCR. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. Zos. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753.

Dreadful
ravages
committed
by the
Goths un-
der the con-
duct of
Alaric.

his countrymen the *Goths*, and drawing together as many barbarians of other nations as were willing to follow his standard, to break into *Greece*, assuring him, that he should meet with no opposition. *Alaric* at that time commanded a body of *Goths* in the *Roman* service; but being dissatisfied, that he had been rewarded with no better preferment, since he had distinguished himself in the late war with *Eugenius*, he readily closed with the proposal of *Rufinus*; and being by him supplied with large sums, he assembled an incredible multitude of barbarians of different nations; and putting himself at their head, he ravaged all *Thrace*, *Pannonia*, *Macedon*, and *Theffaly*. As he drew near the famous straits of *Thermopylae*, *Gerontius*, who guarded them, and was privy to the wicked designs of his patron *Rufinus*, immediately withdrew, and opened a free passage for the barbarians into *Greece*, where they raged with incredible fury, putting those to the sword who offered to oppose them, and sending into their respective countries all the women and children that fell into their hands, together with the whole wealth of that opulent province. As *Antiochus*, at that time proconsul of *Achaia*, and another of *Rufinus's* creatures, did not offer to make head against them, they over-ran the whole country, rising the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such ravages and devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after. The whole country between *Dalmatia*, the *Adriatic* gulph, and the *Euxine* sea, was laid waste, and turned into a desert, the inhabitants concealing themselves in dens and caves, through fear of being either inhumanly murdered, or carried into captivity. The city of *Constantinople* itself was in a manner besieged, parties of the barbarians advancing with great boldness to the very gates of that metropolis. *Rufinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery.

Stilicho
renews the
antient al-
liances
with the
German
nations.

WHILE these things passed in the east, *Stilicho* was busied on the banks of the *Rhine*, in renewing the antient alliances of the *Roman* people with the *Franks*, and other *German* nations. This he accomplished, says *Claudian*^p, in less than fourteen days; which *Mr. Valois* maintains to be absolutely impossible^q. That writer speaks much at length of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two princes or chiefs of the *Franks* in those days^r, as does likewise *Gregory of Tours*^s. *Claudian*, who distinguishes them

^p ZOS. p. 783. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 21. PHILOST. p. 154.
^q CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 128. ^r VAL. ibid. p. 94. ^s Idem,
p. 86—90. ^t GREG. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 59—61.

with

with the title of kings, and informs us, that they were brothers, says, that they endeavoured to raise new disturbances after the peace concluded with *Stilicho*; but that one of them, after having been kept some time in prison, was banished into *Tuscany*; that the other, attempting to revenge the affront offered to his brother, was killed by his own people; and that *Honorius* appointed other kings over the *Franks* in their room^t. This seems to have happened, according to *Claudian*, before the revolt of *Gildo*; that is, before the end of the year 397. *Valesius* writes, that *Marcomir* outlived *Sunno*; and consequently that it was he who was banished into *Tuscany*. He is thought to have been the father of *Faramond*, supposed to have been the first king of *France*^u. *Stilicho*, having thus renewed the ancient treaties with the *Franks* and *Germans*, resolved to march to the succour of *Greece*; in which undertaking he embarked the more readily, as he hoped to have an opportunity of ruining *Rufinus*, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore *Gaul* about the latter end of the spring, he set forward with all the western troops, and those likewise of the east, that had been left in the west after the defeat of *Eugenius*. He marched, according to *Claudian*, over the *Alps*, no doubt, the *Julian Alps*, and consequently through *Dalmatia*. The barbarians, hearing of his arrival in those parts, resolved to make a stand in *Thessaly*, and with this view assembled into one body all their troops, that were in several parties dispersed about the country. *Stilicho* was already within a small distance of the enemy's army, and his men shewed a great forwardness to engage them, when *Rufinus*, concluding, that, if the barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head, prevailed upon *Arcadius* to send for the oriental troops. Accordingly an officer was dispatched to *Stilicho*, with a peremptory order from the emperor to send them forthwith, and return with the rest into the west. *Stilicho* was greatly surprised at this order, which, he thought, snatched out of his hands a certain victory, and exposed the empire to imminent danger. However, not daring to disobey, he not only sent the troops, but half the treasure which *Theodosius* had left^w. In dismissing the forces, he appointed one *Gaius*, by nation a *Goth*, and his intimate friend, to conduct them to *Constantinople*, after having imparted to him his design of dispatching *Rufinus*, and, no doubt, encouraged him to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to put it in execution. Un-

Stilicho marches to the relief of Greece.

He is ordered by Arcadius to return into the west.

^t CLAUD. *ibid.* p. 129. ^u Val. *ibid.* l. iii. p. 119. ^w CLAUD. *conf. Hon.* 4. p. 50, 51, & *laud. Stil.* 1. i. p. 128, 129. & l. ii. p. 135. *RUF.* 1. ii. p. 22. *Zos.* p. 782, 783.

Rufinus
murdered,

And his
estate con-
fiscated.

He is suc-
ceeded in
his power
and em-
ployments
by Eutro-
pius.

der his conduct the army arrived in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople* on the twenty-seventh of *November*; and the emperor, according to custom, went out in person to meet them, attended by *Rufinus*, who, as he had gained over some of the chief officers to proclaim him emperor on this occasion, had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the soldiery. The army received the emperor with all the respect due to the son of *Theodosius the Great*; but at the same time, upon a signal given by *Gainas*, they fell upon *Rufinus* and cut him in pieces, while he was pressing *Arcadius* to declare him his colleague^x. This happened, according to *Claudian*, at the palace of *Hebdomon*^y, where the emperors of the east were usually crowned. After his death, they cut off his head, and putting a stone in his mouth to keep it open, they carried it on the point of a spear to *Constantinople*, where it was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy^z. They likewise cut off his right hand, and carrying it about the streets of *Constantinople*, asked alms for the insatiable *Rufinus*, reduced to beggary. By this invention they collected considerable sums, every one being glad to reward with some small acknowledgment those who had contributed to the death of a person they so much abhorred^a. His estate and all his effects were confiscated; and the decree issued on that occasion was sent to *Rome*, where the people expressed the greatest joy at the death and deserved end of that insatiable robber, to use the expression of *Symmachus*, who had plundered the world^b. His wife and daughter, fearing they should fall a sacrifice to the fury of the people, took sanctuary in a church, whence they were suffered to retire to *Jerusalem*, where they spent the rest of their days^c. *Palladius* bestows great encomiums on *Salvia*, or *Silvia*, the sister of *Rufinus*, who had embraced the state of virginity^d. From a law dated the fifth of *August* of the ensuing year 396, it appears, that his wife's fortune was restored to her^e. Neither *Stilicho* nor the empire gained any thing by the death of *Rufinus*, he being succeeded, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities, by the eunuch *Eutropius*, who had concurred with *Stilicho* in all his measures against their common rival. *Eutropius* was by birth an *Armenian*, by condition a

^x SOCR. p. 300. PHIL. OS. p. 528. CHRON. ALEX. p. 710. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 29. ZOS. p. 785. ^y Idem ibid. ^z PHILOS. p. 528. HIER. ep. 3. p. 26. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 31. ASTERII orat. iv. p. 76. ^a HIER. PHILOST. ZOS. ibid. ^b SYMM. l. vi. ep. 15. p. 232. ^c ZOS. l. v. p. 785, 786. ^d PALLAD. hist. l. i. c. 143 p. 1046. ^e Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 42. leg. 15. p. 342.

slave, and had been made an eunuch soon after his birth, eunuchs being then more in request, and consequently more advantageous to the seller, than common slaves. He had frequently changed masters, having been often bought and sold. When he was already stricken in years, a soldier, named *Ptolemy*, gave him as a present to his general *Arintheus*, who was famous under *Valens*: *Arintheus* presented his daughter with him when she was married, to comb her hair, and perform such-like mean offices about her; which when he could no longer discharge on account of his age, she gave him his liberty. Being now his own master, he found means to get into the court, where he was employed in the lowest offices, till he was raised by the interest of *Abundantius*, who was consul in 393, to a more creditable post ^e. *Theodosius* sent him in 392, as we read in *Sozomen*, to consult the holy hermit *John* in the wilderness of *Thebais* ^f. That prince seems to have reposed some confidence in him. After the marriage of *Arcadius* with *Eudoxia*, he was made, no doubt, at her recommendation, great chamberlain, and upon the death of *Rufinus*, vested with the same power and authority which that minister had enjoyed ^g. *Rufinus* seemed to survive in this wicked eunuch, who was, according to *Eunapius*, a declared enemy to virtue, and every virtuous man ^h. That writer, after having drawn his portrait in the blackest colours, concludes, that he has not painted him such as he really was, there being no crime with which he might not deservedly charge him ⁱ. He surpassed in avarice *Rufinus* himself, exposing to public sale the chief employments, and entertaining an incredible number of informers to accuse such persons as were possessed of estates; by that means he conveyed the whole wealth of the empire into his own coffers ^k: the prisons, and places of banishment, were all filled with unhappy exiles, stripped of their wealth, the only crime for which they had been condemned ^l. As for *Arcadius*, who was a prince of very slender parts, he suffered himself to be entirely governed by this wicked minister, not daring in a manner to inquire into his conduct, or give ear to those who had the boldness to complain of his arbitrary proceedings. However, by several laws of this year, he confirmed those that had been enacted by his father against heretics ^m; and by one addressed to *Marcellus*, then *magister officiorum*, he com-

His extraction, employments, and character.

^e CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. i. p. 49, 95—97. ^f SOZ. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. ^g ZOS. p. 781. PHILOST. l. xi. c. 4. p. 523. SUID. p. 1099. ^h EUNAP. p. 183. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k CLAUD. ibid. p. 97, 98. ^l ZOS. p. 786. SUID. p. 1099. ^m Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 9. leg. 8. p. 133. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 25. p. 142, 144.

manded that officer to inquire with great care, whether any employments at court were held by heretics, and not only to dismiss, but to banish, such as he should discover in the palace, with those who had recommended them ⁿ. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Milan*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, as appears from the dates of his laws.

Stilicho
returns to
the relief
of Greece.

But suffers
Alaric to
escape.

THE next consuls were, *Arcadius* the fourth time, and *Honorius* the third. This year *Stilicho*, who was returned to *Italy* with the western troops, set out anew with a design to succour *Greece*, reduced to a most deplorable condition by *Alaric*, and the barbarians under his command. He embarked on the *Adriatic* sea; and landing without opposition in *Peloponnesus*, cut off great numbers of the enemy in various successful encounters; and in the end obliged them to retire to a mountain in *Arcadia*, named *Pholoe*, at a small distance from *Pisa*. There he shut them up on all sides, cut off their communication with the neighbouring country, and even turned the course of the river that supplied them with water ^o. But when he had them thus in his power, he suffered them to escape, to retire out of *Peloponnesus*, and to pillage *Epirus* in their retreat ^p. *Orosius* supposes him to have connived at their escape, and therefore thinks him no less guilty than *Rufinus*, who first stirred them up against the empire ^q. *Zosimus* writes, that they owed their safety to the negligence and misconduct of *Stilicho* ^r. But *Claudian* tell us, that *Eutropius*, looking upon *Stilicho* as a more dangerous enemy than *Alaric*, persuaded *Arcadius* to conclude a peace with the latter, to take him and the barbarians, who had ravaged the best provinces of the empire, under his protection, and to order *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops forthwith out of *Greece*, which belonged to *Arcadius*. Thus was *Stilicho* robbed, the second time, by a jealous rival of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians ^s. Soon after, *Alaric* was by *Arcadius*, or rather by his governor *Eutropius*, appointed commander of the troops in *East-Illyricum*, which comprised *Greece*, as we read in *Claudian* ^t (N).

As

ⁿ Idem. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 29. p. 148. ^o Zos. l. 5. p. 784.
CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 51. ^p Zos. ibid. ^q Oros. l. vii.
c. 37. p. 221. ^r Zos. p. 784. ^s CLAUD. bell. Goth. p. 170.
& in EUTROP. l. ii. p. 113. ^t Idem in Eutrop. ibid.

(N) His words are,

At nunc qui fœdera rumpit,
Ditatur; qui servat, eget. Vastator Achivæ
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præsidet Illyrico. Jam quos obsedit, amicus

Ingreditur

As for *Stilicho*, though he immediately retired with his troops out of *Greece*, pursuant to the orders of *Arcadius*, yet that prince, in obedience to the commands of *Eutropius*, as *Zosimus* expresses it, caused him to be declared a public enemy by a solemn decree of the senate of *Constantinople* ^u, ordering at the same time all the lands and palaces he had in the east to be seized and confiscated ^w. *Claudian* adds, that *Stilicho* discovered an assassin, who had been hired to murder him, and several letters dispersed among his troops, in order to debauch them, and stir them up against him ^x. *Eutropius*, not satisfied with having thus defeated all the measures of *Stilicho*, aspiring at the same post in the court of *Arcadius* which he held in that of *Honorius*, resolved to remove all those out of the way, in whom *Arcadius* seemed to repose any confidence. He began with *Abundantius*, by whose means he had been first raised at court, and who on that account deserved, according to *Claudian* ^y, tho' not at his hands, the treatment he met with. *Abundantius* had served in the army with great reputation in the time of *Gratian*, and had been raised by *Theodosius* to the post of general both of the horse and foot, to the prætorship, and in 393, to the consular dignity ^z. But *Eutropius*, jealous of the authority and credit which his experience, and known integrity, procured him at court, and panting after the immense wealth with which his eminent services had been rewarded, prevailed on the weak prince, with his crafty and malicious insinuations, to banish him to *Pityus*, a city of *Bosporus*, to the north of the *Euxine* sea, and beyond *Colchis*; where he led a miserable life, stripped of all his effects, till the death of *Eutropius*, when he was removed from thence and confined to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, in which city he died ^a. The credit which *Timasius* had at court, and with the army, gave the wicked minister, who could bear no competitor, more jealousy than that of *Abundantius*. He had been long one of the chief commanders of the army, had served *Valens* and *Theodosius* in all their wars with great honour and integrity, and been rewarded by the latter in 389, with the con-

Stilicho, at the instigation of Eutropius, declared a public enemy.

Eutropius causes Abundantius to be banished.

^u Zos. p. 788. ^w CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. ^x Idem ibid. ^y Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p. 57. ^z CLAUD. ibid. Zos. l. 5. p. 788. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 347. ^a CLAUD. Zos. ibid. Hier. ep. iii. p. 26. Ast. or. iv. p. 76.

*Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit:
Sic hostes punire solent, hæc præmia solvunt
Excidiiis ——— (89).*

(89) *Claud. in Eutrop. p. 113.*

B 2

sular

His treacherous
practices
against
Timasius.

fular dignity ^b. *Eutropius*, resolving to procure by some means or other the ruin of so powerful a rival, had recourse to one *Bargus*, who lived in great intimacy with *Timasius*. *Bargus* was a person of a mean descent, and had been obliged for some notorious crime to fly from *Laodicea* in *Syria*, his native city, and retire to *Sardes* in *Lydia*. There *Timasius* accidentally met him; and being pleased with his facetious conversation, without inquiring farther into his character, admitted him to his confidence, gave him the command of a cohort, and took him with him to *Constantinople*; at which the magistrates were highly displeased, because he had been formerly banished that city ^c. To this man, as a proper instrument for his villainous purpose, *Eutropius* applied, and easily prevailed upon him to betray his friend and benefactor, by accusing him of treason, and producing against him a counterfeit writing, upon which he was without delay brought to his trial. *Eutropius* persuaded the emperor to judge him in person; but perceiving the people were highly provoked to see a person, of *Timasius*'s dignity and character, arraigned upon the deposition of such an infamous and mercenary wretch as *Bargus*, he advised the prince, whom he managed as he pleased, to withdraw, and substitute *Saturninus* and *Procopius* in his room. Of these the former had discharged the chief employments in the state, and the consulship in 383, but is said to have dishonoured his old age, by a general and mean compliance with the will of the ruling minister ^d. *Procopius* was son-in-law to the emperor *Valens*, of a rough and savage temper, but not easily prevailed upon to swerve from what he thought just and equitable, as appeared in this case; for he boldly maintained, that such an infamous wretch as *Bargus* ought not to be admitted as evidence against a person of *Timasius*'s rank, against his friend and benefactor. But *Saturninus* prevailing, the unhappy *Timasius* was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to *Oasis*, a barren and inhospitable place in *Libya*, from which there was no possible means of escape, it being surrounded by a vast desert, full of sand, which moving to and fro with the wind, suffered no track or footstep of any former traveller to be seen. Of this place, to which criminals began to be confined about this time, *Zosimus* gives us, on occasion of the exile of *Timasius*, a most frightful description ^e. The same historian adds, that a report was spread, that *Syagrius*, the son of *Timasius*, accused as privy to the crime of his father, having escaped from those who had been sent to seize him, rescued his father, with the assistance of some robbers, out of the hands

Timasius
banished.

^b Zos. p. 786, 787. Astr. p. 76. Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 776.
^c Zos. p. 786, 787. ^d Idem ibid. ^e Zos. ibid.

of the soldiers, who were conducting him to the place of his exile; and that neither the father nor the son were ever after heard of ^f. Others write, that *Timasius* was found dead in the sand that surrounded *Oasis*, having perhaps attempted to make his escape ^g. St. *Jerom*, writing in this year 396, says, that *Timasius* lived then an exile at *Affus* a city of *Asia* ^h. But as *Sozomen*, *Zosimus*, and *Asterius*, agree, that he was confined to *Oasis*, some, instead of *Affus*, read, in the text of St. *Jerom*, *Oasis*; while others, to reconcile that writer with the other three, pretend, that he was first banished to *Affus*, and afterwards, by *Eutropius*'s orders, conveyed to *Oasis*. *Bargus* did not long enjoy the price of his treachery and wickedness; for *Eutropius*, who was a man of too great discernment to trust a traitor, and well knew, that one who had betrayed his friend and benefactor, would not prove faithful to him, resolved to get rid of him as soon as possible; and accordingly having sent him upon some advantageous commission out of *Constantinople*, during his absence, he induced his wife, who was then at variance with her husband, to present to the emperor some treasonable papers, which she pretended to have found in his custody. Hereupon *Bargus* was upon his return arraigned, sentenced to death, and executed. Thus was the crime of that treacherous wretch punished, as it deserved, by the very person who had induced him to commit it ^k. *Pentadia*, the wife of *Timasius*, was deaconess of the church of *Constantinople* in 404, when St. *Chrysostom* was banished that city: he wrote, while in exile, several letters to her, in one of which he inquires after her family and relations, and calls her house a house of blessing ^l. It was according to *Sozomen*, in order to apprehend *Pentadia*, and some others who had taken sanctuary in the church, that *Eutropius* persuaded the emperor to enact a law, forbidding any one to fly to the church for refuge; and commanding those who should, to be dragged from the altars, and punished the more severely ^m. This law raised a general odium against *Eutropius* ⁿ: *Socrates* pretends, that it drew down from heaven all the misfortunes that befel him ^o: *Sozomen* and *Chrysostom* exclaim loudly against it ^p; and observe, that, in a few years after, *Eutropius* himself was forced to fly to that asylum from which he had excluded others, owning, says *Chrysostom*, more by his actions than his words, the injustice of his law ^q. It was re-

*His accuser
Bargus
put to
death.*

^f Idem ibid. ^g AST. or. iv. p. 76. *Soz.* l. viii. c. 7. p. 766.
^h *HIER.* ep. iii. p. 26. ⁱ *Soz.* *Zos.* *AST.* ibid. ^k *Zos.* p. 787.
^l *CHRYS.* ep. xiv, xciv, civ, clxxxv. *VIT.* l. iv. c. 3. p. 257.
^m *Soz.* p. 766. ⁿ *CHRYS.* in *Eutrop.* tom. iv. p. 484. ^o *SOCR.*
p. 304. ^p *Soz.* *CHRYS.* ibid. ^q Idem ibid.

Great
earth-
quakes, &c.
in the east.

Fritigil,
queen of the
Marco-
manns,
converted
to the chri-
stian reli-
gion.

voked immediately after the disgrace and downfall of *Eutropius*, and erased out of all the public registers ^r. Churches are still held as asylums in *Italy*, and the two kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal*; which, not to mention other crimes, is the true cause of the many murders committed in those countries. This year, dreadful earthquakes were felt in most provinces of the east, and the sky appearing all in a flame over the city of *Constantinople*, terrified the inhabitants and the emperor himself to such a degree, that, abandoning the city, they retired to the fields. It was revealed, as *St. Austin* writes, to a pious person, that the city of *Constantinople* was, on a certain day, to be consumed by fire sent from heaven: when that day came, the above-mentioned phenomenon appeared over the city, but vanished some time after, leaving it unhurt; the inhabitants, who had given credit to the prediction, having, by a sincere and timely repentance, prevented the execution of the sentence pronounced against them. Thus *St. Austin*, in a sermon which he preached a few years after ^s. From the several laws of this year, most of which tend to the utter suppression of idolatry, and the curbing of heretics, it appears, that *Arcadius* continued the whole time at *Constantinople*, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The law of the twenty-second of *March* is dated from *Regium*, which is supposed to have been an imperial palace about fifteen miles from the metropolis. Nothing happened this year in the west worthy of notice, except the conversion of *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomanns*, to the christian religion. At the request of *St. Ambrose*, who wrote several letters to her, instructing her in the holy mysteries, she is said, by *Paulinus Diaconus*, to have induced the king her husband to enter into an alliance with the *Romans* ^t: it is certain, that amongst the many barbarous nations that in the present reign broke into the empire, no mention is made of the *Marcomanns*. Some misunderstanding arose this year between *St. Ambrose* and *Stilicho*, the latter having caused a criminal, by name *Cresconius*, to be apprehended in a church, to which he had fled for refuge: but *Stilicho* in the end acknowledged his fault, and atoned for it ^u. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Milan*, as is evident from the dates of his laws.

THE next consuls were *Cæsarius* and *Atticus*; the former had succeeded *Rufinus* in the prefecture of the east, *Eutropius* being, as an eunuch, excluded from that office; and the latter had been governor of *West Illyricum* under *Valentinian II.* in 384. *Cæsarius* seems to have entered upon his consulship at

^r Soz. ibid. ^s AUG. de urb. Rom. excid. c. 6. p. 332. ^t PAUL. DIAC. vit. Amb. c. 36 p. 10. ^u Idem, c. 34. p. 9.

Constantinople,

Constantinople, and *Atticus* at *Rome* ^w. This year, 397, *Arcadius*, leaving *Constantinople* in the month of *July*, went to *Ancyra*; and staid there till the latter end of *September*, when he returned to the metropolis, with as much pomp and show as if he had conquered the *Persians*, says *Claudian*, who supposes him to have constantly passed the summer at *Ancyra*, *Eutropius* diverting him by that progress from applying his mind to affairs of state ^x. *Stilicho* still claimed the administration of affairs in the east, and was preparing to march anew into the dominions of *Arcadius*, in order to make good his claim by force of arms, and revenge on *Eutropius* the injurious decree issued against him by the senate of *Constantinople*. But that wicked *Eutropius* and crafty minister, not scrupling, for the support of his own power, to kindle a war between the two brothers, privately *persuades* *Gildo* to revolt from *Honorius*, and submit to *Arcadius*, hoping by *from Honorius* that means to divert *Stilicho* from pursuing his intended expedition into the east ^y. *Gildo* was brother to the famous *Firmus*, who made war upon the *Romans* in 373, but was overcome by count *Theodosius*, the father of the emperor of that name. In that war *Gildo* sided with the *Romans*, and was afterwards, that is, about the year 387, by *Valentinian II.* or rather by *Theodosius*, who governed in his name, appointed count of *Africa*, and commander of all the troops in that province. *Theodosius*, that he might have, as it were, some pledge of his fidelity, in conferring that dignity upon him, married *Salvina*, the daughter of *Gildo*, to *Nebrius*, nephew by the mother to the empress *Flaccilla* ^z. *St. Jerom*, in a letter which he wrote to *Salvina* about the year 400, styles her a virtuous and truly christian widow; and at the same time commends the piety of her mother, and her father's sister, who had embraced the state of virginity ^a. As for *Gildo* himself, he was, if not by religion, as *Marcellinus* will have it, at least in his manners, a pagan. *Claudian* charges him with avarice, cruelty, luxury, and all manner of lewdness, the more shameful and scandalous, as he was already stricken in years ^b. *St. Austin* speaks of him as one famous for wickedness and debauchery ^c; and in one of his sermons styles him, though without naming him, a wicked

*Gildo's
character.*

^w SYM. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273. Cod. Theod. chrono^l. p. 136. PROSP. p. 470. IDAT. in fast. ^x CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110. ^y ZOS. p. 788. ^z AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 399. ZOS. l. v. p. 788. HIER. ep. xi. p. 94. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 128. CLAUD. bell. Gild. p. 70—78. ^a HIER. ep. ix. p. 73—76. ^b CLAUD. bell. Gild. p. 74. 84. ^c AUG. ep. lxiv. p. 285.

wretch.

Arcadius
is acknow-
ledged in
most cities
of Africa.

St. Am-
brose dies.

Some laws
enacted
this year.

wretch ^d. When *Eugenius* usurped the empire of the west, *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodosius*; but when that prince marched against the usurper in 394, he declined sending him any succours, as other governors of provinces had done in obedience to the emperor's orders, expecting the issue of the war, as was supposed, in order to join the party that should prevail; insomuch, that *Theodosius* would have treated him as an open enemy, according to *Claudian*, had he not been prevented by death ^e. *Eutropius* having induced him to revolt from *Honorius*, as we have related above, he obliged most of the cities of *Africa* and *Carthage* itself to acknowledge *Arcadius*, placing such governors in them as he knew were attached to his own interest, with a design of seizing, when an opportunity offered, the province for himself, as he had but a very mean opinion of both princes ^f. When news of his revolt was brought to *Honorius*, he acquainted the senate of *Rome* with it, who immediately declared *Gildo* a public enemy, and dispatched a solemn embassy to *Arcadius*, intreating him to restore *Africa* to its lawful sovereign ^g. *Symmachus* at the same time wrote to *Arcadius*, probably by order and in the name of the senate, exhorting him not to quarrel, but to live in friendship and amity, with his brother ^h. In the mean time, a famine began to rage in *Rome*, *Gildo* not suffering any corn to be conveyed thither from *Africa*. Two fleets were therefore equipped with great expedition, the one to be employed against *Gildo*, and the other in bringing corn and other provisions to *Rome* from *Gaul* and *Spain* ⁱ. The former failed this year, and, with a seasonable supply, quieted the populace, ready to rise; but the latter could not be equipped till the following year. During these warlike preparations, died the celebrated bishop of *Milan* *St. Ambrose*, by no one more regretted than by *Stilicho*, who, looking upon the death of that prelate as the greatest misfortune that could befall *Italy*, had, upon the first news of his illness, caused public prayers to be offered for him in all the churches of *Milan* ^k. *Honorius* continued this whole year at *Milan*. Some of his laws are indeed dated from *Rome*; but that is generally thought to be a mistake ^l. By one of these set up in the square of *Trajan* on the ninth of *March*, he forbids the *Romans* to follow in their dress foreign fashions ^m;

^d Idem in Jo. hom. v. p. 20. ^e CLAUD. ibid. p. 76. ^f Idem ibid. & de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. OROS. l. vii. c. 36 p. 221. ^g CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 131. SYM. l. iv. ep. 4 p. 143. ^h SYM. ibid. p. 144. ⁱ Idem, p. 143. CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131. l. iii. p. 148. in Eutrop. p. 103. bell. Gild. p. 50. ^k Ambr. vit. c. 34. p. 10. c. 45. p. 12. ^l Cod. Theod. chron. p. 136, 137. ^m Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 15. leg. 22. p. 215.

for it is to be observed, that the *Romans*, by conversing familiarly with the *Goths*, grew, by degrees, fond of their fashions, and began to adopt them; which was looked upon as a fatal prelude to what happened soon after. A blind submission to the modes and fashions of a foreign nation, has but too often been the forerunner of a more dreadful slavery: may it not prove such in our days! By another law, he confirms all the privileges and exemptions, which his predecessors, moved by a due respect for religion, had granted to the churches, to the ecclesiastics, and particularly to the bishop of *Rome*ⁿ. In the east, *Arcadius*, by a law dated the first of *April*, commanded all the *Apollinarian* teachers to be banished *Constantinople*, and the houses where they had held their private assemblies to be confiscated^o. That of the seventeenth of *June* forbids any one to insult the *Jews*, or their patriarch, whom he had honoured the preceding year with the title of *illustrious*, which was given to the first officers of the empire^p. The law, dated the first of *July*, exempts the ministers of their religion from the same burdens, from which the bishops, priests, and deacons, were exempted^q. By a law, dated the eighth of *November*, *Arcadius* commanded all domestics, whether free-born or slaves, to be sentenced to death, who should inform against their masters, except in cases of treason^r. This year, on the seventeenth of *June*, the empress *Eudoxia* was delivered of a daughter, named *Flaccilla* from the emperor's mother, and distinguished with the title of *nobilissima*, or most noble^s. Flaccilla

THE following year 398, when *Honorius* was consul the fourth time, with *Eutychianus*, who entered upon that dignity at *Constantinople*, *Stilicho* pursued with the utmost vigour his warlike preparations against *Gildo*; but was greatly at a loss how to manage that expedition with success, and whom to trust with the command of the troops. But from this perplexity he was soon delivered, by the seasonable arrival in *Italy* of *Mascezel*, brother to *Gildo*, who gave him a true account of the state of affairs in *Africa*, and suggested to him the most proper means for suppressing the rebellion. *Mascezel* was not only a christian, but a person of extraordinary piety; and therefore could not by any means be prevailed upon to join his brother in the rebellion, who thereupon resolved to murder him; but he, by a timely flight, defeated his wicked design^t. *Gildo*, however, vented

ⁿ Idem ibid. p. 133. ^o Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 33. p. 151.

^p Idem, l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 12. p. 227. ^q Idem, leg. 13. p. 228.

^r Idem, l. ix. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 52. ^s Mar. & Alex. chron. p. 712.

^t AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 400. OROS. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221. CLAUD. bell. Gild. c. 79. p. 788.

Mascezel,
brother to
Gildo, sent
against
him.

Gildo en-
tirely de-
feated.

his rage on the two sons *Mascezel* had left behind him, causing them both to be put to death, and leaving their mangled bodies to be devoured by the wild beasts. *Stilicho*, not doubting but, to revenge the death of his children, and the attempt upon his own life, he would carry on the war with vigour, and serve the republic with unshaken fidelity, committed to him the whole management of the intended expedition against his brother ^u. *Zosimus* writes, that *Mascezel* was attended by a very numerous army ^w; but *Orosius* ^x and the chronicle of *Alexandria* ^y assure us, that it was but five thousand strong. Their authority is confirmed by *Claudian*, who says, that *Stilicho* made small preparations for this first expedition, but had in readiness another fleet, and a more renowned general, to be employed, in case any misfortune should befall the first ^{*}. That poet names the several corps, or, as we may now call them, regiments, of which *Mascezel's* army was composed ^z. It embarked at *Pisa*, and putting to sea, tho' a storm, if we may depend upon a poet ^a, was then apprehended, steered along the east coast of *Sardinia*, and landed safe in *Africa*. *Mascezel*, without loss of time, led his troops against *Gildo*; and falling upon him before he could draw up his army, gained, after a bloody and obstinate fight, a complete victory. Thus *Zosimus* ^b. But *Orosius* ^c, *Marcellinus* ^d, and *Paulus Diaconus* ^e, ascribe this success to the miraculous assistance of St. *Ambrose*, who, appearing to *Mascezel*, assured him, that, in three days time, he should gain a complete victory in the very place where he was then encamped. Hereupon he continued, say they, in the same post; and the third day, after having spent the preceding night in praying, and singing hymns with some holy hermits, whom he had brought with him from the island of *Capraria*, now *Capraia*, he saw himself surrounded on all sides by the numerous forces of the enemy; but not in the least daunted, he marched against them with his small army in battle-array. His piety prompted him to try first, whether he could by fair means bring them back to their duty; but one of the standard-bearers answering him with great arrogance, he drew his sword, and wounded him in the arm; which obliged him to lower the ensign. The other standard-bearers, imagining he had submitted, strove who should be the first in following his example, and lowering their ensigns, threw themselves at the feet of *Mascezel*. Some of the barbarians, however, encouraged by *Gildo*, at-

^u Idem ibid. ^w Zos. p. 788. ^x Oros. p. 221. ^y Chron. Alex. p. 713. ^{*} CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131, 132. ^z Idem, bell. Gil. p. 80. ^a Idem ibid. ^b Zos. ibid. ^c Oros. p. 221. ^d MAR. in chron. ^e Amb. vit. c. 15. p. 13.

tempted to make a stand; but were soon put to the rout. Thus were seventy thousand men, says *Orosius*, defeated by five thousand, without any stratagem or treachery, nay, and almost without bloodshed. This miraculous success, continues that writer, would hardly be credited, were there not many persons still living, who were eye-witnesses of it ^f. *Paulinus* assures us, that he had this account from *Mascezel*'s own mouth, after his return to *Milan* ^g. However, we will not take upon us to prefer it to that of *Zosimus*. *Gildo* made his escape, and, reaching the sea, went on board the same vessel he found; but being by a contrary wind driven into the harbour of *Tabraca*, near *Hippo* in *Africa*, he was there apprehended, exposed to the insults of the populace, and then thrown into prison, where he strangled himself, to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death ^h. Upon the defeat and death of *Gildo*, all *Africa* submitted anew to *Honorius*. *Claudian*, who omits no opportunity of flattering his great hero *Stilicho*, ascribes the whole success of this expedition to the prudence and vigilance of that minister. He wrote a poem on the war with *Gildo*; but that piece is imperfect, since the poet leaves the *Roman* fleet on the coast of *Sardinia* in their way to *Africa*. The leading men of *Gildo*'s faction were sent to *Rome*, to be tried there; and some of them were publicly executed. *Optatus*, bishop of the *Donatists* at *Tamugadi* in *Numidia*, one of *Gildo*'s most zealous partizans, died in prison. As several innocent persons were, as it frequently happens on such occasions, accused, and dragged to prison, *Honorius*, by a law addressed to *Victor* proconsul of *Africa*, put a stop to such unjust prosecutions, ordering false informers and witnesses to be punished, according to the rigour of the several laws enacted against them ⁱ. *Gildo*'s estate fell to the exchequer, and proved so large, that a particular treasurer was appointed to manage it, with the title of *comes Gildoniaci patrimonii*, or count of *Gildo*'s patrimony ^k. *Africa* being thus restored to its former tranquility, *Mascezel* returned to *Italy*, and was received at *Milan* by *Stilicho*, in appearance with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem; but the glory he had acquired by putting so speedy an end to a war, which the minister had so much apprehended, giving him no small jealousy, he resolved to dispatch without delay this new rival. Accordingly, as he was one day passing a bridge in the neighbourhood of *Milan*, *Mascezel*, who attended him, with many other per-

Gildo is taken; but lays violent hands on himself.

His estate confiscated.

^f OROS. p. 221, 222. ^g Amb. vit. c. 51. ^h CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 132. ZOS. p. 788. OROS. PAULIN. ibid. MAR. chron. ⁱ Cod. Theod. tit. 3. p. 288. CLAUD. ibid. p. 148. ^k Idem, tit. 2. p. 349, 352. & tit. 3. p. 347.

Honorius
marries
Maria, the
daughter
of Stilicho.

Eutropius
consul.

Stilicho
provides
for the
safety of
Britain a-
gainst the
Scots,
Picts, and
Saxons.

sons of distinction, was, by his private orders, pushed into the river, and drowned^l. *Orosius* writes, that *Mascezel*, elated with his success, had fallen from his former piety, and even dragged from the altars several criminals, who had fled to them for refuge; which that writer looks upon as an enormous crime, and the true cause of his unfortunate end^m. About the time of the defeat of *Gildo*, *Honorius* married at *Milan*, *Maria* the daughter of *Stilicho* by *Serena*, cousin-german to that princeⁿ. He was then but thirteen, and *Maria* not yet marriageable^o; whence some authors pretend, that the marriage was never consummated, since *Maria* died very young, long before the year 408^p. *Claudian* wrote several poems on this marriage^q, which, according to him, was first proposed, nay, and commanded, by *Theodosius*^r. But his predictions concerning the kings who were to proceed from it^s, shew he was a poet, and not a prophet. By the defeat of *Gildo*, an intire harmony was re-established between the two brothers, as that poet tells us^t; but the same misunderstanding continued between the two ministers, who nevertheless agreed in plundering the unhappy people, and conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires^u. *Eutropius* persuaded *Arcadius* to name him, tho' an eunuch, for the consulship of the ensuing year; but *Stilicho* would not suffer him to be acknowledged in the west^v. *Claudian* writes, that when news of the consulate of *Eutropius* was brought to the court of *Honorius*, that prince was busied with *Stilicho* in receiving the submissions of the *Alemans*, *Suevians*, and *Sicambrians*; in giving kings to some; and commanding others to raise levies for recruiting his armies^x. Whether this may be founded on truth, or ought to be looked upon only as a poetical fiction, we will not take upon us to determine. The same poet, in enumerating the great things *Stilicho* had performed by himself or others before his consulship, that is, before the year 400, says, that he succoured *Britain*, attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely, by the *Scots*, who, arming all *Ierne* or *Ireland* against it, had covered the sea with their fleets; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the *Picts*; and that he had secured the *British* coast against the descents of the *Saxons*, which the inhabitants apprehending before, were constantly on their guard, through fear of a surprize^y. He adds elsewhere^z,

^l Zos. l. v. p. 788, 789.

^m Oros. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221.

ⁿ CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.

^o Zos. p. 804.

^p Idem ibid.

^q CLAUD. p. 56—69.

^r Idem, p. 57.

^s Idem, p. 63.

^t Idem, bell. Gild. p. 76.

^u Zos. l. v. p. 789.

^v CLAUD.

in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 111.

^x Idem de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140.

^y Idem ibid. l. ii. p. 139.

^z Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p. 102, 103.

that

that the *Saxons* being overcome, the sea was quiet; that the *Picts* having lost their strength, *Britain* was delivered from her fears. The learned *Usher* ascribes to *Stilicho* the establishing of a legion in *Britain*, to defend it against the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Saxons*^a. This legion is mentioned by *Claudian*^b. About the same time, a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the *Saxons*, with the title of *comes limitis Saxonici*, or count of the *Saxon* coast, that is, of the coast over-against the country of the *Saxons*^c. In the east, *Earth-* the cities of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* were shaken with vio- quakes and
lent earthquakes; several buildings were consumed with light- other cala-
ning; and the sea, breaking in upon the land, laid whole coun- mities in
tries under water. *Claudian* mentions several other prodigies, the east.
which were all the forerunners, says that poet, of a prodigy never before heard of, viz. an eunuch consul^d; for the following year 390, *Eutropius* prevailed upon *Arcadius* to create him a patrician, to honour him with the title of *father to the emperor*, and to raise him to the consular dignity. He was the first and the last eunuch that ever held, or rather disgraced, the fasces. His image, with the ensigns of his dignity, was carried, as it were in triumph, through all the cities of the east; but *Stilicho* refusing to acknowledge him in the west, *Manlius*, *Theodorus* alone is named consul in some *fasti*, and in the laws of *Honorius*. Some writers, mistaking his two names for the names of two different persons, mark *Manlius* or *Mallius*, and *Theodorus*, as consuls of this year^e. *Manlius Theodorus* is famous from the praises bestowed upon him by *Claudian*, in a poem which he wrote on his consulship^f; and by *St. Austin*, who, having known him at *Milan* in 384, inscribed to him in 386, his book *de beata vita, of a happy life*, which he published soon after his conversion^g. *Claudian* does not commend him on account of his family, but for his learning, his eloquence, and his virtue^h. After he had pleaded some time at the bar, he governed, first, part of *Libya*, in quality of proconsul of *Africa*, and afterwards *Macedon*; whence he was called to court, and created quæstor, whose province it was to draw up the laws that were enacted by the emperor. To this dignity he was raised by *Gratian* in 380ⁱ. Upon the death of that prince, he withdrew from public affairs, and led a retired life, till he was

*Manlius
Theodo-
rus consul
in the east.*

^a Uss. eccles. Britan. antiq. p. 595. ^b CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 167. & epith. in Pallad. & Celer. nupt. p. 200. ^c Uss. ibid. p. 336. ^d CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii p. 108, 109. ^e IDAT. PROSP. CASSIODOR. fast. ^f CLAUD. in Man. Theod. conf. p. 84—90. ^g AUG. de beat. vit. p. 212. ^h CLAUD. ibid. p. 84. ⁱ Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 388.

recalled to court by *Honorius*, or rather by *Stilicho*, who appointed him prefect of *Gaul* in 395, and prefect of *Italy* in 397^k. *Symmachus* bestows great encomiums upon him^l; and *St. Austin*, who informs us that he was a christian, extols his modesty, his learning, his eloquence, and generosity^m. *Claudian*, in the poem he wrote on his consulship, admires his integrity, moderation, affability, and other virtuesⁿ; but elsewhere^o, divesting himself of the character of a panegyrist, he owns, that *Italy* would have reaped greater advantages from the prefecture of *Theodorus*, had he slept less.

Varanes,
king of
Persia
murdered,
and suc-
ceeded by
Isdeger-
des.

DURING the consulship of *Theodorus* in the west and *Eutropius* in the east, died *Varanes*, or *Vararanes IV.* king of *Persia*, who during the eleven years of his reign, had lived in friendship with the *Romans*. He was killed, we know not upon what provocation, by his own subjects, and succeeded by his brother *Isdegerdes*, or, as *Abulfaragius* styles him, *Yasdejird*^p. *Eutychius*, who calls him *Al Aitham*, supposes him to have been the son of his predecessor^q. He reigned twenty-one years, ever maintaining a friendly correspondence with the *Romans*; but was, according to *Eutychius*, a prince of great severity, or rather cruelty; whence he was surnamed *Al Aitham*, or *Athim*, that is, *the bad*^r. *Procopius* gives him a quite different character, describing him as a generous-spirited prince^s. He is famous in the history of the church, on account of the persecution which he raised, about the end of his reign, against the christians in his dominions. The most remarkable event that happened in the east during the consulship of *Eutropius*, was the downfall of that famous and powerful minister, which *Zosimus* ascribes chiefly to *Gainas*. He had commanded the *Goths*, and other barbarians, under *Theodosius*; and, after the defeat of *Eugenius*, reconducted the eastern army to *Arcadius*, on which occasion he caused *Rufinus* to be cut in pieces, in the manner we have related above. For this eminent piece of service he did not think himself sufficiently rewarded by *Eutropius*, who, as he used to brag, was indebted to him for all his grandeur. From a common soldier he had been raised by *Theodosius* to the chief command of all the *Goths*, and other barbarians, in the *Roman* service, and by *Eutropius*, after the death of *Rufinus*, to the post of general of the *Roman*

^k CLAUD. *ibid.* p. 87, 88. Cod. Theod. *ibid.* & l. xi. tit. 6. leg. 21. p. 33. ^l SYM. l. v. ep. p. 10. 189. ep. 4, 8. p. 11, 15. ^m AUG *ibid.* ⁿ CLAUD. *ibid.* p. 89, 90. ^o Idem, epig. xxix. p. 261. ^p ABULFAR. p. 91. EUTYCH. tom. i. p. 548. AGATH. de imper. Just. p. 137. ^q EUTYCH. *ibid.* ^r Idem, tom. 2. p. 79. ^s PROCOP. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 2. p. 8.

horse and foot; but yet not satisfied, and scorning to depend Gainas upon a slave and an eunuch, he resolved, by some means or *dissatisfied* other, to dispatch him, hoping, if he were once removed, to *with Eu-* succeed him in his power and authority ^{tropius.}. While he was pleasing himself with these thoughts, count *Tarbigild*, or *Tribigild*, who was by nation a *Goth*, and commanded a numerous body of his countrymen at *Nicolia* in *Phrygia*, came to court; and, after a short stay at *Constantinople*, was preparing to return to his quarters, highly dissatisfied with the haughty behaviour and arbitrary conduct of the prime minister, when *Gainas*, to whom he was allied, according to *Socrates*^u, resolving to improve his discontent to the ruin of *Eutropius*, imparted to him the design he had formed against *Eutropius*, and encouraged him *He induces* to revolt, assuring him, that he would, to the utmost of his *Tribigild* power, assist and support him under-hand. *Tribigild*, who was *to revolt.* a man of great intrepidity and resolution, and ready to embark in any desperate undertaking, immediately closed with the proposal; and returning to *Nicolia*, took arms early in the spring, pillaged that and several other cities in *Phrygia*, and putting *Tribigild* all to the sword who fell into his hands, without distinction *pillages* of sex, age, or condition, he threw the whole province of *several* *Asia* into the utmost confusion, the inhabitants, struck with *provinces.* terror and dismay, abandoning their habitations, and flying for refuge to the most distant provinces. When news of these disorders was brought to court, *Eutropius* endeavoured first to gain *Tribigild* with large presents, and greater promises; but finding he could not, by fair means, bring him back to his duty, he dispatched a body of troops against him, under the conduct of one *Leo*, a person greatly attached to his interest, but in every respect unfit for that command. *Leo*, having passed the straits of the *Hellepont*, continued in that neighbourhood, not daring to encounter the enemy. *Gainas*, who pretended to be highly provoked against *Tribigild*, on account of his revolt, was enjoined to guard *Thrace* and the sea-coast, in order to prevent an irruption on that side; but he, keeping the whole time a private correspondence with the rebels, instead of defending *Thrace*, advised *Tribigild* to march his forces without delay to the sea-side, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, to enter that province. Had his advice been followed, the rebels would have made themselves masters of *Constantinople* without opposition; but *Tribigild*, bending his march towards *Pisidia*, was met there by one *Valentine*, a citizen of *Selga*, at the head of a small body of slaves and peasants. *Tribigild* despised them at

^t Zos. l. v. p. 789. Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760, 761. SocR. l. vi. c. 6. p. 306. ^u SocR. *ibid.*

*Is reduced
to great
distress.*

*But es-
capes, and
defeats
Leo sent
against
him.*

*Gainas
lays the
whole
blame on
Eutropius.*

first; but as they were well acquainted with that mountainous country, and had, by their frequent disputes with the robbers in those parts, learnt to make sudden onsets, and lay ambushes, they cut off great numbers of his men, and at length shut him up on all sides, in such manner, that no room being left for him to escape, he must inevitably have perished, had he not, by a large sum, prevailed upon one *Florentius*, who guarded a narrow pass called *Cochlea*, to withdraw, and suffer him to retire. However, his men, by the ambuscades, frequent skirmishes, and sudden onsets of the *Pisidians*, were now reduced to three hundred. With these he marched into the plain, where he was again shut up between the two rivers *Melane* and *Eurymedon*. In this extremity, he found means to acquaint *Gainas* with the desperate posture of his affairs, who thereupon, under colour of reinforcing *Leo's* army, detached a strong body of barbarians, with private orders to join *Tribigild*; which they did accordingly. With their assistance *Tribigild* opened himself a passage out of *Pisidia*, and falling unexpectedly upon *Leo*, cut most of his men in pieces. *Leo* himself, attempting to make his escape, perished among the marshes ^w. From *Pisidia*, *Tribigild* returned into *Phrygia*, where *Gainas*, who had advanced into that province, as if he designed to attack him, suffered him to rage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, his conduct, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and suggesting, that the only means to save the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the author of all the present calamities, should be delivered up into his hands. At the same time, news was brought to court of the death of *Varanes* king of *Persia*, and a report spread, that his successor was preparing to invade *Syria*. Upon this false alarm, and the accounts that were by *Gainas* daily transmitted to *Constantinople*, of the progress made by *Tribigild*, some were for recurring to *Stilicho*, and others for satisfying the rebels, by sacrificing the minister to the welfare of the state ^x. *Arcadius*, who was under the greatest perplexity, chose the latter; and sending for *Eutropius*, caused him to be stripped of the consular ensigns, and discharged him ^y. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Socrates*, *Philostorgius*, *Sozomen*, and *Chrysostom*, relate the downfall of *Eutropius*, without mentioning either *Gainas* or *Tribigild*. *Socrates* only says, that he had offended *Arcadius* ^z;

^w Zos. l. v. p. 789. PHILOST. p. 531. CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110, 116, 119. ^x Zos. p. 793. CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 119, 120. ^y Zos. ibid. ^z SOCR. l. vi. c. 5. p. 304.

Sozomen, that he had affronted the empress^a; and Chrysostom, who was then at Constantinople, that he had injured the emperor^b. Philostorgius writes, that Eutropius having insolently threatened to drive the empress out of the palace, she went, with her two little daughters, Flaccilla and Pulcheria, in her arms, to throw herself at the emperor's feet, and demand satisfaction. Arcadius, moved with the tears of his wife and children, remembered at length, that he was emperor; and sending for Eutropius, discharged him, and commanded him that instant to quit the palace; which he did accordingly, without being attended by a single person, tho' he had been hitherto constantly surrounded with crouds of pretended friends and adorers^c. Claudian seems to favour the opinion of Zosimus; for in his second book against Eutropius, he describes at length the war of Tribigild, which would have been quite foreign to his purpose, had it not had any connection with the downfall of Eutropius, which he mentions in his preface to that book. However, the poet, after having expatiated on that war, only describes the consternation it occasioned at Constantinople, and introduces the east recurring to his hero Stilicho^d. Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, a third book. Eutropius, thus disgraced, and apprehending his life to be in danger, took sanctuary in a church. But the people exclaiming against him in the theatre, and Gainas, with the soldiery, pressing the emperor to restore the state to its former tranquillity, by either putting to death or banishing the abhorred minister, a band of soldiers was sent to drag him from his asylum, some of those who had appeared till that time most zealously attached to him, taking upon them that province^e. But Chrysostom, then bishop of Constantinople, presenting himself before them, and resolutely declaring, that he would not suffer them to profane the church, they seized him, and carried him to the emperor, who was by him prevailed upon to grant that protection to Eutropius, from which many guilty of smaller crimes had, by his means, been excluded^f. The next day, incredible multitudes of people flocked to the church, to have the satisfaction of seeing Eutropius, whom they all hated, divested of his power, and, by a just retaliation, brought to that deplorable condition, to which he had reduced many of their friends and relations. On this occasion Chrysostom made a speech to the assembled multitude, on the vanity of all human grandeur, endeavouring at the same

Who is disgraced and deposed.

He takes sanctuary in a church.

Where he is protected by St. Chrysostom.

^a Zos. l. viii. c. 7. p. 767. ^b CHRYS. in Eutrop. tom. 4. p. 486. ^c PHILOST. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. ^d CLAUD. ibid. p. 120—122. ^e CHRYS. tom. 3. p. 671, 676. ^f Idem. tom. 4. p. 486.

*He is taken
in endea-
vouring to
make his
escape, and
banished.*

*He is ac-
cused a-
new, tried,
and exe-
cuted.*

time to awaken in the hearts of his auditors sentiments of compassion for the unhappy criminal. When he saw them begin to relent, he ended his speech, by exhorting them to go all in a body to the imperial palace, and, throwing themselves at the prince's feet, to beg his life ^g. Whether they complied with this exhortation, we are no-where told. All we know is, that, a few days after, *Eutropius*, having privately left his asylum, in order to make his escape, was taken, and banished to the island of *Cyprus* ^h. *Zosimus* writes, that when he was banished, he was assured, that his life should not be taken from him ⁱ; and *Claudian*, who wrote at the time they were conducting him to *Cyprus*, says, that though he had caused an eunuch to be beheaded, yet he should not undergo the same punishment ^k. The law has reached our times, by which *Arcadius* confiscated his estate, stripped him of the dignity of great chamberlain, degraded him from the rank of patrician, and ordered his name to be erased where-ever he was styled consul, his statues to be pulled down, and his images to be removed. By the same law *Aurelian*, the *præfectus prætorio*, is enjoined to cause him to be conducted under a guard to the island of *Cyprus*, and to be there narrowly watched, lest he should raise new disturbances ^l. This law is dated the seventeenth of *January* of the present year; which must certainly be a mistake, since all historians agree, that he was banished after the revolt of *Tribigild*, who took arms in the spring. *Chrysostom* gives us room to believe, that several other persons were banished with *Eutropius* ^m; and truly a favourite seldom falls alone. However, his sister, tho' very rich, was suffered to continue at *Constantinople* ⁿ. *Gainas*, not yet satisfied, caused several charges to be brought against him; upon which he was conducted from the island of *Cyprus* to a place called *Pantychium*, between *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia*, where he was tried by the præfect *Aurelian* and several other persons of distinction; who, upon his being convicted of having in his consulship made use of ornaments peculiar to the imperial dignity, condemned him, and he was beheaded on the last day of the present year ^o. *Zosimus*, who pretends he had been promised his life upon oath, says, that, to cover that perjury, they gave out, that the oath was only with respect to *Constantinople*, and caused him to be beheaded at *Chalcedon* ^p. This year is re-

^g SOCR. p. 304. ZOS. p. 767. CHRYS. tom. 4. p. 482—487.

^h CHRYS. in psal. xlv. hom. 2. p. 667. ZOS. l. v. p. 797. ⁱ ZOS. p. 793, 794. ^k CLAUD. ibid. p. 107. ^l Cod. Theod. l. ix.

tit. 11. leg. 17. p. 312. ^m CHRYS. ibid. & p. 671. ⁿ CLAUD. ibid. p. 107. ^o ZOS. p. 793. PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529.

SOCR. l. vi. c. 5. p. 305. AST. orat. iii. p. 76, 77. ^p ZOS. p. 794.

markable in the history of the church, for the many temples that were demolished both in the east and west, and the severe laws that were enacted by the two princes against all manner of idolatrous worship; which may be said to have given the last blow to the pagan superstition. The temples, says *Tiro Prosper* in his chronicle, were this year demolished throughout the Roman world^a. By a law dated the thirteenth of *July*, *Arcadius* commanded all the temples throughout his dominions to be pulled down, not only in the cities, but likewise in the country^r; and by another dated the first of *November*, the materials were to be employed in repairing the bridges, highways, aqueducts, and the walls of the cities^s. By other laws, all manner of superstitious worship was forbidden, both in public and private, under the severest penalties, and the priests and ministers of the idols deprived of all the privileges granted them by former princes^t. In the west *Honorius* enacted a law, dated the twenty-ninth of *January* of this year 399, forbidding heathenish sacrifices on pain of death, and commanding the temples to be every-where pulled down, and the statues of the idols to be broken in pieces, that no footsteps might remain of the antient superstition^u. Notwithstanding this law, several temples were spared at the request of the bishops, who begged them, and consecrated them to the worship of the true God. Among these was the famous temple of the goddess *Cælestis*, the chief deity of *Carthage*, one of the most stately edifices in the whole empire; for it is said, with the buildings belonging to it, to have taken up the space of two miles, the whole being inclosed by a wall of an extraordinary height and beauty. This temple was with great pomp and solemnity consecrated on *Easter-day* by *Aurelius* bishop of *Carthage*, attended by several other bishops, and an incredible multitude of christians, who had flocked from all parts to assist at that ceremony^w. Besides the destruction of several temples recorded by the ecclesiastic writers, nothing happened this year in the west, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. *Honorius* was, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ninth of *January*, at *Ravenna*, from the sixteenth of *February* to the fourth of *June* at *Milan*, at *Brixio* or *Brescia* on the sixth of *June*, at *Verona* in *July*, in *August* at *Padua*, and at *Altino* in *September*; whence he returned to *Milan*, and there passed the winter^x.

Many temples pulled down.

The temple of Cælestis at Carthage turned into a church.

^a PROSP. in chron. ^r Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 16. p. 283. ^s Idem, l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 16. p. 310. ^t Idem, tit. 10. leg. 13. p. 277. & leg. 14. p. 278. ^u Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 280. ^w PROSP. chron. p. 149, 150. ^x Cod. Theod. chron. p. 140, 141, 417.

Stilicho
consul.

Gainas
and Tribi-
gild join
their
forces, and
plunder
several
provinces.

Arcadius
forced to
comply
with his
unjust de-
mands;

THE next consuls were *Stilicho* and *Aurelianus*; the latter entered upon this new dignity at *Constantinople*, and the former at *Milan*, with the greatest pomp that had ever been seen in that city ¹. In the east no advantage accrued to the public from the death of *Eutropius*, the empress *Eudoxia*, a bold, enterprising, and avaricious, woman, as *Zosimus* styles her, having, upon the downfall of that minister, gained an absolute ascendant over her husband. She was constantly beset by women, eunuchs, and informers, who prompted her to such crying acts of violence and injustice, that every good man wished for death, to avoid seeing such enormous disorders ². In the mean time, *Gainas*, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, began to march back to *Constantinople*, followed by *Tribigild*, whom he joined at *Thyatira*, where they both agreed to march to *Sardis* in *Lydia*, and plunder that metropolis; but not being able to pass the rivers that were swelled by the heavy rains, they parted once more; and bending their march to the sea, *Tribigild* took his rout towards *Lampsacus* on the *Hellepont*, and *Gainas* towards *Chalcedon*, allowing their soldiers to plunder all the countries through which they passed. Their approach caused a general consternation at *Constantinople*; nay, the whole empire seemed to be in imminent danger. As *Arcadius* had no troops to make head against them, and prevent their entering *Thrace*, he was advised to send deputies to *Gainas*, and to save the empire from utter ruin, by granting him whatever he demanded. *Gainas*, with great insolence, required three of the most eminent men in the state, whom he thought capable of thwarting his ambitious designs, to be delivered up to him, in order to be put to death. These were *Saturninus*, who had been consul in 383, and employed for the space of thirty years in public affairs; *Aurelianus*, this year's consul, who had been prefect of *Constantinople* in 393, and the preceding year the *præfectus prætorio*; and *John*, secretary to the emperor, and in whom the prince reposed great trust ³. The emperor complied, tho' much against his will, with this arrogant and tyrannical demand, those three illustrious persons pressing him of their own accord to sacrifice them to the public welfare ⁴. With the emperor's consent they left *Constantinople*, and presented themselves before *Gainas*, incamped in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, who immediately ordered them to be beheaded, but changed the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment, when the executioner had already lifted up his arm to

¹ SYM. l. iv. ep. 31. p. 161. ² ZOS. p. 800, 802. ³ ZOS. p. 793—795. SOZ. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760. SOCR. l. vi. c. 6. p. 306. SYNES. ep. xxxi, xxxiv, xxxviii. p. 177—179. ⁴ SOCR. *ibid.*

discharge the fatal blow^c. They were chiefly indebted to *Chryso-
stom* for their lives, which were granted them at his intercession^d.
They were all three sent under a guard towards *Epirus*; but hav-
ing, either by corrupting the *Goths* who guarded them, or by some
other means, made their escape, they appeared, when least ex-
pected, at the court of *Constantinople*, to the great joy of the em-
peror and the whole city^e. *Zosimus* is the only writer who men-
tions *John* among those whom *Gainas* demanded; all other wri-
ters speak only of *Aurelianus* and *Saturninus*. *Gainas*, not yet
satisfied, demanded a conference with the emperor in person; and
with this demand too the emperor was obliged to comply, pas-
sing for that purpose over to *Chalcedon*, in the neighbourhood
of which city he had an interview with *Gainas*, in the church
of *St. Euphemia*, where it was agreed, that both *Gainas* and
Tribigild should lay down their arms, and return, if they pleased,
to *Constantinople*; and that the former, besides the command of
all the *Goths* in the *Roman* service, should have that of the *Ro-
man* horse and foot, with the consular ornaments, and an au-
thority almost unbounded^f. We find nothing henceforth in
history relating to *Tribigild*, except that he perished in *Thrace*
soon after^g. As for *Gainas*, upon his return to *Constantinople*,
he demanded a church in that city for the *Arians*, whose doctrine
was held by him, and most of the *Goths* his countrymen. The
timorous emperor, not daring to give him an absolute denial,
referred him to *Chryso-
stom*, bishop of the city, who shewed him
the edict of the emperor *Theodosius*, forbidding all heretics and
sectaries to hold any assemblies in the city. *Gainas* replied,
that the services he had rendered the empire deserved at least
one church, in which he and those of his persuasion might have
the free exercise of their religion. To this the prelate replied
boldly, that his rewards had already exceeded his deserts; that
from the mean condition of a common soldier, he had been
raised to the high station of commander in chief of all the *Ro-
man* forces; and ought to be satisfied with the honours he en-
joyed, without demanding what could not be granted without a
notorious breach of the laws. *Gainas*, finding he had not to
deal with an *Arcadius*, but a *Chryso-
stom*, thought it adviseable
to drop his demand^h. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* mention a church
in *Constantinople* belonging to the *Goths*ⁱ; but they must be un-

^c Zos. l. v. p. 795. ^d Socr. ibid. Soz. p. 761. CHRYS.
tom. v. hom. 72. p. 895. ^e Zos. p. 799. ^f Idem, p. 794.
Socr. p. 306, 307. Soz. p. 761. THEODOR. l. v. c. 37. p. 744.
^g PHILOS. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. ^h PHILOS. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531.
Soz. p. 761. THEODOR. p. 774, 775. ⁱ Socr. p. 308. Soz.
p. 762.

Gainas
forms a
design of
seizing
Constanti-
nople.

But fails
in his at-
tempt.

His men
massacred.

derstood not of the *Arian*, but the orthodox *Goths*, since *Marcellinus*, a zealous catholic, styles it in his chronicle *our church*. However, the *Arians* were, it seems, at this time allowed to assemble without the walls of the city^t. About this time appeared over *Constantinople* a comet of unusual magnitude, portending, as was said, the great danger the city was in from the perfidiousness of *Gainas*. For that barbarian, who commanded in chief the armies of *Arcadius*, having filled *Constantinople* with his *Goths*, and removed from thence all the *Roman* troops, formed a design of seizing first the wealth of the bankers, and then setting fire to the palace. But this wicked project being frustrated by a miracle, which the reader will find related at length by *Socrates*^u, *Sozomen*^w, and *Philostorgius*^x, he withdrew from the city on the tenth of *July*, as it were to take the air, says *Zosimus*^y, or to perform his devotions, as we read in *Socrates*^z, in the church of *St. John Baptist*, seven miles from the city, pretending to be possessed, say *Sozomen*^a and *Socrates*^b, with an evil spirit. He left in the city the greater part of his *Goths*, with private orders to fall upon the inhabitants immediately after his departure, and to give him a signal, that he might return and join them with those who attended him^c. *Gainas* defeated his own design, according to *Zosimus*, by returning to force the gate before the signal agreed on; which alarmed the city^d. *Socrates*^e and *Sozomen*^f write, that the soldier, who guarded the gates, observing those who went out with *Gainas*, loaded with arms, which they endeavoured to conceal, attempted to stop them. Hereupon the *Goths* having killed several of the guards, opened themselves a way sword in hand; but the citizens, in the mean time, taking the alarm, flew to arms; and *Arcadius*, acquainted with what had happened, declared *Gainas* a public enemy, and ordered all the *Goths* in the city to be put to the sword. Upon this *Gainas* returned in great haste, but not being able to force the gate, which he found barricaded, and defended by a numerous body of citizens, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire. *Philostorgius* supposes him to have been still in the city, and to have retired in the night^g. What happened the day following, we are nowhere told; but the day after, the twelfth of *July*, the citizens fell upon the *Goths*, who were still remaining in the city, to the number of seven thousand, and cut most of them in pieces; the

^t THEOD. l. v. c. 30. p. 743. Soz p. 761. ^u SOCR. l. vi. c. 6. p. 307. ^w SOZ. l. viii. c. 4. p. 762. ^x PHILOST. l. i. c. 8. p. 531. ^y ZOS. l. v. p. 795. ^z SOCR. p. 307, 308. ^a SOZ. p. 762. ^b SOCR. ibid. ^c ZOS. p. 795. ^d Idem ibid. ^e SOCR. p. 307. ^f SOZ. p. 762. ^g PHILOST. p. 531.

rest, overpowered with numbers, took sanctuary in the church of their nation, which stood close to the palace; but the citizens having obtained leave of the emperor to attack them even in their asylum, they first uncovered the roof; and after having for some time plied them warmly with showers of darts and arrows, they set fire at last to the church, which was reduced to ashes, with all who were in it ^h. This was looked upon, says *Zosimus*, by every good christian as an enormous crime ⁱ. *Gainas*, highly provoked at the massacre of his friends and countrymen, pulled off the masque; and making open war upon the state, ravaged all *Thrace*; but not being able to make himself master of a single city there, the inhabitants, who were accustomed to such incursions, having learned how to defend their walls, how to sally out, and distress the enemy, he left that province, and marched into the *Chersonesus*, with a design to cross the straits of the *Hellepont*, and enrich himself and his army with the spoils of *Asia*. But *Fravitus*, who commanded in those parts, having assembled in great haste a considerable number of vessels, attacked him in his passage; and being favoured by the wind, obliged him to return to the coast whence he had sailed, with the loss of many thousands of his men, either killed or drowned ⁱ. *Fravitus* was himself a *Goth*, and a pagan, according to *Zosimus* ^k, but greatly attached to the *Roman* interest, having married a *Roman* of distinction in 380, and ever since that time served the empire with great fidelity. He was one of the chiefs of those *Goths*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, were allowed by *Theodosius* to settle in *Thrace*. *Eunapius* writes, that soon after he killed with his own hand *Eriulphus*, another of their chiefs, because he was for taking arms against *Theodosius*, pursuant to an oath, by which they had all bound themselves, before they left their own country in 376, to do the *Romans*, however kindly by them received, all the mischief that lay in their power ^l. As he was a man of great courage, a strict observer of military discipline, vigilant and indefatigable, he had been employed on several occasions, and acquitted himself in every command with great reputation: he had lately cleared the east of the robbers, who had long infested it, roving up and down the country in great bodies ^m. However, he was suspected of having suffered *Gainas* and the rest of his countrymen to escape, when he might have easily cut them all off: but *Zosimus* ⁿ, and most historians,

He ravages
Thrace.

Is defeated
with great
loss by
Fravitus.

^h SocR. p. 308. Chron. Al. p. 712. Soz. p. 762. Zos. p. 796. Marc. chron. ⁱ Zos. ibid. * Zos. SocR. Soz. ibid. PHILOST. p. 531. ^k Idem ibid. ^l EUNAP. p. 21. ^m EUNAP. ibid. Zos. p. 769. PHILOS. p. 531. SocR. p. 309. ⁿ Zos. p. 798.

clear him from this charge, which seems the more groundless, as he was for his conduct on that occasion rewarded the following year with the consulship. From the *Chersonesus*, *Gainas* returned to *Thrace*, and was there, according to *Socrates* and *Sozomen*^o, cut in pieces, with all his men, by the *Romans*, who pursued him. *Zosimus* writes, that after he had massacred all the *Romans* whom he found in his army, lest they should betray him, he passed the *Danube*, being desirous to end his days in the antient country of the *Goths*. But *Uldes* or *Uldin*, king of the *Hunns*, then masters of those countries, thinking it highly impolitic to receive into his dominions so renowned a commander with an army of his own nation, met him with all his forces on the frontiers, gave him battle, and, after a sharp dispute, put him and all his men to the sword. His body being found, *Uldes* caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to *Arcadius*^p, who received it at *Constantinople* on the third of *January* of the ensuing year 401^q. During these troubles, *Eudoxia*, who had been hitherto distinguished only with the title of *Nobilissima*, received that of *Augusta* on the ninth of *January*; on which occasion she caused her image to be carried through all the provinces of the empire, to receive the same honours that were paid to the images of the emperors. This no empress before her had presumed to do; whence many complained of it as an innovation, and among the rest *Honorius*, in a letter which he wrote to his brother^r. But, not many years after, the empresses claimed the same honours; nay, and assumed the same titles of *pious*, *happy*, *most pious*, *perpetual*, *victorious*, &c. that were given to the princes their husbands. On the third of *April* of this year, *Eudoxia* was delivered of *Arcadia*, her third daughter^s. In the beginning of this year, the city of *Constantinople* was shaken with violent earthquakes, which lasted three days; on which occasion great numbers of pagans demanded and received the sacrament of baptism^t.

His death.

Eudoxia
created
Augusta.Arcadia
born.

DURING the above-mentioned disturbances raised by *Gainas* in the east, the western provinces, especially *Italy*, were alarmed by a sudden irruption of the barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated *Alaric*, and *Radagaisus* king of the *Hunns*. Of the former we have already made frequent mention; but as he is to act a chief part in the history of *Honorius's* reign, we

^o SOCR. p. 309. SOZ. p. 763. ^p ZOS. p. 798, 799. ^q SOCR. p. 309. CHRON. AL. p. 12. MARC. CHRON. ^r Vide VAL. rer. Franc. l. ii. p. 65. & spicileg. veter. script. tom. x. p. 8. ^s CHRON. AL. p. 712. ^t SYN. ep. lxi. p. 204. CHRYS. in Act. hom. vii. xli. p. 69, 360.

shall here acquaint our readers with what we have copied from the best writers concerning a man so famous in the records of those times. *Alaric* was by nation a *Goth*, born in the island *Peuce* at the mouth of the *Danube*, whence *Claudian* calls that river his paternal godⁿ. He was not sprung from the family of the *Amali*, the most illustrious of the *Gothish* nation, but from that of the *Balthi*, which held the second rank; and to him, in particular, his countrymen had given the name of *Balt*, which in their language signified bold and enterprising^w. Though *Claudian* introduces him speaking in the language of a pagan^x, yet it is certain he was a christian, but an *Arian*, the doctrine of that heresiarch having prevailed among the *Goths* ever since the year 375^y. Long before the year 410, in which he took *Rome*, he used to brag, that he would one day extend his conquests to that great metropolis, pursuant to the prediction of an oracle^z. This we learn of the poet *Claudian*, who little imagined then, that the prediction would ever be fulfilled. *Prudentius* likewise, who wrote some years before *Alaric* took *Rome*, tells us, that he was often heard to say, he should one day set fire to that city^a. He passed the *Danube* in 376, with his countrymen, driven out of their own county by the *Hunns*. *Claudian* says, that he often engaged the imperial troops, and once shut up the emperor *Theodosius* in the windings of the *Hebrus* in *Thrace*^b. However, in 382, he submitted to him with the other *Goths*, and received lands in *Thrace*, where they were allowed to settle, upon condition of their serving, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Pursuant to this agreement, they attended *Theodosius* in his last expedition against the usurper *Eugenius* in 394, on which occasion *Alaric* commanded a body of his countrymen^c. He had no other rank in the beginning of the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; whence *Rufinus*, finding him dissatisfied, easily prevailed upon him to revolt, and plunder *Greece* in 395. *Stilicho* gained several advantages over him in *Peloponnesus*; but suffered him to escape in 396, as we have related elsewhere. *Arcadius* entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him general of the *Roman* troops in *East-Illyricum*, which post he held when *Tribigild* revolted, that is, in 399. The *Goths*, who were subject to the empire, created him about the same time, if *Jornandes* is to be credited, their

ⁿ CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 177. BAUDR. PRUD. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. ^w JORN. rer. Goth. c. 14, 29. p. 630, 651. ^x CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 170. ^y OROS. l. vii. c. 37. p. 222. ^z CLAUD. ibid. p. 159. ^a PRUD. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. ^b CLAUD. ibid. p. 170. ^c Idem conf. Hon. 6. p. 177. SOCR. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346. ZOS. l. v. p. 783.

He enters
Italy with
Radagai-
sus, and
lays waste
several
provinces.

chief and general, with the title of king of the *Visigoths*^d. The same writer adds, that the *Goths*, despising both *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and discontented because they had not sent them the usual presents, began to mutiny, and resolved to make war upon the empire, in order to enrich themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces^e. Whatever was the motive that prompted them to take arms, it is certain, that this year 400, the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Alaric*, and *Radagaisus* king of the *Hunns*, entered *Italy* in a hostile manner on the side of *Pannonia*, leaving *Sirmium* on their right^f. *Jornandes* writes, that they met with no opposition^g: according to *St. Jerom*, they besieged *Aquileia*; and after having opened themselves a way into *Italy*, they laid the country waste far and near^h. This happened the present year; but they were still in *Italy* in the beginning of the following year 401, for *Paulinus*, in his annual poem on the birth-day of *Felix* of *Nola*, the fourteenth of *January*, writes in 401, that the *Goths* and other foreign nations were still pursuing their ravages in *Italy*ⁱ. As we have no distinct account of this first irruption of *Alaric* into *Italy*, we know not how it ended; but as it seems altogether improbable, that he continued in that country till the battle of *Pollentia*, fought two years after, in which no mention is made of *Radagaisus*, we are inclined to believe, that *Stilicho* induced them both, by some means or other, to retire, and that *Alaric* returned about the end of the year 402.

He retires.

Theodo-
sius born.

THE next consuls were *Vicentius* prefect of *Gaul*, and *Fravitus* or *Fravita*, of whom we have spoken above. This year is remarkable for the birth of *Theodosius*, the son and successor of *Arcadius*, born, according to *Socrates*^k and the chronicle of *Alexandria*^l, on the tenth, according to *Marcellinus*, on the eleventh of *April*, and, soon after his birth, declared *Cæsar*^m, and baptized with extraordinary pomp and solemnity. This year *Arcadius* published a law, forbidding any one to beg the estates of condemned persons, till two years after they had been confiscatedⁿ. The *Euxine* sea was this year frozen over for the space of twenty days^o. A band of slaves and deserters pillaged part of *Thrace*, pretending to be *Hunns*: but *Fravitus* marching

^d JORN. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651. & de regn. succ. c. 43. p. 653.
^e Idem ibid. ^f PROSP. chron. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651.
RUF. p. 15. HIER. in Ruf. l. iii. c. 6. p. 239. PAULIN. car. xxiii.
p. 585. ^g JORN. ibid. p. 651. ^h HIER. in Ruf. l. iii. c. 6.
p. 239. ⁱ PAULIN. carm. xxiii. p. 585—588. ^k SOCR.
p. 763. ^l Chron. Al. p. 712. ^m THEOD. l. ii. p. 568. SOZ.
p. 763. ⁿ Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 17. p. 345. ^o Chron.
Alex. p. 713.

them, put most of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest ^p. In the west, *Honorius*, by a law dated the twenty-fifth of *June*, forgave all the debts owing to the exchequer before his first consulship; that is, before the month of *September* 386. By the same law, he ordered all prosecutions and suits for what was owing, from that time to the year 395, that is, to his accession to the empire, to be suspended, till he had inquired into the circumstances of the debtors ^q. The following year, when *Arcadius* and *Honorius* were both consuls the fifth time, nothing remarkable happened in the east, except the promotion of young *Theodosius* to the imperial dignity; which ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence in the palace of *Hebdomon*, on the tenth or eleventh of *January* ^r. In the west, *Alaric* entered *Italy* anew. *Claudian*, who wrote a poem on this war, supposes, that he set out from *Thessaly* ^s; but *Socrates* tells us, in a very confused manner, that, not presuming to take upon him the title of emperor, he left *Constantinople*, and upon his arrival in *Illyricum*, put all to fire and sword; but as he was passing out of *Thessaly* into *Epirus*, he was attacked, in the narrow passes of mount *Pindus*, by the *Thessalians*, who killed three thousand of his men in the neighbourhood of *Nicopolis*. Notwithstanding this loss, he pursued his march, carrying all before him ^t. What prompted him to these acts of hostility, we are no-where told. *Claudian* lays the whole blame on *Alaric*, charging him with treachery ^u. On the other hand, *Orosius* accuses *Stilicho*, as if he had been the chief author of this war, and had provoked the *Goths*, by refusing to grant them certain lands, which they demanded upon terms very advantageous to the empire ^w. He hoped, says that writer, when a war was once kindled in the bowels of the empire, to improve it to his own advantage, and settle the sovereignty on his son *Eucherius* ^x. Be that as it will, *Alaric* entered *Italy* in the latter end of the autumn, the winter being more favourable to his men, enured to a cold climate, than to the *Romans*, not accustomed to bear the hardships of war in that season ^y. He passed the *Alps* without opposition, the *Roman* troops being then employed in driving out a body of barbarians, who had made an irruption into *Rhaetia*. As there was then no army in *Italy* to oppose him, he ravaged without controul the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguria*, which threw *Rome* itself into

An instance
of the gene-
rosity of
Honorius.

Alaric en-
ters Italy
anew;

Andrava-
ges several
provinces
without
opposition.

^p Zos. p. 799.

^q Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28. leg. 3. p. 196.

^r Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 763. Chron. Alex. p. 712.

^s CLAUD. bell.

Get. p. 169.

^t SOCR. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346.

^u CLAUD. ibid.

p. 171.

^w OROS. l. vii. c. 37, 38. p. 221, 222.

^x Idem

ibid.

^y CLAUD. ibid. p. 165 & conf. Hon. 6. p. 186.

The emper-
or retires
to Raven-
na.

the utmost consternation: the walls of that metropolis were repaired with great expedition by *Flavius Macrobius Longinianus*, then prefect of the city^a; and the citizens, not being suffered to retire with their families and effects, were busied night and day in preparing arms, and putting themselves in the best posture of defence they could^a. The court was no less alarmed than the people, *Alaric* threatening to besiege the emperor himself, and force him to comply with his demands^b. *Honorius* was for retiring into *Gaul*; but *Stilicho* would neither suffer him, nor his own wife and son, to abandon *Italy*^c. However, the emperor left *Milan*, and retired to *Ravenna*, which thenceforth became the usual place of his residence^d. The news of this irruption soon reached the most distant provinces of the east; for we are told, that this very year the christians of *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*, repairing to the church of *St. Thomas*, begged in their public prayers, that the *Arian* robber, who plundered *Italy*, might meet with the just doom which had overtaken his countryman of the same sect, meaning no doubt *Gainas*^e.

Marina
born.

THE next consuls were *Theodosius Augustus* and *Rumoridus*. Who the latter was, we are no-where told; but his name gives us room to think he was a *Goth*, probably in the service of *Honorius*; for, generally speaking, one of the consuls belonged to the eastern, and the other to the western, empire. This year 403, *Eudoxia* was, on the tenth or eleventh of *February*, delivered of *Marina*, her fourth and last daughter^f. A statue of silver was erected to the empress on a column of porphyry, near the church of *St. Sophia*; which occasioned a misunderstanding between *Eudoxia* and *St. Chrysostom*, bishop of the city, who could not endure the profane sports that were exhibited before the statue, at the very entry of the church^g. *Arcadius* caused likewise his own statue to be placed on a column, which, according to some writers, was reared this year in the quarter of the city called *Xerolophos*, and is described by *Gyllius*ⁱ. The same year *Arcadius* built the city of *Arcadiopolis* in *Thrace*^k, or rather gave that name to the antient city of *Bergulae*^l. To return to *Italy*, *Stilicho*, having in some degree removed the young emperor's fears, says *Claudian*, crossed

^a GRUT. p. 165. PRUD. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242.

^b CLAUD.

bell. Get. p. 158, 159, 164, &c. ^b Idem conf. Hon. 6. p. 186.

^c Idem bell. Get. p. 166. ^d Cod. Theod. chron. p. 146. ^e CHRYS. tom. 6. p. 272—274. ^f Chron. Alex. ibid. SOCR. l. vi. c. 18.

p. 326. ^g SOCR. ibid. THEOPH. p. 68. ⁱ GYLL. de Constant. geograph. l. iv. c. 7. p. 300. ^k THEOPH. p. 66. ^l Vide

LAUDR. p. 60, 114.

the lake of *Como*, and passing the *Alps* in the depth of winter, entered *Rhætia*, where, with his unexpected arrival, he alarmed the barbarians, and not only obliged them to sue for peace, but persuaded great numbers of them to join him. At the same time he dispatched messengers to the troops that guarded the coast of *Britain*, and the banks of the *Rhine*, ordering them to march immediately, and with all possible expedition, into *Rhætia*. Upon their arrival, he commanded them to pursue their march into *Italy*; but set out himself before them, attended by a small number of troops, in order to return with all speed to court. When he came to the *Adda*, he found the enemy incamped on the opposite bank, and masters of the bridge; but not in the least daunted, he threw himself into the river as soon as it was dark, and forcing his way sword in hand through the midst of the barbarians, appeared unexpectedly at court, to the inexpressible joy of the emperor^m. The troops arrived soon after out of *Rhætia*; and *Stilicho*, putting himself at their head, marched against the enemy; but could not hinder *Alaric* from passing the *Po*, and advancing to *Pollentia*, now *Pollenza*, on the *Tanaro* in *Piedmont*ⁿ, where the two armies engaged, almost on the same spot, says *Claudian*, where *Marius* had formerly defeated the *Cimbrians*^o; but he was therein mistaken, for the *Cimbrians* were overcome in the neighbourhood of *Vercelli*^p. There is a great disagreement among authors in the accounts they give us of this battle: *Jornandes* writes, that *Alaric* having advanced to *Pollentia*, in virtue of a treaty, by which *Honorius* had yielded to him the provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, then held by the *Vandals*, *Stilicho* followed him, and without any regard to the faith of treaties, or law of nations, fell upon him, while he was under no apprehension of an enemy^q. But it is certain, that the *Vandals* had not yet entered either of those provinces. *Claudian*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Prudentius*, suppose *Stilicho* to have been present, and to have commanded the army in person; but *Orosius* tells us, that *Saul*, a pagan and barbarian, was vested with the chief command; and that he, imagining the *Goths*, out of respect to their religion (for they were for the most part christians, tho' *Arians*), would not fight on *Easter-day*, attacked them on that solemn festival^r. In the present year 403, *Easter* fell on the twenty-ninth of *March*^s; which is agreeable to what we read in *Claudian*, viz. that the war of *Alaric* began and ended with the

^m CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 165—168. conf. Hon. 6. p. 186, 187.

ⁿ Idem ibid. p. 170—180. ^o Idem bell. Get. p. 171. ^p PLUT. vit. Mar. p. 767. ^q JORN. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. ^r OROS. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. ^s BUCH. cycl.

winter^t. In the *Roman* army served a body of *Alan* horse, commanded by an officer of that nation, who advancing with more courage than prudence, was slain at the head of his men; which put them into no small confusion: but *Stilicho* coming seasonably with the foot to their assistance, they rallied, and returned to the charge^u. *Claudian* and *Prudentius*^w suppose the battle to have been gained by the *Romans*; but *Cassiodorus*, in his chronicle, writes, that *Stilicho* and the *Roman* army were defeated, and put to flight; and *Jornandes*, that the *Goths*, when surprised by *Stilicho*, betrayed no small fear; but afterwards took courage, and put most of his men to the sword, obliging the rest to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight^x. According to *Orosius*, the *Romans* gained the battle; but were overcome after the victory^y. The *Romans*, while victorious, forced and plundered the enemy's camp, in which they found the spoils of several provinces, and the wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took

*Alaric sues
for peace.*

prisoners. *Alaric* was no sooner informed of their misfortunes, than he sent deputies to *Stilicho* to sue for peace; which was readily granted him, upon condition of his marching forthwith out of *Italy*^z. Pursuant to this agreement, *Alaric* repassed the *Po*, and retired as far as *Verona*, where, in defiance of the late treaty, he began to plunder the country, and commit other acts of hostility. Hereupon *Stilicho* detached against him a strong body of barbarians, by whom he was overcome, and obliged to take refuge amongst the mountains. He endeavoured to pass the *Alps*, and seize on *Gaul* or *Rhætia*; but found all the passes guarded by *Stilicho*, who kept him blocked up, till most of his men forsaking him, and joining the *Romans*, he thought it advisable to withdraw in the night-time, and return through by-ways into *Pannonia*. Thus *Claudian*^a. *Orosius* writes, that

*Alaric abandons
Italy, and
returns to
Pannonia.*

the barbarians could not agree among themselves; that the *Goths* were divided into two factions; and that the *Alans* and *Hunns*, who served under *Alaric*, often quarrelled, and destroyed each other^b. *Italy* being thus delivered from the barbarians, *Honorius*, to satisfy the senate and people of *Rome*, who, by frequent embassies, had intreated him to honour their city with his presence, left *Ravenna*, and set out for that metropolis; which he entered in triumph, having *Stilicho* with him in the chariot, about the beginning of *December*. He was received with loud acclamations by the senate in a body, by the nobility and

*Honorius
enters
Rome in
triumph.*

^t CLAUD. *ibid.* p. 160, 161. ^u PRUD. in *Sym.* p. 243. ^w Idem *ibid.* ^x JORN. *ibid.* ^y OROS. *ibid.* ^z CLAUD. p. 172. & *conf.* Hon. p. 181, 182. PRUD. *ibid.* ^a CLAUD. *conf.* Hon. 6. p. 178—183. ^b OROS. p. 221.

people in their best apparel. He would not suffer the senate to attend, according to custom, his triumphal chariot on foot; but allowed his sister *Placidia* and *Eucherius* his brother-in-law, to pay him that honour ^c. While he was still at *Ravenna*, he suppressed and utterly abolished the shows of gladiators, which, tho' forbidden by *Constantine the Great* in 325, had been tolerated by his successors, even by *Theodosius* himself, out of complaisance to the people, fond beyond expression of that inhuman diversion ^d. *Theodoret* writes, that an anchoret, by name *Telemachus*, attempting to prevent the gladiators from engaging in the amphitheatre at *Rome*, whither he was for that purpose come out of the east, was by the incensed populace stoned to death; and hence *Honorius*, according to that writer, took occasion to suppress those sports ^e. Be that as it will, they were forbidden after the battle of *Pollentia*, as appears from *Prudentius* ^f, and before *Honorius's* triumphal entry into *Rome*; since *Claudian*, in describing the shows that were exhibited on that occasion, makes no mention of gladiators ^g. *He also likes the shows of gladiators.*

THE following year 404, *Honorius* was consul the sixth time, with *Aristænetus*, of whom we find no further mention in history. The empress *Eudoxia* died this year of a miscarriage, on the sixth of *October*, a few days after she had prevailed upon the weak prince her husband to banish *St. Chrysostom*, whom she had for some time persecuted with great bitterness, on account of his reflecting in his sermons, as she imagined, and perhaps not without reason, on her conduct, and his exclaiming against the profane sports that were exhibited before her statue, which stood near the church. On the very day he left *Constantinople*, a fire broke out in the great church, which intirely consumed it, with the palace where the senate used to assemble, and the neighbouring edifices. This calamity was imputed to the exiled bishop's friends, and several of them were thrown into prison, and racked to death. But of these violent proceedings against *Chrysostom* and his friends, the reader will find a distinct account in the ecclesiastic writers ^h. The empress was interred on the twelfth of *October*, in the church of the *Apostles*, where her tomb was to be seen many ages after ⁱ. Before her death the *Hunns* had broken into *Thrace*, and the *Isaurian* robbers

*The em-
press Eu-
doxia dies.*

^c CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 188, 189. ^d SOCR. l. i. c. 18. p. 48. SOZ. l. i. c. 8. p. 411. Cod Theod. l. xv. tit. 11. leg. 2. p. 395. ^e THEOD. l. v. c. 26 p. 741. ^f PRUD. in Symm. l. ii. p. 242. ^g CLAUD. in Conf. Hon 6. p. 190, 191. ^h SOCR. l. v. c. 4. p. 34. & l. vi. c. 4. p. 16. PALLAD. vit. Chryf. ⁱ CEDR. p. 334 Chron Alex. p. 714. CANGE de Constant. l. iv. p. 110.

Most of
the eastern
provinces
ravaged by
Isaurian
robbers.

Honorius
his sixth
consulship.

The seat of
the west-
ern empire
transferred to Ra-
venna.

committed great disorders in *Asia* and *Syria*. The former having pillaged great part of *Thrace* and east *Illyricum*, retired of their own accord beyond the *Danube*, loaded with booty ^k. Against the latter was sent *Arbazacius*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces, and shut them up on all sides; but suffered them in the end to escape, being bribed by the large sums they offered him ^l. *Suidas*, who calls him a native of *Isauria*, and a few lines after an *Armenian*, says, that, from his insatiable rapaciousness and avarice, he was nicknamed *Harpazacius*, or the *Harpy* ^m. The *Isaurians*, having now nothing to fear from *Arbazacius*, over-ran the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, *Pisidia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Lower Syria*, extending their ravages to the frontiers of *Persia* on one side, and to the *Euxine* sea on the other, ransacking every-where, and pillaging the open country, with the villages, and unfortified towns. They even passed over into the island of *Cyprus*, and caused a general consternation in *Phœnicia*, *Caria*, *Judæa*, and *Jerusalem* itself; insomuch that the people were every-where busied in building walls, in preparing arms, and putting themselves in a posture of defence: but, upon the approach of winter, they withdrew to their inaccessible mountains, with an immense booty, which they took care to share with *Arbazacius* ⁿ. In the west, *Honorius* began his sixth consulship at *Rome*, which is the subject of the poem that *Claudian* pronounced on occasion of that solemnity ^o. The emperor continued at *Rome* at least till the fifteenth of *July*, as appears from the dates of his laws. From *Rome* he returned to *Ravenna*, and there fixed his residence, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the inhabitants of *Milan* inviting him back to their city. From this time *Ravenna* became the seat of the western or *Roman* empire; whence the country in which it stood was called *Romania*, which name it still retains (N).

THE

^k SOCR. l. viii. c. 25. p. 793. PHILOST. l. xi. p. 530. ^l ZOS. l. v. p. 802. CHRYS. ep. 120. p. 754. ^m SUID. p. 412. ⁿ THEOD. vit. patr. c. 10, 21. p. 828, 865. ZOS. p. 802. PALLAD. dial. vii. p. 147. CHRYS. ep. xiv. p. 683, 684. ^o CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 191.

(N) The city of *Ravenna* is said by some to have been founded by the *Thesſalians*; but *Pliny* calls it a colony of the *Sabines*. It was once reckoned amongst the cities of *Umbria*; but afterwards became the capital of a particular province, called *Flaminia*, and belonging to *Cisalpine Gaul*, and the vicarship of *Italy* (1). It was inclosed on all sides, either by the sea, by an arm of the *Po*, con-

(1) *It. It. Ughell. p. 319—325.*

THE next consuls were *Stilicho* the second time, and *Anthemius*, who was soon after appointed prefect of the east, and is mightily commended by St. *Chrysostom* ^p. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of him in the reign of *Theodosius* II. This year the *Mazichi* and *Auxoriani*, two nations of barbarians inhabiting the country between *Cyrenaica* and *Tripolitana*, laid waste great part of *Egypt* ^q. *Arcadius* was on the twelfth of *June* at *Nice*; on the tenth and twenty-third of *July*, and twelfth of *August*, at *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, whence he returned in the beginning of autumn to *Constantinople* ^r. This year *Italy* was again alarmed with a sudden irruption of barbarians, led by *Radagaisus*, or *Rhodogaisus*, as the *Greeks* style him. He was one of the kings or chiefs of the *Goths*, a pagan by religion, and a sworn enemy to the *Roman* name ^s. He is by some writers styled king of the *Hunns* ^t. He entered *Italy*, as we have observed above, with *Alaric* in the year 400; but returning afterwards beyond the *Danube*, he assembled an army, consisting, according to *Zosimus* ^u, of four hundred thousand, ac-

Radaga-
isus enters
Italy with
a numerous
army.

^p CHRYS. ep. 147. p. 780. ^q PHILOST. l. xi. c. 8. p. 350, 351. ^r Cod. Theod. chron. p. 148. ^s AUG. in psal. cv. c. 10. p. 547. ^t PROSP. chron. ^u Zos. l. v. p. 803.

veyed thither by *Augustus*, or by marshes, through which there was but one way, and that very narrow, leading to the city; so that it was, in a manner, a peninsula, and accessible only on one side (2). The sea washed the walls of the city, and formed a spacious harbour, in which two hundred and fifty ships could ride safe (3). *Augustus*, and after him several other emperors, kept constantly two fleets for the defence of *Italy*; one of which was stationed at *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic*, and the other at *Misenum* on the *Mediterranean* sea. But *Jornandes*, who was bishop of *Ravenna* about the middle of the sixth century, tells us, that the harbour was then become a garden, and the city divided into three quarters, or rather cities; of which the highest was called *Ravenna*, the second, in which was probably the imperial palace, *Cæsarea*, and the third *Classis*, because in that place, then distant three miles from *Ravenna*, was formerly the harbour with the fleet (4). A city, thus situated amidst waters and marshes, could not be healthy; but, on the other side, it could not be easily attacked, and might with great ease be succoured by sea, affording at the same time a safe retreat into the east, when it could be no longer maintained. These reasons, without all doubt, prompted *Honorius* to fix the seat of the empire there, notwithstanding the pressing and reiterated remonstrance of the inhabitants of *Milan* and *Rome*.

(2) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 652.*

(3) *Idem ibid.*

(4) *Idem*

ibid.

According to *Orosius* and *Marcellinus* ^w, of two hundred thousand barbarians, of the various nations dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, who were then all blended under the common name of *Goths* ^x. The commanders, who were distinguished with the title of *lords*, amounted, according to *Photius* a contemporary writer, to the number of twelve hundred ^y. With this formidable host he broke suddenly into *Italy*, vowing to sacrifice to his gods, says *Orosius*, all the *Roman* blood he could shed ^z. The news of his approach threw all *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, into the utmost consternation. As *Radagaisus* was a zealous worshipper of the gods, and sacrificed every morning to *Jupiter*, the pagans in *Rome* gave out, that he would, without all doubt, prevail, not so much by his numerous forces, as the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful *Romans* had banished from a city, which they had so often defended. Unless the antient religion, said they, be restored, and christianity, the only cause of our calamities, utterly abolished, the city must fall into the hands of the barbarians, who have the gods on their side, whom we have forsaken ^a. With these complaints the whole city was filled, and the name of Christ every-where blasphemed, as the true cause of the present calamities ^b. In the mean time *Stilicho*, having assembled at *Pavia* all the *Roman* forces, amounting to thirty legions, and reinforced them with great numbers of *Goths*, *Hunns*, and *Alans*, under the command of *Sarus* a *Goth*, and *Uldin* king of the *Hunns*, he left that place, bending his march towards *Hetruria*, where *Radagaisus* was busied in the siege of *Florence*, which city was already reduced to the utmost extremity. As *Stilicho* came unexpectedly upon the enemy, he immediately ordered the *Hunns*, and other auxiliaries, to fall upon one of the three bodies into which he found their army divided. His orders were executed, and an hundred thousand of the enemy cut in pieces, without the loss of one man on the side of the *Romans* ^c. Thus *St. Austin*, *Zosimus* and *Prosper*. *Radagaisus* retired with the rest to the neighbouring mountains of *Fesulæ*, where he was closely besieged by *Stilicho*, and reduced, with his numerous army, to such extremity, that he attempted to escape secretly, and leave his men to the mercy of the *Romans*; but as all the passes were well guarded, he fell into *Stilicho's* hands, and was by his orders put to death soon after. His men, finding themselves abandoned by their leader, and destitute of all manner of provisions, submitted to the *Romans* in such numbers, that they

Which is
defeated by
Stilicho.

And he
himself
taken pri-
soner, and
put to
death.

^w *Oros.* l. vii. c. 37. p. 222.
c. 80. p. 180.

^z *Oros.* ibid.

^a *Aug. de civit. Dei.* l. v. c. 23.

^x *Zos.* *Oros.* ibid.

^y *Phot.*

^a *Aug.* p. 547. *Oros.* ibid.

^c *Aug.* ibid. *Zos.* p. 63. 803

were sold like beasts, in droves, at a crown a head ^d; but as by the famine, that had raged among them while shut up in the mountains, they had contracted an ill state of health, they all died in a few days. *Orosius* ^e and *St. Austin* ^f ascribe this victory to a miracle.

THE following year *Arcadius* was consul the sixth time, with *Anicius Probus*, the younger brother of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, consuls in 395 ^g. A dreadful fire happened this year at *Constantinople* on the twenty-fifth of *October* ^h; and *Palestine* was *Palestine* infested with such multitudes of grasshoppers, as quite darkened *infested* the sky, and turned day into night. *St. Jerom*, who was then *with mul-* composing his comments on the prophet *Joel*, writes, that, *titudes of* after they had done great mischief, they were driven by the *grasshop-* wind, partly into the *Dead sea*, partly into the *Mediterranean*, *pers.* and thrown soon after on both shores in such heaps, that they infected the air, and occasioned a plague ⁱ. This year *Arcadius* enacted, amongst several others, a law dated the twenty-eighth of *April*, threatening with death, not only the authors of libels, but such as should read such defamatory writings, without tearing or burning them ^k. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Ravenna*; where he enacted a law dated the seventeenth of *April*, encouraging all persons, whether freemen or slaves, to take arms in defence of their country, and promising to the latter their liberty, to the former three pieces of gold to be paid immediately, and seven more after the war ^l. This law was, without all doubt, occasioned by the motions of the northern nations, who, on the last day of this year 406, entered *Gaul*, and fixing their abode there, gave beginning to the utter ruin of the *Roman empire* in the west. *Orosius*, *Marcellinus*, *Tyro Prosper*, and *St. Jerom*, assure us, that they were stirred up, and invited into *Gaul*, by *Stilicho*, who even supplied them with large sums, hoping, by their means, to raise his son *Eucherius* to the empire ^m. The barbarians who, at his instigation, broke into *Gaul* this year, were the *Alans*, the *Vandals*, and the *Suevians*. The *Vandals*, in attempting to cross the *Rhine*, *The Alans,* were attacked by the *Franks*, who cut twenty thousand of *the Van-* them in pieces, with their king *Godigiscles*, and would have put *dals, and* them all to the sword, had not the *Alans* and *Suevians*, hastening to their assistance, obliged the *Franks* to retire. Upon their retreat, the barbarians passed the *Rhine* without opposition, and *Suevians,* *break into* *Gaul,*

^d AUG. *ibid.* OROS. p. 222. MARC. *chron.* ^e OROS. *ibid.*
^f AUG. *civ. dei.* p. 63. ^g IDAT. & HIER. in AM. l. iii. p. 99.
^h *Chron. Alex.* p. 714. ⁱ HIER. in Joel. c. 2 p. 60. ^k Cod.
Theod. l. ix tit. 34. leg. 10. p. 246. ^l Idem, l. vii. tit. 13.
leg. 16, 17. p. 387, 388. ^m OROS. *ibid.* HIER. ep. 11. p. 93.
MAR. PROSP. in *chron.*

entered Gaul. Thus Gregory of Tours, upon the authority of an antient writer named *Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus*ⁿ. The Vandals appointed *Gonderic* or *Gontharius*, the son of *Godigiscles*, king in his room^o. The following year, when *Honorius* was consul the seventh time, and *Theodosius* the second, the eastern empire enjoyed a profound tranquility; but in the west the Vandals, Alans and Suevians, committed dreadful ravages in Gaul, where they were joined by the Burgundians, and many other nations, stirred up, says *Orosius*^p, by *Stilicho*. The first city that felt their fury was *Mentz*, which they took by storm, and levelled with the ground, after having inhumanly massacred many thousands of the inhabitants in the churches, to which they had fled for refuge. *Worms* held out for a considerable time; but was in the end taken, and laid in ashes. *Strasbourg* and *Spires* underwent the same fate. Thence they marched to *Rheims*, to *Tournay*, to *Amiens*, to *Arras*, made themselves masters of all *Aquitain*, *Gascony*, the provinces of *Lyons*, and *Narbonne*, and extended their ravages from the Alps to the ocean, the governors of the provinces having no troops to oppose them^q; for *Stilicho* had withdrawn, as we have related above, the forces that guarded the banks of the Rhine, on occasion of the war with *Alaric*. The whole country, says *St. Jerom*, writing about this time, between the Alps and the Pyrenees, between the Rhine and the ocean, is overrun and pillaged by the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, the Alans, the Gepidæ, the Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Alemans^r. In the mean time the Roman troops quartered in Britain, apprehending the barbarians would, after the intire reduction of Gaul, cross the sea, and, jointly with the Scots and Irish, fall upon them, and expecting no assistance from *Honorius*, resolved to set up an emperor of their own; and accordingly conferred that dignity on one *Mark*, whom after a few days they murdered, upon some dislike, and placed *Gratian*, a native of Britain, in his room^s. *Gratian*, after a short reign of four months, underwent the same fate, and was succeeded by *Constantine*, a common soldier, who was chosen merely for the sake of his name, which was common to him with *Constantine the great*, who being advanced to the imperial dignity in Britain, had made himself master of the whole empire, and governed it with great prosperity and success^t.

And take
several
cities.

The Ro-
mans in
Baitain re-
volt, and
set up Con-
stantine
for empe-
ror.

ⁿ GREG. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62.

^o Idem ibid.

& PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 184.

^p OROS. ibid.

^q HIER. ep. 11. p. 95.

^r Idem ibid.

^s SOZ. l. ix. c. 11.

p. 813. PHOT. c. 80. p. 180.

^t OROS. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223.

EDD hist. gent. Avg. l. i. c. 10. p. 12. SOZ. Zos. ibid.

The new prince, immediately after his promotion, passed over *Who passes*
 into *Gaul*, taking with him all the *Roman* forces quartered in *over into*
 the island, and the flower of the *British* youth; by which means *Gaul*,
 the country, thus left quite naked and defenceless, was not long *which sub-*
 after obliged to submit to the yoke of new lords. *Constantine* *mits to*
 landed at *Bologne*, and continued there, till he was joined by *him*.
 the *Roman* troops, who were dispersed up and down *Gaul*,
 and who chose rather to submit to him, than to the barbarians.
 Hereupon *Limenius*, prefect of *Gaul*, and *Cariobaudes*, com-
 mander of the *Roman* forces, fled into *Italy*, leaving the bar-
 barians to waste the country on one side, and *Constantine* to
 pursue his success on the other ^u. *Honorius*, who was at *Rome*
 when news of this revolt was brought him, immediately dis-
 patched an express to *Stilicho* then at *Ravenna*; who hastening
 to *Rome*, ordered *Sarus*, by nation a *Goth*, but an officer of
 known valour, bold and enterprising, to march with a sufficient
 force into *Gaul*, and make head against the usurper. *Sarus* *His army*
 was met on the frontiers of *Gaul* by *Justin*, one of *Constan-* *defeated*
tine's commanders, whom he easily defeated and killed, after *by Sarus,*
 having put to the sword the greatest part of his forces. He then *and he*
 led his men, encouraged with this success, to besiege *Valence* in *himself be-*
Dauphiny, whither the usurper had retired. Upon his approach, *sieged in*
Constantine sent *Neobigastes*, another of his generals, to treat *Valence:*
 with him of an accommodation; but him *Sarus* caused to be
 murdered, contrary to the law of nations, and the assurances he
 had given him ^w; but *Constantine* having placed, in the room
 of the two generals he had lost, *Edobincus* and *Gerontius*, the
 former a *Gaul*, the latter of *Britain*, *Sarus*, says *Zosimus* with
 little appearance of truth, dreading their courage and experience,
 raised the siege of *Valence*, and retired in great haste. *Constan-* *The siege*
tine's army pursued him to the *Alps*, over which he was obliged *raised.*
 to purchase a passage of the *Bagaudæ*, by quitting to them all
 his booty ^x. However that be, it is certain, that *Sarus* raised
 the siege, and, repassing the *Alps* with his army, returned to
Italy. Upon his retreat *Constantine* fixed his residence at *Ar-* *Constan-*
les ^y, overcame the barbarians in several battles, and in the end *tine mas-*
 forced them to sue for peace; which he granted, without ob- *ter of all*
 liging them to quit *Gaul*, probably because he designed to main- *Gaul.*
 tain himself by their means in his usurped power ^z. These dis-
 turbances did not prevent *Honorius* from enacting this year se-
 vere laws against the *Donatists*, *Manichees*, *Phrygians*, *Pris-*
cillianists, and all sectaries in general ^a.

^u OROS. SOZ. ZOS. *ibid.* PHOT. p. 181. ^w ZOS. p. 803, 804.
 PHOT. p. 181. OROS. p. 223. SOZ. *ibid.* ^x ZOS. p. 824. ^y *Idem*,
 p. 807. ^z OROS. l. vii c. 40 p. 223. ^a Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5.
 leg. 40. p. 160. leg. 48. p. 168, 169 leg. 41. p. 160, &c.

Arcadius
dies.

His issue.

His cha-
racter.

THE following year 408, when *Anicius Bassus* and *Flavius Philippus* were consuls, is remarkable for many memorable events. In the east died at *Constantinople* on the first of *May* the emperor *Arcadius*, after having lived thirty-one years, and reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen after his death^b, or rather thirteen years, three months, and fourteen days. He was buried near the empress *Eudoxia*, in the church of the *Apostles*^c, where their tombs of porphyry were to be seen several ages after^d. He left behind him but one son, viz. *Theodosius*, then eight years old, but just weaned, says *Sozomen*^e. We shall examine elsewhere what we read in *Procopius*, viz. that *Arcadius*, by his last will, appointed *Isdegerdes*, king of *Persia*, guardian to the young prince. We have observed in the history of his reign, that he had four daughters, *Flaccilla*, *Pulcheria*, *Arcadia*, and *Marina*: *Flaccilla* is never mentioned by historians but on occasion of her birth; whence we may conclude, that she died soon after. The other three embraced the state of virginity, and led exemplary lives^f. They were all styled queens, as appears from the councils^g; but only by courtesy; for, except *Pulcheria*, who was declared *Augusta* in 414, they had no other title but that of *most noble*. *Arcadia* and *Marina* built a palace at *Constantinople*, which for many ages retained their name. The former built likewise a church in honour of St. *Andrew*; which was many ages after, when become a monastery, rebuilt by *Theodora*, the niece of *Michael Paleologus*^h. *Arcadia* died in 444, and *Marina* on the third of *August* 449ⁱ. *Arcadius* himself was a prince naturally inclined to virtue, and an enemy to vice, but of very slender parts, and therefore intirely governed, and shamefully imposed upon, by his ministers, and the empress, who abused his authority to oppress the people in a most despotic and tyrannical manner. To return to the west: *Constantine*, having reduced all *Gaul* to his obedience, sent a body of troops into *Spain*, in order to oppose *Didymius* and *Verianus* or *Verinianus*, who having assembled the few troops that were quartered in that province, and reinforced them with such slaves and peasants as were willing to take arms, had seized on the passes of the *Pyrenees*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus* were brothers, natives of *Spain*, and nearly allied to *Honorius*, for whom they openly declared, while most of the cities of that province were ready

^b THEOD. l. ii. p. 568. SOCR. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332. ^c THEOD. ibid. ^d CANGE de Const. l. iv. p. 110. ^e SOZ. l. ix. c. 1. p. 799. Chron. Alex. p. 712. ^f SOZ. l. ix. c. 5. p. 804. ^g Concl. tom. iii. p. 105. ^h CANGE ibid. l. iv. p. 111, 112. ⁱ MAN. chron. & chron. Al. p. 734.

to revolt from him, and submit to the usurper ^k. The troops that were first sent against them not being able to open themselves a passage through the *Pyrenees*, which were carefully guarded by the two brothers, *Constantine* obliged his eldest son, by name *Constans*, who professed a monastic life, to quit his retirement, created him *Cæsar*, and dispatched him with the flower of his army, commanded by *Gerontius*, an experienced officer, into *Spain*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus* defended the passes for some time with great resolution and intrepidity; but being overpowered with numbers, were in the end obliged to retire. *Constans* pursued them close, and coming up with them in *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, cut most of their men in pieces, and took both them and their wives prisoners. Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers *Theodosius* or *Theodosiolus*, and *Lagodus*, who had taken arms in another province, abandoned *Spain* to the usurper, and retired, the former to the court of *Honorius*, and the latter to that of *Theodosius*, who had succeeded his father *Arcadius* in the empire of the east ^l. *Constans*, having thus reduced all *Spain*, and appointed *Gerontius* to command the army and guard the *Pyrenees*, returned to *Gaul*, where he presented the two illustrious captives to his father, who immediately ordered them to be privately put to death. To reward his son for his eminent services, he created him *Augustus*, honouring him, says *Zosimus* ^m, with a diadem. At the same time he sent a solemn deputation to *Honorius*, excusing his revolt, as if he had been forced by the soldiery to accept of the sovereignty, and demanding to be acknowledged by him as his partner in the empire. *Honorius*, not finding himself in a condition to make war upon the usurper, thought it adviseable to comply with his request; and accordingly sent him the imperial purple, honouring him, at the same time, with the title of *Augustus* ⁿ. *Italy* was at this time threatened with a new invasion of the barbarians, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*, who, at the instigation of *Stilicho*, leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, passed unexpectedly the *Alps*, and breaking into *Noricum*, threatened to invade *Italy*, and lay all waste before him, unless a certain sum, which he pretended to be due to him and his troops, were immediately sent him. Upon this demand, *Honorius*, who was then at *Rome*, assembled the senate, when several senators of great distinction were for re-

Constans, the son of Constantine, declared Cæsar.

He reduces all Spain, and is declared Augustus.

Honorius acknowledges Constantine for his colleague.

Alaric threatens Italy.

^k Zos. l. vi. p. 826. Oros l. vi. c. 40. p. 223. Sqz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. Phot. p. 184. ^l Zos. p. 830. Soz. Phot. Oros. ibid. Greg. Tur. hist. Fr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. ^m Zos. ibid. ⁿ Idem, p. 818. Phot. p. 180. Greg. Tur. ibid.

The money
he de-
manded is
sent him.

Stilicho
disgraced,
and put to
death.

Several of
his friends
are cut in
pieces by
the army.

jecting his demand, and marching the army without delay against him, urging, that to comply with an arrogant and unreasonable demand was not buying a peace, but signing a contract of perpetual slavery. However *Stilicho*, who maintained a private correspondence with *Alaric* and his party, pleading with great warmth in his favour, as if the money he demanded were really due, it was agreed, that four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him. *Lampadius*, who had with great liberty of speech opposed this motion, and by that means incurred the displeasure of *Stilicho*, as soon as the senate broke up, took sanctuary in a neighbouring church^o. A few days after *Honorius*, leaving *Rome*, set out for *Bononia*; whence, after a short stay, he removed to *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, attended by one *Olympius*, who, by an outward show of christian piety, says *Zosimus*, had gained the confidence of the emperor, and was by him employed about his person. As every one was now well apprised of the wicked designs of *Stilicho*, *Olympius*, thought himself obliged to disclose them to the emperor; which he did accordingly on the road from *Bologna* to *Pavia*, and so thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of his minister, that the prince, awaked, as it were, out of a deep lethargy, no sooner arrived at *Pavia*, than he dispatched an express to *Ravenna*, where *Stilicho* then was, with two different orders; the one commanding him to be secured, and the other to be put to death. Upon the arrival of the messenger, *Stilicho* took sanctuary in a church; but the next day, being in the presence of the bishop assured by the soldiers upon oath, that they had orders only to arrest him, he left his asylum, and delivered himself into their hands; which he had scarce done, when the messenger produced the warrant for his death; whereupon he was beheaded the same day, the twenty-third of *August* of the present year 408 P. It was no sooner known at *Pavia*, that the emperor had ordered him to be arrested, than the army encamped there, encouraged by *Olympius*, says *Zosimus*^q, flew to arms, and in a tumultuous manner slew all those who were known to be well-affected to the disgraced general; and amongst the rest *Limenius*, prefect of *Gaul*, *Chariobaudes*, commander of the troops in the same province, who had both been lately driven out of that province by *Constantine*, *Longinianus*, formerly prefect of *Italy*, *Vincen-tius*, general of the horse, *Salvius* and *Petronius*, the one comes domesticorum, the other comes largitionum, another *Salvius*, who was quaestor, *Nemorius*, then magister officiorum, and

^o Zos. p. 805. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 2. p. 532. RUTIL. l. ii. p. 142.

^r Zos. p. 810. SOZ. l. ix. c. 4. p. 806. OROS. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222.

^q Zos. p. 808, 809

many other persons of great distinction^r. All authors, except *Stilicho Zosimus* and the poet *Claudian*, agree, that he was guilty of *supposed* the crimes laid to his charge, viz. that he maintained a private ^{by some} correspondence with *Alaric*; that he invited the barbarians into ^{guilty, by} *Gaul*, hoping the emperor would reward his eminent services, ^{others in-} after he had driven them out, with assuming him for his colleague, ^{nocent.} that he had formed a design of murdering the two princes *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, and seizing on both empires for himself; that by a potion given to *Honorius*, he prevented his having any issue, &c. But *Zosimus* pretends these crimes to have been all feigned by his enemies, in order to prejudice *Honorius* against him, and procure his ruin, to which the credulous prince in the end consented. The same writer adds, that after his death several of his friends were cruelly tortured, and amongst the rest *Deuterus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, and *Peter* his chief secretary, who died on the rack without owning any of the several charges that were brought against him or them as privy to his wicked designs^s. *Stilicho* professed the christian religion; but his son *Eucherius* was not only a pagan, but a professed enemy to the christians; nay, he used to brag amongst the pagans, says *Orosius*, who wrote about that time, that if he ever attained the empire, he would signalize the beginning of his reign, with the re-establishment of the pagan, and utter extirpation of the christian, ceremonies^t. If what that author writes be true, the partiality which *Zosimus*, a zealous patron of paganism, shews for *Stilicho* and *Eucherius*, may be easily accounted for. The emperor had married in the beginning of this year *Thermantia*, *Stilicho*'s second daughter, *Maria*, his eldest daughter, whom *Honorius* had married in 398, being dead some years before^u; perhaps when the emperor was at *Rome*, in 404, for her body was discovered in the *Vatican* church on the fourth of *February* 1544, with several things of great value: her body, when exposed to the air, mouldered away; but the gold of her garments remaining, when the rest fell to ashes, weighed thirty-six pounds^v. *Honorius* married *Thermantia* at *Rome*, where the match was concluded by *Serena*, alledging, says *Zosimus*, to her husband *Stilicho*, who was averse to it as incestuous, that the other sister died a virgin^x. Upon *Honorius* the death of *Stilicho*, *Honorius* divorced his daughter, and sent ^{divorces} her back untouched to her mother *Serena*^y. *Zosimus* writes, ^{his daugh-} that she died soon after; but, according to the chronicle of *Alex- ter Ther-* *mantia*.

^r Zos. SOCR. OROS. ibid. ^s Zos. p. 811, 819. ^t OROS. p. 222. ^u Zos. p. 804. PHOT. c. 80. p. 177. ^v Anast. Childerici. p. 53. ARINGHII Rom. subterr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 173. MAILL. iter. Italic p. 145. ^x Zos. p. 804. ^y Idem, p. 811, 804.

Eucherius,
his son,
executed.

Stilicho's
estate con-
fiscated.

His cha-
racter.

Olympius
prime
minister.

andria, news of her death was brought to *Constantinople* on *Friday* the thirtieth of *July* 415 ². Her body too was found in the *Vatican* in 1543, adorned with the imperial robes, and all the ensigns of majesty ³. As for *Eucherius*, when he heard the news of his father's death, he fled to a church for protection; but being dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, he was sent under a strong guard to *Rome*, and there executed ⁴. Thus were the empire, says *Orosius* ⁵, and the church, by the death of a few persons, delivered from the wicked attempts of their enemies. However, we could wish for the reputation of *Honorius*, a pious and well-meaning prince, that the pretended criminals had been tried in due form; for such as suffer without being heard have a right to be deemed innocent. All the ecclesiastic writers suppose *Stilicho* to have been guilty; but the crimes laid to his charge were never proved either in his life-time, or after his death; and hence *Zosimus* looks upon them as false imputations, and groundless suspicions. *Stilicho's* estate was confiscated, and likewise the estates of all his avowed partizans, and of such as had been preferred by him for money ⁶; and *Heliocrates* was sent to *Rome* to seize them, which commission he discharged with great humanity and good-nature, warning under-hand those who were the least guilty to remove their effects out of the way: but his moderation cost him dear; for he was not only deprived of his commission, but sent in bonds to *Ravenna*, and would have been put to death, had he not found means to escape out of prison, and save himself in a church ⁷. Such was the end of *Stilicho*, after he had commanded in chief the *Roman* armies for the space of twenty-three years. He was no doubt a person of extraordinary qualities, a great statesman, a valiant soldier, and experienced officer. He gained such an ascendant over *Honorius*, who was blindly guided by his counsels, that, till the time of his disgrace, he governed with a more absolute sway, than the emperor himself. *Zosimus*, however partial to his memory, accuses him of rapine and oppression, of great partiality in the administration of justice, and of conveying by degrees into his own coffers the whole wealth of the empire ⁸. *Stilicho* was succeeded in the administration by *Olympius*, the chief author of his ruin. He was a native of the country bordering on the *Euxine* sea, and not only professed the christian religion, but outwardly affected an extraordinary piety, says *Zo-*

² Chron. Al. p. 716. ³ ARINGH. MABILL. ibid. ⁴ PHILOS. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. ⁵ Zos. p. 813. ⁶ OROS. p. 222. ⁷ Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 20. p. 319. ⁸ Zos. p. 811, 819. ⁹ Idem, p. 780, 789.

simus ^g, insinuating thereby, that his piety was counterfeit: but St. *Austin* entertained a very favourable opinion of him, as appears from the commendations he bestows upon him ^h; as did likewise *Symmachus*, though a zealous pagan ⁱ. *Olympiodorus* writes, that he owed his first preferment to *Stilicho*, who recommended him to *Honorius* ^k; which would render the return he made that minister highly criminal, if he had any thing in view but the public welfare. He had in *Stilicho's* life-time a considerable employment at court, and was after his death raised to the post of *magister officiorum*, or steward of the emperor's household, one of the greatest employments in the state ^l. Soon after his promotion, he wrote to St. *Austin*, desiring that zealous prelate to suggest to him from time to time what he thought would conduce to the good of the church ^m. In the very beginning of his administration, he caused several laws to be enacted against the pagans, *Jews*, and heretics, especially the *Donatists* in *Africa* ⁿ. By a law dated the fourteenth of *November*, all those who were not of the catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the prince, were excluded from all employments at court ^o. When this law was enacted, one of the chiefs of the barbarians in the *Roman* service, resigned his command; and his example, if *Zosimus* is to be credited ^p, was followed by many others, who were either pagans or *Arians*. Amongst the several laws of this year, relating both to civil and ecclesiastical matters, one was enacted forbidding all persons of quality to trade, not that trade was by any means looked upon as degrading, but because others, in dealing with men of power and authority, were liable to be injured by them without redress ^q.

*He favours
the church.*

WHEN the *Roman* soldiers, quartered in the cities of *Italy*, heard of *Stilicho's* death, they flew to arms, and, out of hatred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the barbarians, whom he had taken into the service, and whom they on that account looked upon, as privy to his wicked designs, as public enemies. The barbarians, highly provoked at this unheard-of cruelty, vowed revenge; and quitting the emperor's service, retired, to the number of thirty thousand and upwards, to *Alaric*, who, though thus reinforced, sent deputies to *Honorius*, offering to conclude a lasting peace with him, and never more to disturb the tranquillity of the empire, provided he would

*The wives
and chil-
dren of the
barbarians
in the Ro-
man ser-
vice mur-
dered.*

^g Idem, p. 810, 811. ^h AUG. ep. cxxiv. p. 242, 245.
ⁱ SYM. l. ix. ep. 60. p. 362. ^k PHOT. c. 80. p. 177. ^l ZOS.
p. 808. ^m AUG. ep. cxxix. p. 245. ⁿ Cod. Theod. l. xvi.
tit. 5. leg. 44. p. 165. ^o Idem ibid. leg. 42. p. 163. ^p ZOS.
l. v. p. 820. ^q Cod. Just. l. iv. tit. 63. leg. 3. p. 395.

The barbarians join Alaric, who enters Italy, and besieges Rome.

send him a sufficient sum to pay his army their arrears ¹. *Honorius* refusing to comply with his demand, he dispatched an express to *Athaulphus* or *Athaulphus*, his brother-in-law, who was quartered on the frontiers of *Pannonia*, ordering him to hasten with his troops, consisting of *Goths* and *Huns*, into *Italy*. In the mean time, *Alaric* himself advancing with long marches from *Noricum* to the *Po*, crossed that river without opposition; and passing in sight of *Ravenna*, where the emperor then was, pursued his march almost without halting till he arrived at *Rome*, which he immediately invested, blocking up all the roads and avenues leading to it, and placing guards at the mouth and on the banks of the *Tiber*, to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies or provisions by water ². By this means the city, which was crowded with people, was soon reduced to great distress; a famine began to rage, which was attended with a plague, arising from the great number of dead bodies that lay in the streets unburied ³. *Olympiodorus* writes, that the unhappy citizens were reduced to the fatal necessity of feeding upon human flesh, and devouring each other ⁴; and *Zosimus*, that they were almost brought to that extremity ⁵. During this calamity, the pagans, and among the rest *Pompeianus*, prefect of the city, began to cry aloud, that recourse ought to be had to the gods of their ancestors, who had so often relieved the city, and delivered it from the greatest dangers. *Zosimus* adds, that *Innocent*, at that time bishop of *Rome*, consented to their offering sacrifices to the gods, provided it were done privately; but that they were, notwithstanding his consent, afraid to perform the ceremony ⁶. *Sozomen* writes, that, at the instigation of some *Hetruscan* aruspices, they actually revived the ancient sacrifices; which were so far from relieving the city, that thenceforth it laboured under greater difficulties than ever ⁷. Be that as it will, the unhappy citizens were in the end obliged to send out deputies to treat with *Alaric*. These were *Basilus*, who had been prefect of *Rome* in 395, and *John*, the emperor's first secretary. *Alaric* hearkened to their proposals, and agreed to raise the siege, and ever after continue faithful to the *Romans*, upon their delivering up hostages, and paying to him five thousand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four thousand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and as many pounds of pepper ⁸. For the raising of the required

Which is reduced to great straits,

And complies with the demands of Alaric.

¹ Zos. l. v. p. 811. ² Idem, p. 814, 815. Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. ³ Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. AUG. ep. cxxxiii. p. 248. ⁴ PHOT. p. 180. ⁵ Zos. p. 815. ⁶ Idem, p. 816. ⁷ Soz. p. 807, 808. ⁸ Zos. p. 815—818.

sum, the senators were taxed according to their estates; but as they had not so much ready money by them, that wicked genius, says *Zosimus*^b, which then governed the affairs of mankind, prompted those, who were concerned in levying the said sum, to the height of iniquity; for, to make good the deficiency, they had recourse to the ornaments of the temples and images of the gods: some of the latter, that were of gold or silver, they melted down, and among the rest that of *Valour*, which being destroyed, the antient *Roman* valour was utterly extinguished, as had been foretold by persons skilled in divine matters, and well versed in the rites and ceremonies of their country. The treaty was ratified by *Honorius*, and the sum thus raised sent to *Alaric*, who thereupon raised the siege, and retired with his army into *Hetruria*^c. When he first appeared before *Rome*, the senate, with the consent and approbation of *Placidia*, the emperor's sister, then in the city, caused *Serena*, the widow of *Stilicho*, to be put to death, upon a false supposition, says *Zosimus*, of her privately corresponding with the enemy^d. *Lata*, the widow of the emperor *Gratian*, and her mother *Pissamene*, signalized their good nature during the siege, relieving with great generosity, as *Zosimus* himself owns^e, the famished citizens.

The siege
raised.

Serena,
the widow
of Stilicho,
put to
death.

WHILE the western empire was thus miserably harrassed by the barbarians, and rent into two empires by the usurpation of *Constantine*, whom *Honorius* had been obliged to acknowledge for his partner in the sovereignty, a profound peace reigned over all the provinces subject to young *Theodosius*, though not yet eight years old. They were chiefly indebted for the happiness they enjoyed to *Anthemius*, who taking upon him the administration, discharged the office of prime minister with an integrity hardly to be matched in history. He was grandson to *Philippus*, who had been prefect of the east under *Constantius*, in the which office *Anthemius* himself discharged from the year 405, to 414^h. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions one *Simplicius*, the son of *Anthemius* the elder, and probably the father of *Anthemius* the younger, who was disgraced in 359ⁱ. The latter was *magister officiorum* before the year 404, ambassador to the king of *Persia* before the year 405^k, consul in that year, and soon after *præfectus Prætorio*^l. He had at least one daughter, who was married to *Procopius*, by whom she had *Anthemius*, advanced to the empire in 465^m. *Anthemius*, who governed the eastern

The happy
admini-
stration of
Anthemi-
us in the
east.

^b Idem ibid. ^c Zos. ibid. Soz. p. 808. HIER. ep. xi. xvi. p. 93. 121. ^d Idem, p. 114, 115. ^e Idem ibid. ^h SOCR. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334. ⁱ AMMIAN l. ix. p. 151. ^k Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 349. ^l THEOD c. 8. p. 813. ^m SID. car. ii. p. 291, 292.

His character.

Whether Isdegerdes, king of Persia, was appointed guardian to the young prince.

empire during the minority of *Theodosius*, is commended by all the writers of those times as an experienced commander, an able statesman, a zealous christian, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the glory of his prince and the happiness of the peopleⁿ. He was, says *Synesius*, who constantly styles him the great *Anthemius*, in my opinion, and in that of all men, the greatest, the best, the most virtuous, disinterested, and well-meaning minister, that ever governed a state^o. *Procopius* writes, that *Arcadius*, either distrusting his brother *Honorius*, or apprised that the distracted state of his own affairs would divert him from minding those of the east, begged in his will *Isdegerdes*, king of *Persia*, with whom he had entered into a strict alliance, to take upon him the care and tuition of the young prince: the same writer adds, that *Isdegerdes*, who was a prince of great generosity, sent ambassadors to acquaint the senate of *Constantinople*, that he accepted the charge, and was resolved to make war upon such as should presume to raise disturbances in the state^p. *Theophanes*, who wrote after *Procopius*, and has borrowed from him the greatest part of his history, adds, that *Isdegerdes*, not being at leisure to attend the administration in person, sent *Antiochus* to *Constantinople* in his room, a person of extraordinary abilities, and of an unblemished character, who discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest integrity till the year 414, when *Pulcheria* taking upon her the administration, he was deprived of his authority, and even of his life^q. *Zonaras* follows *Procopius* and *Theophanes*^r, as does likewise *Cedrenus*^s. It is surprising, that such an event, one of the most remarkable in history, should by no historian be taken notice of before *Procopius*, who wrote an hundred and fifty years after, and is often guilty of no small mistakes, being misled by popular and ill-grounded traditions, among which we may reckon this supposed last will of *Arcadius*; for *Agathias* tells us, that it was the common talk, having been handed down by tradition from father to son; but that he found it vouched by no writer, except *Procopius*, not even by those who had given a particular account of the death of *Arcadius*^t. And truly *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Zosimus*, *Philostorgius*, both *Prosper*, and *Marcellinus*, take not the least notice of this memorable transaction. *Isidore of Pelusium* and *Synesius*^u mention an eunuch, by name *Antiochus*, who passing from the ser-

ⁿ CHRYS. p. 780. SOCR. SYN. ep. lxxv. p. 220. ^o SYN. car. p. 299. & ep. lxxii. p. 220, 221. ^p PROCOPI. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 2. p. 7. ^q THEOPH. p. 69. ^r ZONAR. p. 43. ^s CEDREN. p. 334. ^t AGATH. l. iv. p. 137. ^u ISIDOR. Pel. i. ep. 39. p. 11. SYN. p. 84.

vice of a *Persian* lord, named *Narses*, to that of *Theodosius II.* became preceptor to the young prince; which perhaps gave rise to the above-mentioned tradition. This year the *Hunns* and *Squiri*, or *Scyri*, a northern nation, broke suddenly into *Thrace*, under the conduct of *Uldin*, of whom we have made mention above; but some of their officers abandoning them to join the *Romans*, they retired with great precipitation: however, the emperor's troops, coming up with the *Squiri* before they could reach the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took the rest prisoners. By this overthrow, that nation was almost utterly extirpated ^w.

The Hunns and the Squiri break into Thrace; but the latter are almost entirely cut off.

THE next consuls were *Honorius*, the eighth time, and *Theodosius*, the third. In *Gaul* *Constantine*, who reigned there, caused himself to be acknowledged consul in the room of *Theodosius* ^x. As *Honorius*, under various pretences, declined delivering up to *Alaric* the promised hostages, and executing some other articles of the treaty not mentioned by historians, the senate sent *Attalus*, *Cæcilianus*, and *Maximianus* or *Maximilianus*, to represent to him in their name the evils that might thence accrue to the empire, especially to the capital. But their remonstrances were utterly disregarded by the emperor, misled, says *Zosimus*, by *Olympius* and *Alaric's* enemies at court ^y. However, he raised *Attalus* to the post of *comes largitionum*, and *Cæcilianus* to that of *præfectus prætorio* ^z. In the mean time, *Alaric*, provoked at the emperor's backwardness in complying with the articles of the late treaty, left *He- truria*, and approaching *Rome*, blocked it up a second time, his army being reinforced with forty thousand slaves, who had made their escape out of the city ^a. *Honorius* sent six thousand chosen troops to the defence of the city; but they were intercepted by *Alaric's* parties, and all either cut off, or taken prisoners, except *Valens*, their commander, *Attalus*, and about an hundred more, who with much ado got into *Rome* ^b. *Maximilianus*, one of the prisoners, was ransomed by his father with thirty thousand pieces of gold. *Zosimus* writes, that the six thousand men sent by *Honorius* to defend the city, made up five legions ^c; so that a legion at this time consisted but of twelve hundred men. In the mean time, *Ataulphus*, whom *Alaric* had sent for, as we have observed above, was advancing to join him; and had already passed the *Julian Alps*, and entered the province of *Venetia*, when *Honorius* dispatched against him all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loss only of fifteen;

Alaric returns before Rome.

Ataulphus enters Italy.

^w Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807, 809. ^x GRUTER p. 2052. ^y Zos. l. v. p. 817—819. ^z Cod. Theod. chron. p. 150. ^a Zos. p. 819. ^b Idem ibid. ^c Idem ibid.

Olympius
disgraced.

The gene-
rals Tur-
pilio and
Vigilan-
tius put to
death.

but notwithstanding this check, *Ataulphus* pursued his march, and joined *Alaric*^d. About this time, *Olympius*, the prime minister, was disgraced, divested of all his honours, and discharged, the eunuchs of the court blaming him to the emperor as the author of the present calamities. He was succeeded by *Jovius*, then prefect of *Italy*, a person highly commended by *Zosimus*^e, which gives us room to believe him to have been a pagan; for he is scarce ever so lavish of his praises on those who professed the christian religion. With *Olympius* several other officers were changed. *Attalus* was made prefect of *Rome*, and *Demetrius comes largitionum*, or treasurer, in his place. The soldiers, mutinying at *Ravenna*, demanded the heads of the two generals *Turpilio* and *Vigilantius*, and likewise of *Terentius* and *Arfacius*, the emperor's two first chamberlains. Hereupon the timorous prince, at the instigation of *Jovius*, perhaps the author of the tumult, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a vessel, in order to be sent into exile; but the soldiers, who were charged to conduct them, put them both to death. *Terentius* was banished into the east, and *Arfacius* confined to the city of *Milan*^f. *Eusebius* was made great chamberlain in the room of *Terentius*; *Valens* succeeded *Turpilio* in the post of general of the horse; and the office of *comes domesticorum*, held by *Vigilantius*, was given to *Ellibichus* or *Allobichus*. These were all creatures of *Jovius*, whose authority was thus thoroughly established^g. At the same time, *Genetides*, by birth a barbarian, was appointed general of the troops quartered in *Rhatia*, *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia*; which countries he protected with great fidelity against the barbarians, who attempted to invade them. *Zosimus* writes, that he was a pagan, and that for his sake *Honorius* revoked the law excluding the pagans from all employments^h. The same law was revoked with respect to heretics, especially the *Donatists*, to whom some churches were restored, which had been formerly taken from them, the emperor following therein the advice of *Jovius*, of *Heraclianus*, count of *Africa*, and of *Macrobius*, the author of the *Saturnalia*, as is commonly believed, at that time proconsul of *Africa*ⁱ.

Alaric being returned before *Rome*, as we have observed above, the senate sent a second deputation to the emperor, pressing him to execute the articles of a treaty, which he himself had ratified. *Alaric* approved of this step, and appointed a body of *Goths* to escort the deputies, among whom was *Innocent*, bishop of the city. At the same time *Alaric*, by the advice of *Jovius*,

^d Idem, p. 820. ^e Idem, p. 821. ^f Idem, p. 820, 821.
^g Idem ibid. PHOT. p. 181. ^h Zos. ibid. ⁱ HIER. ep. viii. p. 65.
Cod. Theod. tit. 4 p. 199.

with

with whom he had been intimately acquainted in *Epirus*, advanced with part of his army to *Ariminum* or *Rimini*, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, than at *Ravenna*. *Jovius* himself met him at *Rimini*; and, after some conferences with him, wrote to court, advising the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or if he thought them unreasonable, to satisfy *Alaric* by preferring him to the post of commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces. To this letter the emperor answered, that he was resolved never to prefer *Alaric*, nor any of his people. The emperor's letter being delivered to *Jovius*, while he was in *Alaric's* tent, and he with the utmost imprudence reading it out aloud, *Alaric* was so provoked at the prince's declaration, that he immediately decamped, bending his march towards *Rome*: but soon after changing his mind, he sent some bishops to *Honorius*, with very moderate proposals; for he offered to enter into a perpetual alliance with *Honorius*, and to defend the empire against all invaders, provided he would only send him a small sum to pay his men their arrears, that they might not mutiny when disbanded, and allow them to settle in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*; which provinces paid but an inconsiderable tribute, and nevertheless obliged the emperor, as they were exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, to maintain numerous armies to defend them, which he took upon himself to do, without putting the empire to the least charge. These proposals, however reasonable, were rejected, *Jovius* having, by a second fault, cut off all means of an accommodation; for, apprehending the emperor might, from his late imprudent conduct, suspect him of privately favouring *Alaric*, he over-acted the contrary part, inducing the emperor to swear, that he would never make peace, but wage perpetual war with *Alaric*: this he swore himself by the emperor's head, and obliged all the officers both civil and military to take the same oath^k. *Alaric*, tho' informed of these unaccountable proceedings, sent back the bishops to *Ravenna*, earnestly entreating the emperor, who had not sufficient forces to withstand him, not to suffer that stately metropolis, which for so many ages had been revered by all nations as mistress of the world, to become a prey to her enemies. But the emperor continuing obstinate in his former resolution, *Alaric* pursued his march to *Rome*; and, approaching the city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor's invincible obstinacy, inviting them at the same time to consult their own safety by joining him against *Honorius*. This proposal they rejected at first with indignation; but *Alaric* having, after a few days

Honorius
refuses to
comply
with the
proposals of
Alaric.

And
jswears
never to
make peace
with him.

Alaric's
moderation.

^k Soz. l. ix. c. 7. p. 808, 809. Zos. p. 822—824.

He besieges Rome, which submits, and acknowledges Attalus for emperor.

The usurper's troops defeated by Heraclianus in Africa.

Honorius offers to acknowledge Attalus; Who insists upon his resigning.

siege, taken the castle at the mouth of the *Tiber*, in which all the public provisions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, and received him into the city, which he entered attended by a small guard, and obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge, not himself, as he might have easily done, but *Attalus*, then prefect of the city, for emperor¹. *Attalus* was a native of *Ionia*, and greatly beloved by *Alaric* and his *Goths*, because he had been baptized by *Segisarius* their bishop^m, and consequently professed the doctrine of *Arius*, tho' he was in his heart a pagan, according to *Philostorgius*ⁿ. *Attalus*, thus created emperor by *Alaric*, made him in return commander in chief of all his forces, and *Ataulphus* his *comes domesticorum*, distributing the other great employments amongst pagans and *Arians*. As it was a matter of the utmost importance to secure *Africa*, whence *Rome* was supplied with provisions, *Alaric* advised the new emperor to send thither without delay a considerable body of troops under the conduct of *Drumas*, who was by nation a *Goth*, but an officer of great experience and address: but *Attalus*, contrary to the advice of *Alaric*, sent one *Constantine* or *Constans*, a person quite unacquainted with military affairs, and with him but a small number of troops, being assured by the aruspices, says *Sozomen*, that *Africa* would immediately submit^o. But *Constantine* was upon his first landing cut off with all his men by *Heraclianus*, who took care to place guards in all the ports of *Africa*, that no corn might be thence conveyed to *Rome*, which by that means was soon reduced to great straits^p. In the mean time, *Attalus*, without waiting news from *Africa*, set out from *Rome* with the succours he received from *Alaric*, with a design to besiege the emperor in *Ravenna*; who, alarmed at his motions, dispatched *Jovius*, the prime minister, *Valens*, general of the foot, *Potamus*, the quæstor, and *Julian*, his first secretary, to wait his arrival at *Rimini*, and acquaint him, that the emperor was willing to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But *Attalus* would only grant *Honorius* his life, and the liberty of retiring to what island he pleased^q. *Jovius*, in a private conference with *Attalus*, not only advised him to insist upon these terms, but suggested to him, that he ought to maim the emperor so as to prevent his having issue; which wicked suggestion was rejected with horror, if *Olympiodorus* is to be credited, by *Attalus* himself^r. That treacherous minister returned to court; but being sent back to the usurper with new proposals, he continued

¹ Soz. Zos. *ibid.* ^m Soz. c. 9. p. 811. ⁿ PHILOST. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. ^o Soz. p. 810. ^p Zos. p. 829. Soz. *ibid.* ^q Zos. p. 828. PHOT. p. 181. ^r PHOT. *ibid.*

with him. *Honorius*, finding himself thus betrayed by his friends, and no-ways in a condition to oppose so many enemies at once, resolved to abandon *Ravenna* and retire by sea into the east; but was diverted from that resolution by the seasonable arrival of four thousand men, sent him by his nephew *Theodosius*; which encouraged him to continue at *Ravenna*, and there wait the issue of the war in *Africa*. And truly his arms were attended there with uncommon success; for *Attalus* having, after the death of *Constans*, sent thither a body of troops far more numerous than the first, *Heraclianus* cut them likewise in pieces; and not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, so that no provisions could be conveyed to *Rome*, but sent a seasonable supply of money to *Honorius*, which he immediately distributed among the soldiery, and by that means re-established his affairs^s. In the mean time, *Alaric* reduced all the cities of *Liguria* and *Æmia*, except *Bononia*, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a considerable time before it. He caused *Attalus* to be every-where proclaimed emperor, and obliged the people to swear allegiance to him^t.

Honorius receives a seasonable supply from Theodosius.

WHILE these things passed in *Italy*, *Geroncius*, to whom *Constans*, the son of *Constantine*, had committed the government of *Spain*, as we have related above, revolting, upon some disgust, from *Constantine*, set up one *Maximus* for emperor, whom *Olympiodorus* supposes to have been his son^u, while other writers style him his client or creature^w. *Orosius* speaks of him as a person of a mean extraction, and altogether unknown^x. It was no sooner known in *Gaul*, that *Geroncius* had revolted, than the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom *Constantine* had suffered to remain in that province, as we have related above, flew to arms, probably at the instigation of the new usurper, and made themselves masters of several cities. The people, finding themselves thus harrassed by the barbarians, and expecting no relief either from *Honorius* or *Constantine*, resolved to defend themselves. The *Britons* were the first, who, falling off from the empire, established a new form of government among themselves, after having driven out the barbarians; the *Germans*, according to *Zosimus*, but more likely the *Scots* or *Irish*, who had invaded their country^y. Thus they continued a free people till the year 421, or 422, when overpowered by their warlike neighbours the *Scots*, they were forced to implore the protection of the emperor,

Maximus set up in Spain by Geroncius.

The Britons fall off from the empire.

^s Zos. p. 829. OROS. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224. ^t Idem ibid.
^u PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. ^w SOZ. p. 814. GREG. TUR. p. 63.
 OROS. p. 224. PROSP. ann. 412. ^x OROS. ibid. ^y Zos. l. vi. p. 827.

And the
Armorici.

The Van-
dals, Alans
and Sue-
vians, enter
Spain.

And over-
run the
whole
country.

submit anew to the laws of the empire, as we shall relate hereafter. All the *Armorici*, says *Zosimus*, that is, in the language of the *Gauls*, the maritime people, followed the example of the *Britons*, and, shaking off the *Roman* yoke, gave rise to a new state and government ^a, which, notwithstanding all their efforts, proved but short-lived. The barbarians, meeting with greater opposition than they expected from the inhabitants of *Gaul*, who had taken arms in their own defence, and acquainted with the distracted state of *Spain*, which was represented to them as a wealthy and fruitful country, resolved to try whether they could settle there. With this design, the *Vandals*, the *Alans* and *Suevians*, bent their march towards the *Pyrenees*, which they passed without opposition, the guards, who had been placed there by *Geroncius* to defend the narrow passes, either retiring at the approach of such multitudes, or joining them ^a. Thus the barbarians first entered *Spain* in 409, on a *Tuesday*, says *Idatius*, the twenty-eighth of *September*, or the thirteenth of *October* ^b; but in the year 409, the 13th of *October* fell on a *Wednesday*. The passes of the *Pyrenees* being once opened, the barbarians, who had overrun *Gaul*, poured in swarms into *Spain*, and there made themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds, defeated the troops which *Constantine* had sent, under the conduct of his son *Constans*, to suppress the rebellion of *Geroncius*, and obliged *Constans* himself to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles* ^c. As for *Geroncius*, they entered into a kind of alliance with him against their common enemy *Constantine* ^d. The barbarians, having no enemy to oppose them, after the retreat of *Constans*, over-ran the whole country, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties; which the reader will find described at length by *Idatius*, who in this very century, was bishop of a city in *Spain* ^e. *Olympiodorus* writes, that the *Romans*, who had taken refuge in some strong-holds, were reduced to the dreadful necessity of feeding upon one another; and adds, that a mother, who had four children, killed and devoured them all; for which unnatural cruelty she was stoned to death by the populace ^f. The barbarians continued their ravages, putting all to fire and sword, till the year 411, when, being absolute masters of the country, they applied themselves to the tilling of the ground, and other works of agriculture, after having divided among themselves

^a Idem ibid. ^a GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 2. p. 42. OROS. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. SOZ. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. ^b IDAT. chron. ^c ZOS. OROS. GREG. Tur. ibid. ^d PHOT. c. 80. p. 134. ^e IDAT. chron. p. 10, 11. ^f PHOT. c. 80. p. 189.

by lot the *Spanish* provinces. In that division *Galicia* fell *And divide* to the *Vandals* and *Suevians*, the former having *Gonderic* for *the Spanish* their king, and the latter *Ermeric*; *Lusitania*, and the province *provinces* of *Carthagera*, to the *Alans*; *Bætica* to the *Silingi*, who were *among* likewise *Vandals*, and are supposed to have given to their lot the *themselves*. name of *Wandalusia*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Andalusia* ^g. Such of the natives as had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, submitted to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the gospels, swore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they observed so religiously, that many *Romans* chose to live in poverty, says *Orosius*, under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire ^h. The inhabitants of *Galicia*, however, maintained their liberty, and formed a new state in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked, but without success, by *Emeric* or *Ermeric*, king of the *Suevians* ⁱ. Nothing happened this year in the east worthy of notice, except a tumult at *Constantinople*, where the people, rising on account of the scarcity of bread, burnt the house of *Monaxes*, prefect of the city; but the senators and other wealthy citizens, *A tumult at Constantinople.* having, by voluntary contributions, raised a large sum for the relief of the poor, and the bakers being publicly whipt through the city, as was frequently practised when bread grew dear, the tumult was quelled ^k.

THE following year 410, when *Varanes* alone was consul, is remarkable for the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*. *Varanes* began his consulship at *Constantinople*; but the western empire, especially the city of *Rome*, was involved in such troubles, that *Honorius* was not at leisure to think of a consul. *Attalus*, however, raised *Tertullus*, a pagan, to that dignity: but he was acknowledged only by the partizans of the usurper; whence *Varanes* alone is named consul in the *fasti* and in the laws, some of which are dated thus; *the year after the eighth consulship of Honorius, and the third of Theodosius* ^l. As *Heraclian* continued to keep the ports of *Africa* blocked up, and the lands in *Italy* had not been tilled for several years, by reason of the wars, the *Roman* people were reduced to feed upon chesnuts; nay, *A great human flesh* was publicly sold, and several mothers were said *famine* to have devoured their children ^m. This obliged both *Alaric* *rages in* and *Attalus* to hasten to *Rome*, in order to advise with the senate *Rome*.

^g OROS. c. 41. p. 223. IDAT. ISID. chron. ^h OROS. l. iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. ⁱ Idem, ibid. ^k Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 84. LIB. orat. i. p. 64. Chron. Alex. p. 716. ^l Cod. Theod. chron. p. 156. ^m SOCR. l. ix. p. 810. ZOS. l. vi. p. 830.

about the proper means of supplying the city. Most part of the senators were for sending into *Africa* a body of *Goths*, *Alaric* engaging, that *Drumas*, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred only; but *Attalus* openly declared, that he would not by any means employ *Goths* in that war; which so piqued *Alaric*, who had already begun to look upon *Attalus* as one no-ways qualified for the high station to which he had raised him, that he resolved to depose him, lest, by his obstinacy and imprudence, he should quite ruin his affairs. He was confirmed in this resolution by *Jovius*, who persuaded him, that *Attalus*, scorning to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to destroy him. This conduct of *Jovius* had induced some writers to believe, that he maintained a private correspondence with *Honorius*; nay, that he abandoned him with no other view but to betray *Attalus*ⁿ. Be that as it will, *Alaric*, finding the new emperor unequal to so great a charge, and provoked at his late declaration and misconduct with respect to the affairs of *Africa*, sent deputies once more to *Honorius*, with very reasonable terms; which the emperor seeming inclined to comply with, *Alaric* publicly stripped the mock prince of all the badges of sovereignty, and sent them to *Honorius*. He would not, however, deliver up either *Attalus*, or his son *Ampelius*; but insisted upon their being pardoned, since their crime was owing more to him than to them^o. *Attalus* being thus deposed, *Alaric* approached *Ravenna*, and stopped at a place called the *Alps*, about nine miles from that city, in order to put the last hand to the treaty of accommodation between him and the emperor^p. But this peaceable face of affairs was soon changed by an unlucky and unforeseen accident: *Sarus* the *Goth*, of whom we have made frequent mention, commanded a body of three hundred men in *Picenum*, without declaring either for *Honorius* or *Alaric*. However, *Ataulphus*, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, resolved to destroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a strong party against him; which obliged him to declare for *Honorius*, and retire to *Ravenna*. *Olympiodorus* writes, that *Alaric* was so provoked at the kind reception *Sarus* met with from the emperor, that he would hearken to no terms^q. On the other hand, *Sozomen* tells us, that *Sarus*, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, and put some of them to the sword^r. However that be, it is certain, that *Alaric* departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and returned

Alaric deposes Attalus,

And attempts an accommodation with Honorius.

Such is the result of the treaty.

ⁿ PHILOST. p. 181. ^o PHOT. c. 80. p. 181. ZOS. p. 830. SOZ. p. 810. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. ^p SOZ. p. 809. ZOS. p. 831. ^q PHOT. p. 180. ^r SOZ. p. 811.

to his army, encamped near *Rome*, as soon as *Sarus* had joined the emperor ¹, restoring the purple, and other badges of majesty, to *Attalus*; but in a few days degrading him anew, as if he designed to traduce and expose to ridicule the imperial dignity ². *Socrates* writes, that having shewed him to the soldiery, with all the ensigns of sovereignty, he exposed him the very next day to public view in the dress of a slave ³. To this was the majesty of the *Roman* empire now reduced. *Alaric* no sooner arrived before *Rome*, than he blocked it up on all sides, and by that means, as provisions were already very scarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmost extremity. Some authors, and among the rest *St. Jerom* ⁴, write, that it held out a long time; while others say, *Alaric* reduced it with such expedition, that *Honorius*, when told by one of his courtiers, that *Rome* was lost, understood him of a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of *Rome* was besieged ⁵. There is likewise a disagreement among authors as to the manner in which it was taken. *Procopius* writes, that *Proba*, an illustrious *Roman* matron, pitying the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that had long raged in the city to the fatal necessity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the night-time to the enemy ⁶. *Sozomen* says it was taken by treachery, without explaining himself farther ⁷; but *Orosius* uses the word *irrupit* ⁸, which seems to import, that the enemy broke in by force, or took the city by assault. Be that as it will, that proud and haughty city, stiled the metropolis of the universe, after having triumphed over so many nations, and extended her dominions from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fourth of *August* of the present year 410, taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. As she had, for the space of one thousand one hundred and sixty-three years, pillaged the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of the plundered nations, she underwent in the end the same fate, and suffered in her turn the same calamities, which she had brought upon others. *Alaric*, when upon the point of breaking into the city, addressing his soldiers, told them, That all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to seize it; but, at the same time, he strictly enjoined them to shed the blood of none but such as they should find in arms, and above all to spare those who should take sanctuary in the holy places, especially in the churches of the apostles

*And Rome
anew be-
sieged,
taken, and
plundered.*

*Alaric or-
ders his
men to
spare the
lives of the
citizens,
especially
of such as
should fly
to the
churches.*

¹ Idem ibid. *PHILOST.* p. 534.

² *OROS.* l. vii. c. 42. p. 224.

³ *SOCR.* l. vii. c. 10. p. 346, 347.

⁴ *HIER.* ep. 10. p. 121.

⁵ *PROSP. bell. Vand.* l. i. c. 2. p. 180.

⁶ Idem ibid.

⁷ *SOZ.*

l. ix. c. 9. p. 811.

⁸ *OROS.* p. 222.

The miser-
able condi-
tion to
which the
city was
reduced.

St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which he named, because they were most spacious, and consequently capable of affording an asylum to great numbers of people. Having given these orders, he abandoned the city to his *Goths*, who treated it no better, according to St. *Jerom*, than the *Greeks* are said to have treated antient *Troy*^b; for after having plundered it for the space of three, or, as others will have it, of six, days, they set fire to it in several places; so that the stately palace of *Sallust*, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to ashes; nay *Procopius* writes, that there was not in the whole city one house left intire^c; and both St. *Jerom*^d and *Philostorgius*^e, that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to a heap of ashes and ruins. Though many of the *Goths*, pursuant to the orders of their general, refrained from shedding the blood of such as made no resistance, yet others, more cruel and blood-thirsty, massacred all they met; so that the streets in some quarters of the city were seen covered with heaps of dead bodies, and swimming in blood^f. However, not the least injury was offered to those who had fled to the churches; nay, the *Goths* themselves conveyed thither, as to places of safety, such as they were desirous should be spared^g. Many of the statues of the gods that had been left intire by the emperors, as excellent pieces of art, were on this occasion destroyed, either by the *Goths*, who, tho' mostly *Arians*, were zealous christians, or by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the same time upon the city, as if it had been sent on purpose to complete, with them, the destruction of idolatry, and abolish the small remains of pagan superstition^h. The learned bishop of *Meaux* wrote a famous treatise, shewing, that the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric* may be looked upon as one of the chief mysteries foretold by St. *John* in his revelationsⁱ. The pagans ascribed the calamities which *Rome* suffered on this occasion, to its having banished the gods, by whom it had been often protected against far more powerful enemies. These calumnies St. *Austin* fully confuted in his 81st, 105th, and 106th, sermons, in another intitled *of the destruction of the city of Rome*^k, and in his great work *de civitate Dei*, wherein he shews, that *Rome* had suffered far greater calamities before it embraced the true faith, and that it was preserved by the christian religion from utter destruction^l.

^b HIER. ep. 16. p. 121. ^c PROCOP. p. 179. ^d HIER. ep. 12. p. 100. ^e PHILOST. p. 534. ^f Idem ibid. ^g HIER. & SOZ. ibid. ^h OROS. l. vii. c. 39 p. 222. & l. ii. c. 19 p. 164. ⁱ Explication de l'apocalypse. ^k AUG. m. p. 546 & Rom. excid. p. 330. ^l Idem de civ. Dei.

C H A P. XXX.

*The history of Rome, from the taking of the city
by the Goths, to the death of Theodosius II.*

ALARIC, having staid, according to some, six, according to others, only three, days in *Rome*, retired from thence into *Campania*, carrying with him immense wealth, and a great number of captives, among whom was *Placidia*, the sister of *Honorius*, whom he treated with all the respect due to her rank and sex. After he had ravaged and laid waste *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the country of the *Brutii*, he approached the straits of *Sicily*, with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into *Africa*, which he intended to reduce; but the fleet he had prepared for that purpose being shipwrecked in the straits, he continued in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium*, deliberating what further measures he was to take; but before he came to any resolution, he was suddenly seized with a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a few days¹. The *Goths* were deeply concerned for the death of their king (for they had given him that title, as we have observed above), and fearing the *Romans* should offer some indignity to his bones, they turned the course of the *Busento* near *Cosenza* in the *Farther Calabria*; and having buried him, with many rich spoils brought from *Rome*, in the bed of the river, they restored the waters to their natural current, and killed all the slaves they had employed in the work^m. After this they chose *Ataulphus* king in his room. He was brother-in-law to the deceased prince, who had married his sister. *Jornandes* writes, that he returned to *Rome*, and pillaged that city a second timeⁿ. But of this second destruction of *Rome*, as he styles it, no mention is made by any of the writers who flourished at that time. While the barbarians were thus ravaging *Italy* on one side, *Constantine*, leaving *Gaul*, where he reigned, entered it on the other, giving out, that he was marching to the assistance of *Honorius*, tho' his real design was to strip him of the few

Alaric retires with the wealth of Rome, into Campania.

He dies in the neighbourhood of Rhegium.

Ataulphus chosen king in his room.

Constantine enters Italy.

¹ *GROS.* l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. *SOCR.* l. vii. c. 10. p. 347. *PHILOST.* l. xii. c. 3. p. 534. *AUG.* civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. p. 8. *JORN.* rer. Goth. c. 30 p. 653. ^m *JORN.* ibid. ⁿ *Idem.* p. 654.

But re-
passes the
Alps in
great haste
and retires
to Arles.

Constans
taken, and
put to
death, by
Geron-
cius, who
besieges
Constantine in
Arles.

Constantius sent
against
Constantine.

His character.

provinces that were left him. With this view he was already advanced as far as *Verona*; but while he was preparing to pass the *Po*, in order to march to *Ravenna*, and there confer, as he pretended, with the emperor about the most proper measures in the present juncture, he received news of the unhappy, but deserved, end of *Alabicus* or *Allobicus*, one of *Honorius's* generals, whom that prince had caused to be put to death, upon a well-grounded suspicion of his privately corresponding with the usurper^o. This *Constantine* no sooner understood, than he passed in great haste the *Alps*, and retired to *Arles*, where he found his son *Constans* driven out of *Spain* by the above-mentioned barbarians. *Geroncius*, who had joined them against him, pursued him into *Gaul*; which obliged *Constantine* to send *Edobicus*, one of his generals, to procure supplies among the *Franks* and *Germans*, and to commit the guard of *Vienne*, and the other cities on the *Rhone*, to his son *Constans*. But *Geroncius*, arriving in the mean time before *Vienne*, took the place; and having put *Constans*, whom he found in it, to death, advanced without opposition to *Arles*, and there closely besieged *Constantine* himself^p. While the western empire was thus involved in endless calamities, the provinces all over the east enjoyed a profound peace under the wise administration of *Anthemius*; so that nothing remarkable happened there, except the disgrace of one *Andronicus*, governor of the *Pentapolis*, who, by his tyrannical extortions, deserved to be first excommunicated by *Synesius* bishop of *Ptolemais*, the metropolis of that province, and afterwards removed by *Anthemius* from his government^q.

THE following year 411, *Theodosius* alone was the fourth time consul, *Honorius* being diverted, by the troubles in the west, from naming any one to that dignity^r. This year *Honorius* sent *Constantius*, an officer of great experience and address, and inviolably attached to the interest of his prince, into *Gaul*, with what troops he could spare, to make war upon *Constantine*, whom after his entering *Italy*, the emperor no longer looked upon as his partner in the empire, but as a public enemy. *Constantius* was not by birth a barbarian, but a *Roman*; that is, he was born a subject of the empire, according to *Olympiodorus*, in the city of *Panaissa* in *Illyricum*^s. *Valesius* supposes, upon what authority we know not, that he was a native of *Naissus* in *Dacia*, the birth-place of *Constantine the Great*^t. He was a man of extraordinary parts, well-shaped

^o Soz. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. PHOT. c. 80. p. 181. ZOS. l. v. p. 821. ^p Soz. ibid. PHOT. p. 184. OROS. p. 224. ^q SYNES. c. 74. p. 220. ^r IDAT. PROSP. CASSIOD. &c. ^s PHOT. c. 80. p. 193. ^t VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 107.

in his person, agreeable in conversation, frank, generous, an enemy to all dissimulation and restraint, disinterested, brave, and equally capable of commanding an army, and governing the state ^u. He was no sooner named for this expedition, than he set out at the head of a considerable army for *Gaul*; where he was joined upon his first arrival by most of the troops of *Gerontius*, then busied in reducing the city of *Arles*, in which was *Constantine* himself, as we have related above. *Gerontius*, finding himself abandoned by his men, raised the siege in great haste, and fled into *Spain*, where the few soldiers who attended him, provoked at his unseasonable severity, attacked him in the house where he was lodged; which he defended, tho' assisted only by one friend, and a few slaves, with great resolution and intrepidity, killing three hundred of the aggressors. In the end the slaves consulting their own safety, made their escape, which *Gerontius* too might have easily done, had he been able to prevail upon himself to forsake his wife, whom he tenderly loved. When he found himself overpowered, he resolved to lay violent hands on himself. His wife, by name *Nonnichia*, apprised of this resolution, earnestly intreated him to put her to death rather than suffer her to fall into the hands of the incensed soldiery. Moved with her tears, he first dispatched her, then his friend, and lastly himself ^w. It is surprising, that *Sozomen* should commend this in *Nonnichia*, as an action worthy of the christian religion, which she professed ^x. As for *Maximus*, whom *Gerontius* had set up for emperor, as we have related above, he was secured by his own men, and brought to *Constantius*, who stripped him of the ensigns of majesty, but spared his life, looking upon him as a person of himself inoffensive, and incapable of giving the least umbrage ^y. He retired into *Spain* amongst the barbarians, and was still alive when *Orosius* wrote his history, that is, in 417 ^z. To return to *Constantius*: he pursued the siege of *Arles*, which *Gerontius* had begun. *Constantine*, who was in the place with his second son, by name *Julian*, held out for the space of four months, in expectation of the succours which *Edobicus* was sent to procure amongst the *Franks*, and other *German* nations. *Edobicus* arrived at length, at the head of an army far more numerous than that of *Constantius*; which so terrified the emperor's generals, that they were for abandoning the siege, and retiring into *Italy*. But their retreat being cut off by the enemy, they were forced to put the whole to the issue of a battle. *Ulphilas* therefore, who

Gerontius raises the siege of Arles, and flies into Spain.

Where he lays violent hands on himself. Maximus taken; but his life spared.

^u PHOT. p. 185. OROS. c. 43. p. 224. SOZ. l. ix. c. 16. p. 817.

^w OROS. p. 224. SOZ. p. 815. PHOT. *ibid.* ^x SOZ. *ibid.*

^y OROS. *ibid.* ^z *Idem ibid.*

The Germans coming to the assistance of Constantine defeated.

commanded under *Constantius*, passing the *Rhone* with a strong detachment of foot, concealed himself among the woods, till the enemy passed, and were ready to engage *Constantius*; when falling unexpectedly upon their rear, while *Constantius* charged them in front, they were immediately put to the rout. *Edobicus* fled to the house of a *Gaulish* lord, by name *Ecdices*, who notwithstanding the many favours he had received at his hands, struck off his head, and carried it to *Constantius*, who ordered the traitor to depart the camp that instant, lest his presence should draw down from heaven some misfortune upon the whole army^a.

Constantius returned without loss of time before *Arles*, which still held out with great obstinacy, till news being brought to the *Roman* camp, that *Jovinus*, having usurped the imperial title in *Farther Gaul*, was advancing full march to *Arles*, at the head of a formidable army, consisting of *Alemans*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and *Alans*, with a design to fall on the emperor's army. Upon this intelligence, *Constantius* thought it advisable to comply with the terms which had been proposed before by the besieged, but rejected by him, viz. to grant a general indemnity, and to promise upon oath, that the lives of *Constantine* and *Julian* should be spared. Hereupon the gates were

Arles surrendered to Constantius.

opened, and the victorious army received into the town. *Constantine* had some time before divested himself of the purple, and taking sanctuary in a church, caused himself to be ordained priest, thinking that character would screen him from the emperor's just resentment. *Constantius* nevertheless caused both him and his son to be secured, and sent into *Italy*, where they were, by the emperor's orders, beheaded about thirty miles from *Ravenna*^b. *Honorius* would not grant them their lives, because they had put to death his two cousins *Didymius* and *Verinianus*; but as they had been promised indemnity by his lieutenant, the christian as well as the pagan writers look upon this action as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. About the same time that *Constantine* divested himself of the purple, *Jovinus*, or, as he is styled by *Sozomen* and *Philostorgius*, *Jovianus*, assumed it at *Mundiacum*, says *Olympiodorus*^c; which some take to be *Mentz*. He was descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Gaul*, and is said to have caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at the instigation of *Goar* king of the *Alans*, and *Guntarius*, or *Gondicarius*, prince of the *Burgundians*^d. It appears from his medals, that he made him-

Constantine and his son beheaded.

Jovinus causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.

^a Idem, p. 223. PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. GREG. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 65. SOZ. l. ix. c. 14. p. 815. ^b PHOT. SOZ. GREG. Tur. ibid. ^c PHOT. c. 80. ^d SOZ. p. 816, 817. OROS. p. 224. PHOT. p. 184.

self master of *Treves*^c; but his reign was short-lived, as we shall see anon. In the east, the tranquillity which the people had long enjoyed there, was disturbed this year by the *Ausurians*, a *Moorish* nation, who, breaking into the *Pentapolis*, laid waste that province; but were soon driven out by *Anysius*, who had succeeded *Andronicus* in that government. The *Saracens* likewise committed great disorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Palestine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, but retired of their own accord.

THE following year 412, when *Honorius* was consul the ninth time, and *Theodosius* the fifth, the *Goths* at length left *Italy*, either in virtue of a treaty between *Honorius* and *Ataulphus* their new king, as *Jornandes* seems to suppose^f, or because they had already quite drained that country of its wealth, which, from the sequel of the history, appears more probable. However that be, quitting *Italy*, they broke into *Gaul*, ravaging the countries through which they passed. Upon their arrival in that province, *Attalus*, whom *Ataulphus* had brought thither with him, advised the *Goth* to join *Jovinus* against *Honorius*, and divide *Gaul* between them. *Ataulphus* and *Jovinus* met upon that proposal; but all we know of their interview is, that *Jovinus* was not at all pleased to see *Ataulphus* and his *Goths* in *Gaul*^e. *Sarus*, whom we have often mentioned, having about this time revolted from *Honorius*, because he refused to punish the authors of the murder of one of his officers, by name *Bellerid*, was going into *Gaul*, to offer his service to *Jovinus*; which coming to the ears of *Ataulphus*, his implacable enemy, he went to meet him at the head of a thousand men. *Sarus*, though attended only by twenty persons, defended himself with such resolution, that it was with the utmost difficulty he was taken alive, after having killed with his own hand great numbers of the enemy. *Ataulphus* caused him soon after to be put to death; which, as he was a brave and experienced officer, created a misunderstanding between *Jovinus* and *Ataulphus*. *Jovinus* soon after took his brother *Sebastian* for his partner in the empire, contrary to the opinion of *Ataulphus*, who was so provoked at his promotion, that he dispatched privately deputies to *Honorius*, offering to restore to him his sister *Placidia*, and to send him the heads of the two usurpers, provided he would supply his men with a certain quantity of corn. The emperor having readily complied with his demand, *Ataulphus* soon found an opportunity of dispatching *Sebastian*; but *Jovinus*, upon the news of his death, fled to *Valence*, where he was closely besieged, and in the end forced to submit to *Ataulphus*, who delivered him

The Goths
leave
Italy, and
break into
Gaul.

Sarus
taken pri-
soner by
Ataul-
phus, and
put to
death.

^c SYNES. catast. p. 299, & ep. 78. p. 223, 224. ^f JORN. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 655. ^e OROS. p. 224. PHOT. ibid.

Jovinus is taken, and put to death. up to *Dardanus*, prefect of *Gaul*, by whose orders he was put to death at *Narbonne*^b. *Idatius* ascribes the defeat of the two usurpers to the generals of *Honorius*, who had perhaps joined *Ataulphus*. *Dardanus*, at this time prefect of *Gaul*, is highly commended by *St. Jerom* and *St. Austin*, who wrote several letters to him; but *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who is likewise honoured with the title of *saint*, paints him as a person of a most infamous character, in whom centred all the vices of the three usurpers *Constantine*, *Jovinus*, and *Gerontius*ⁱ (O). This year *Theodosius*, or rather *Anthemius*, caused the walls of all the frontier towns of *Illyricum* to be repaired^k.

THE next consuls were *Lucius* and *Heraclianus*: but the name of the latter was erased out of the *fasti*; for he revolted this very year from *Honorius*, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Africa*, which he had with so much bravery defended against *Attalus*, he equipped a fleet there of seven hundred sail, according to some, of three thousand seven hundred, according to others, if there is no mistake in the numbers^l. *Orosius* writes, that his fleet was more numerous than those of *Xerxes*, of *Alexander*, or any other monarch mentioned in history^m. With this formidable armada he sailed from *Africa*, and landing safe in *Italy*, marched strait to *Rome*, which his approach threw into the utmost consternation; but count *Marinus* marching out to meet him, at the head of all the troops he could assemble, the usurper, seized with a sudden panic, betook himself to flight, and hastening on board one of his vessels, returned alone to *Carthage*. Upon his flight, his men immediately submitted, and were received into favour by *Honorius*, who soon after published a law, dated the fifth of *July*, and addressed to the people of *Africa*, wherein he declared *Heraclianus* a

Lands in Italy; but, seized with a sudden panic, returns to Africa.

^b OROS, *ibid.* PHOT. p. 184. SOZ. l. ix. c. 15. p. 817. ⁱ SID. l. v. ep. 9. p. 139. ^k Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 29. p. 322. ^l Marc. chron. ^m OROS. p. 224.

(O) From an antient inscription discovered near *Sisteron* in *Provence*, it appears, that *Dardanus*, or *Claudius Posthumius Dardanus*, as he is styled there, had been governor of *Vienne*, and its territory, prefect of *Gaul*, quæstor, and in the end raised to the rank of patrician; that his wife's name was *Nevia Galla*; and that his brother, *Claudius Lepidus*, who is distinguished in the inscription with the title of count, had been governor of *Germania Prima*, and treasurer. This inscription was made in honour of *Dardanus*, and his wife *Galla*, for having built a castle on a steep rock which stood on their estate, that the country-people, in the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, might have a safe place to retire to with their families and effects. This castle was then called *Theopolis*; but is known at present by the name of *Roquetaillé*.

public

public enemy, and impowered every one to apprehend him, and put him to death, where-ever they found himⁿ. He was, soon after his return to *Carthage*, discovered by some soldiers in an antient temple, and by them immediately cut in pieces^o. His estate was confiscated, and bestowed upon *Constantius*^p. The same year the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, set fire to the city of *Treves*, and laid waste the neighbouring country^q. The *Burgundians*, who had entered *Gaul* in 407, with the *Vandals* and *Alans*, made themselves this year masters of the country now known by the name of *Alsace*, or *Alsatia*. *Constantius*, who had reduced the rest of *Gaul* after the death of the two usurpers *Constantine* and *Jovinus*, marched against them; but they demanding leave to settle in *Gaul*, as friends and allies of the *Roman* people, the *Roman* general, not caring to reduce them to despair, persuaded the emperor to grant them part of the country which they had conquered^r. Such was the rise of the kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, under the conduct of *Gondicarius* or *Guntiarius*. *Socrates* commends them as a peaceable people, for the most part artificers, and willing to earn a livelihood with labour^s. *Orosius* writes, that in 417, they had all embraced already the christian religion, and the catholic faith, and treated the *Gauls*, who lived under them, not as their vassals, but their friends^t. About the year 440, the heresy of *Arius* began to prevail among them^u, which was probably owing to their intercourse with the *Goths*. *Ataulphus* had promised, as we have observed above, to restore to *Honorius* his sister *Placidia*, taken prisoner in *Rome*, but treated by him, as she had been by *Alaric*, with the utmost respect. *Constantius*, hoping the emperor would give her to him in marriage, was continually pressing *Ataulphus* to comply with this article; but as *Honorius* had not yet sent to the *Goths* the corn he had promised them, *Ataulphus*, who desired to marry *Placidia* himself, refused to part with her, till the emperor had executed his promise, which he was not at that time in a condition to do: however, the *Romans* promised to send the corn as soon as *Placidia* was restored; and *Ataulphus* to restore *Placidia* as soon as the corn was sent^v. After matters had continued for some time in this situation, *Ataulphus*, at last thinking himself deluded by the *Romans*, began hostilities anew; and, having reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*, advanced as far as

Where he
is disco-
vered, and
cut in
pieces by
the sol-
diery.

The Bur-
gundians
allowed to
settle in
Gaul.

Ataulphus
makes
himself
master of
Narbonne
and *Tou-*

ⁿ Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 21. p. 320.

^o Oros. ibid.

Idat. chron.

^p Phot. c. 80. p. 185.

^q Greg. Tur. l. ii. p. 105.

c. 9. p. 63.

^r Oros. c. 45. p. 224. VAL. p. 136 BUCH. de

Belg. p. 440. COINT. annal. eccles. Fran. ann. 407.

^s SOCR.

l. vii. c. 30. p. 371.

^t Oros. p. 219.

^u SOCR. p. 372.

^v Phot.

c. 80. p. 185.

Marsilles;

Lucius
attempts
upon the
life of
Theodo-
sius

Constanti-
nople sur-
rounded
with new
walls.

Ataulphus
marries
Placidia.

Marseilles; but met there with such vigorous resistance from count *Bonifacius*, that he was forced to abandon the enterprise and retire, after having lost great numbers of his men, and been himself wounded. From *Marseilles* he bent his march to *Bordeaux*, where he was received as a friend *. In the east, one *Lucius*, a pagan who commanded the troops attending the court, provoked at the zeal of young *Theodosius* in extirpating idolatry, resolved to save it from utter ruin by assassinating his prince. With this design he went to the palace, and was thrice upon the point of drawing his sword; but was deterred from executing his wicked purpose by a woman of an extraordinary stature, and a threatening aspect, who, as often as he put his hand to his sword, appeared to him holding the emperor in her arms. Thus *Damascus*, a pagan writer, who flourished about the latter end of the present century. *Photius*, who copied it from him, calls it a most remarkable event, and not to be questioned, since related by a pagan writer †, but it is not, however remarkable, taken notice of by any other historian. This year the city of *Constantinople* was surrounded with the walls, which *Socrates* styles the great walls ‡. Those which had been built by *Constantine the Great* were pulled down, and this new work, twenty miles in circuit, completed in two months §. But this we can hardly believe upon the authority of *Nicephorus*, an historian not much to be relied on. It was called the new wall, and the wall of *Theodosius* ¶. The emperor published this year several laws against the *Re-baptizers*, the *Eunomians*, the *Sabbatians*, and the *Protopaschites*, that is, against those, who, in the celebration of *Easter*, differed from the church as to the day, and therefore styled themselves *Protopaschites*, as if they followed the primitive practice and institution.

THE next consuls were *Constantius* and *Constans*, both generals, the former in the west, and the latter in the east. This year the negotiations between *Honorius* and *Ataulphus*, interrupted by the taking of *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*, were resumed. But the more the *Goths* were pressed by *Constantius* to send back *Placidia*, the higher he raised his demands, that, the emperor refusing to comply with them, he might have a more plausible excuse for detaining her. In the end, by means of one *Candidianus*, he prevailed upon her to marry him, and the nuptials were celebrated at *Narbonne*, in the month of *January* of this year 414, with the utmost pomp and solemnity. *Placidia* ap-

* RUTIL. l. i. p. 137. PHOT. p. 185. VAL. ibid. p. 115. HIER. ep. xi. p. 93. † PHOT. c. 242. p. 1072. ‡ SOCR. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334. § NICEPH. l. xiv. c. 1. p. 438. ¶ CANGE de Const. p. 38-40.

peared on that occasion sitting on a bed of state, and *Ataulphus* in the *Roman* dress. He yielded to the royal bride the most honourable place, and presented her with fifty basons filled with pieces of gold, and fifty with jewels and precious stones of an inestimable value, part of the spoils brought from *Rome*. *Attalus* assisted at the ceremony, and sung the *epithalamium* or nuptial song ^a; a degrading function for one who had been vested with the imperial dignity. This marriage was generally looked upon as an accomplishment of *Daniel's* prophecy, that the king of the north should marry the daughter of the king of the south ^b (P). *Honorius* did not, it seems, consent to this marriage; for soon after *Ataulphus* obliged *Attalus* to resume the purple, and caused him to be acknowledged emperor by his *Goths*. However, he wished for nothing so much as to conclude a lasting peace with *Honorius*, and seems to have set up *Attalus* anew, with no other design but to intimidate the emperor, and oblige him to grant to him and his *Goths* more favourable terms ^c. *Orosius* writes, that at first he had nothing less in view than the utter ruin of the *Roman* empire, and the establishing the empire of the *Goths* in its room; of giving the name of *Gothia* to that country, which was then called *Romania*; and founding such a monarchy among his countrymen as *Augustus Caesar* had introduced among the *Romans*: but being by long experience convinced, that the *Goths* were incapable of being governed by laws, he began to think, that the only means of acquiring a great name was to restore, instead of destroying, the *Roman* empire; and with this view he courted the friendship of *Honorius*, especially after he had by *Placidia* a son to whom he gave the name of *Theodosius* ^d. But *Constantius*, and his party at court, defeated all the measures taken by *Ataulphus* and *Placidia* to

*He obliges
Attalus to
resume the
purple.*

^a OLYMP. apud Phot. p. 188. IDAT. chron.

^b IDAT. ibid.

^c OLYMP. ibid.

^d OROS. l. vii. c. 43. p. 224.

(P) At *St Gille* in *Languedoc* was found an inscription made by the neighbouring people in honour of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia*, their princes and sovereigns, as they are styled, for having chosen *Heraclia*, that is, according to some, the present *St. Gille*, for the place of their residence (1). In this inscription, which both *Spon* and *du Cange* look upon as genuine, *Ataulphus* is styled the most powerful king of kings, and the most just conqueror of conquerors: he is likewise commended for having driven out the *Vandals*, probably some of that nation, who had remained in *Gaul*. *Placidia* is styled *Cæsarea*, as if she had enjoyed the rank and honours peculiar to the *Cæsars*.

(1) *Spon*. p. 157.

Ataulphus
obliged to
quit Gaul,
and retire
into Spain.

bring about an accommodation: they would not suffer the emperor to hearken to any overtures, however reasonable; so that the war being renewed, *Ataulphus* was in the end obliged to quit *Gaul*, and retire into *Spain* ^e. *Valesius* is of opinion, that he withdrew in virtue of a treaty between him and *Constantius* ^f; but the expression of *Orosius*, that *he was forced to quit Gaul*, seems to import, that he was driven out by force ^g. *Honorius* published a law this year, dated the twenty-third of *March*, forbidding any one to molest such as should take sanctuary in churches, on pain of being prosecuted and punished as guilty of high treason ^h. The law dated the twentieth of *May* allows every one full liberty to kill such lions as they should find on their grounds, but not to hunt them, in order to take them alive, and sell them. These lions were kept for the public shows; but *the interest of our people*, says the emperor in that law, *must be preferred to our diversion* ⁱ.

Pulcheria
is declared
Augusta,
and takes
upon her
the admin-
istration
in the east.

WHILE these things passed in the west, *Pulcheria*, sister to the emperor *Theodosius*, being declared *Augusta* in the east, on account of her extraordinary wisdom and piety, took upon her the administration, *Athemius* thinking her better qualified for it than himself, though she had just then entered only the sixteenth year of her age, and was but two years older than the emperor. And truly, as she was endowed with most extraordinary parts, and eminent for piety, her administration proved equally advantageous to the state and the church. *Theodosius II.* excelled perhaps in piety and religion even his grandfather *Theodosius the Great*, which all authors agree to have been in great part owing to the uncommon care *Pulcheria* took in inspiring him with those religious maxims, by which she ruled her own actions ^k. In the very beginning of her administration, she persuaded the young prince to dismiss the eunuch *Antiochus*, of whom hereafter, and to remit whatever was due to the exchequer from the year 368, to 407 ^l.

THE following year, when *Honorius* was consul the tenth time, and *Theodosius* the third, *Theodosius* the son of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia*, died in *Spain*, whither his father had retired with his *Goths*; and was buried in a silver coffin near *Barcelona*, in a place of prayer, says *Olympiodorus* ^m, that is, in a church. *Ataulphus* himself did not long survive him; for he

^e OLYMP. *ibid.* p. 184.

^f Val. rer. Franc. l. iii p. 110.

^g OROS. *ibid.*

^h Cod. Just. l. i tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 107.

ⁱ Cod.

Theod. l. xv. tit. 12. leg. 1. p. 392.

^k Soz. p. 800.

^l THE-

OPH. p. 70.

ISID. Pelus. l. i. ep. 36. p. 11.

Cod. Theod. l. xi.

ut. 28 p. 203.

^m OLYM. apud Phot. p. 88.

was killed this very year at *Barcelona*, in the month of *August* Ataulphus or *September*, since the news of his death was brought to *Constantinople* on a *Friday* the twenty-fourth of the latter month ⁿ. *in Spain*.

He was stabbed in his stable by one of his own countrymen and domestics, named *Dobbius*, whose former master, a leading man among the *Goths*, *Ataulphus* had caused to be murdered several years before^o. *Jornandes* supposes him to have waged a long war with the *Vandals* in *Spain*, and to have been killed three years after he had reduced that country by one *Vernulphus*, whose former master *Ataulphus* had murdered ^p. But in what relates to *Ataulphus*, we have all along followed *Olympiodorus*, a contemporary historian, who, generally speaking, agrees with the other writers of those times. *Photius* has transmitted to us an abstract of his work. We are surprised, that *Giannone*, in his history of the kingdom of *Naples*, should to his authority prefer that of *Jornandes*, a writer of a much later date, who seldom agrees with other historians, and often disagrees with himself. *Ataulphus*, in dying, charged his brother, not named by our historian, to send back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and to live in friendship with them ^q. But the *Goths*, instead of his brother, chose for their king *Sigeric*, the brother of *Sarus*, who immediately ordered the six children that *Ataulphus* had had by a former wife, to be inhumanly murdered, revenging, by that piece of cruelty, the death of his brother ^r. He even obliged *Placidia* to walk with other captives twelve miles before his chariot. But he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election^s, and *Vallia* chosen in his room, after he had caused all those to be murdered who stood in competition with him for the crown ^t. This year a great tumult happened at *Alexandria*; the christians and *Jews*, who were very numerous in that city, quarrelling on account of certain sports exhibited on a *Saturday*. *St. Cyril*, bishop of the place, threatened to drive the *Jews* out of the city, which exasperated them to such a degree, that they resolved to vent their rage upon his whole flock, the more because they were favoured by *Orestes*, prefect of the city, then at variance with the bishop. Accordingly having provided themselves with arms, some of them in the dead of the night began to cry *fire*, giving out at the same time, that the great church was in flames. Hereupon, the christians, hastening out of their houses to save the church, were massacred in great numbers by the *Jews*, who lay in ambush for them,

He is succeeded by Sigeric, who causes all his children to be murdered, and is murdered himself.

A great tumult at Alexandria between the christians and Jews.

ⁿ Idem ibid. PHILOSTORG. l. xii. c. 4. d. 534. ^o Idem ibid.

^p JORN. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 655. ^q OLYMP. apud. Phot. p. 188.

^r Idem ibid. OROS. p. 224. SOZ. l. ix. c. 9. p. 811. ^s OLYMP. ibid. OROS. p. 224. ^t OROS. ibid. PROSP. chron.

and knew one another by a certain mark or badge, which they wore for that purpose. The bishop, highly provoked at this barbarity, drove all the *Jews* out of the city; which the governor resenting, as an encroachment upon his authority, the breach between him and the bishop was widened, and they both wrote to court, complaining of each other's conduct. In the mean time, the hermits or monks, who led a retired life on the neighbouring mountains, being told, that *Orestes* had espoused the cause of the *Jews* against *Cyril* and the christians, flew to the city, and meeting the prefect in his chariot, reviled him with the names of pagan and idolater. *Orestes*, to appease them, told them, that he was a christian, and had been baptized by *Atticus*, bishop of *Constantinople*. But while he was yet speaking, one of the monks, by name *Ammonius*, wounded him on the head with a stone. His attendants, believing him killed, for he was in an instant covered all over with blood, betook themselves to flight; but some of the citizens, coming to his rescue, seized the monk, and delivered him up to the prefect, who caused him to be tortured till he died on the rack. The populace resolved to revenge his death, which they did in the following manner, to the great scandal of the christian name and profession. At that time lived in *Alexandria*, *Hypatia*, the daughter of the celebrated philosopher *Theon*, who had been brought up and instructed by her father with extraordinary care, and was thought to excel in learning and quickness of apprehension all the philosophers of that age. She was thoroughly acquainted with the different doctrines of the various sects of philosophers, and publicly explained them to an incredible number of disciples, who flocked from all parts to hear her. She was no less remarkable for her chastity and modest carriage, though her friendship was courted by all the great men of her age, than for her knowledge and erudition. As she was in great favour and esteem with the prefect *Orestes*, the populace, partly to revenge the death of *Ammonius*, and partly because they imagined, as she was a pagan, that she incensed the prefect against the bishop and his friends, rose suddenly in a tumultuous manner, and being headed by one *Peter*, a reader in a church, they stopped her as she was returning to her house, and pulling her out of her chariot, dragged her to a neighbouring church, where they flayed her alive, and tearing her in pieces, carried her mangled members to a place called *Cinaron*, and there burnt them to ashes. This unheard-of barbarity reflected great scandal on the christian name, especially on the church of christians. *Alexandria*; Thus *Socrates**, whose authority is questioned by

The celebrated
Hypatia
inhumanly
murdered
by the
christians.

* Socr. i. vii. c. 13.

most ecclesiastic writers, who suppose him to have been a zealous *Novatian*, and consequently an enemy to *St. Cyril*, who, upon his first coming to the see of *Alexandria*, had caused the penal laws against those and all other sectaries to be strictly executed. This year, *Theodosius*, by a law dated the seventh of *December*, excluded the pagans from all employments both civil and military^w. By another law, dated the nineteenth of *October*, he deposed *Gamaliel*, patriarch of the *Jews*, for having abused his authority^x. *Gamaliel* is supposed to have been the last patriarch of that nation, which was thenceforth governed by primates chosen by the councils of the provinces, whereas the patriarchal dignity was hereditary.

The pagans
excluded
from all
employ-
ments both
civil and
military.

THE next consuls were *Theodosius*, the seventh time, and *Junius Quartus Palladius*, who was prefect of *Italy* this and the five following years^y. *Vallia*, lately created king of the *Goths* in *Spain*, resolved to pursue the war against the *Romans*, and attempt the reduction of *Africa*; but the fleet he was sending thither being shipwrecked near the straits of *Gibraltar*, and most of the *Goths* on board of it drowned, he entered into a treaty with *Constantius*, and in the end concluded a peace with *Honorius*, delivered up hostages, and, upon his receiving six hundred thousand measures of corn, sent back *Placidia* to her brother^z. *Vallia* not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans* against the barbarians, who had settled in *Spain*, advising the emperor to let them fight it out among themselves, since whatever side prevailed, he was sure to be a gainer^b. This advice *Honorius* followed, to the great advantage and relief of the empire, as we shall see anon. *Attalus*, whom the *Goths* had carried with them into *Spain*, seeing a peace concluded between them and the *Romans*, endeavoured to make his escape by sea; but the ship was taken, and he carried to *Constantius*, then in *Gaul*, who sent him to the emperor, by whose orders his right hand, or, as others will have it, only the fingers of his right hand, were cut off, to prevent his writing, and he confined to the island of *Lipari*, where the good-natured emperor caused him to be treated with great humanity^c. This year, *Theodosius*, leaving *Constantinople* for the first time after the twenty-second of *July*, retired to *Eudoxiopolis*, called formerly *Selymbria*, on the sea-coast between *Constantinople* and *Heraclea*, and continued partly there, partly at *Heraclea*, till the twenty-ninth of

Vallia,
king of the
Goths in
Spain, con-
cludes a
peace with
Honorius.

Attalus
taken and
confined to
the island of
Lipari.

^w Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 21. p. 293. ^x Idem, tit. 8 leg. 22. p. 239 ^y IDAT. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 376.
^z OROS. p. 224. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. OLYMP. ibid. p. 189
^b OROS. ibid. ^c OLYMP. PHILOST. OROS. ibid.

Placidia
married to
Constantius.

The Franks
allowed to
settle in
Thongria.

Vallia
gains great
advantages
over
the Vandals
in
Spain.

September ^d. The following year 417, when *Honorius* was consul the eleventh time, and *Constantius* the second, the emperor, to reward the services of that brave general, gave him in marriage his sister *Placidia*, an honour at which he had been long aspiring. *Placidia* could not by any means be prevailed upon to give her consent; but the emperor, taking hold of her hand, gave it in spite of her to *Constantius* ^e. They were thus married on the first of *January* of the present year, when *Constantius* entered upon his second consulship. A few months after, *Honorius*, leaving *Ravenna*, repaired to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, causing *Attalus*, brought for that purpose from *Lipari*, to walk before his chariot. When the triumph was over, *Attalus* was remanded to the place of his exile, and *Honorius* returned soon after to *Ravenna* ^f. The *Armorici*, who had revolted in 409, and introduced a new form of government among themselves, were this year brought again under subjection by *Constantius* ^g. About this time the *Franks*, after having dwelt for the space of near two hundred years on the German side of the *Rhine*, were allowed to pass that river, and settle in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons ^h. But whether *Faramond*, who reigned at this time, had any authority over the other princes, or was only more powerful than the rest, is what we are nowhere told. He was the son of *Marcomir*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere ⁱ, and the grandson of *Priamus*, whom *Tiro Prosper* calls the first king of the *Franks* mentioned in history ^k. In the east nothing remarkable happened this year besides an earthquake, which overturned several houses at *Constantinople*, and the city of *Cybyra* in *Phrygia* ^l.

THE following year, *Honorius* being consul the twelfth time, and *Theodosius* the eighth, *Vallia*, making war upon the barbarians in *Spain*, cut off all the *Vandals* called *Silingi*, who had settled in *Bætica* or *Andalusia*. He likewise made such a dreadful havock of the *Alans*, who had hitherto ruled over the *Vandals* and *Suevians*, that their king *Ata* being killed among the rest, they fled for protection to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals* who had settled in *Galicia*, and submitted to him. Hence the successors of *Gonderic* used to style themselves kings of the *Vandals* and *Alans* ^m. *Constantius*, to reward these eminent

^d SOCR. l. vii. c. 36. p. 381. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 163.
^e OLYMP. p. 192. ^f Cod. Theod. chron. p. 164. ^g RUT.
 l. i. p. 132. ^h GREG. Tur. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 3. p. 64. BUCH.
 de Belg. p. 453. COINT. tom. i. p. 44. ⁱ See before p. 7.
^k PROSP. chron. ^l Chron. Al. p. 718. ^m IPAT. chron. SID.
 GERM. l. p. 300.

services of *Vallia* and his *Goths*, gave them *Aquitania Secunda*, *Vallia* and comprising the present archbishoprick of *Bordeaux*, and some *his* *Goths* neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from *Toulouse* to *allowed to* the sea, to which he added soon after *Novempopulania* or *Aqui-* *settle in* *tania Tertia*, that is, the province of *Auch*, and *Gascony*. *Aquitain*. *Vallia* fixed his residence at *Toulouse*, which by that means became the capital of the kingdom of the *Goths*ⁿ. *Vallia* on the other hand yielded to the *Romans* the countries he had taken from the *Vandals* and *Alans* in *Spain*^o. He died soon after, *He dies,* leaving behind him one daughter, married to a *Suevian*, by *and is suc-* whom she had *Ricimer*, who completed the ruin of the western *ceeded by* empire. The deceased prince was succeeded by *Theodoric*, *Theodo-* called by some *Theodorus*, and by others *Theodorides*^p. In the *ric*. east one *Plintha*, by nation a *Goth*, revolted, but was defeated in *Palestine*^q; which is all we know of this war. *Plintha*, notwithstanding his defeat, must have concluded an advantageous peace with *Theodosius*; for he was raised the following year to the consular dignity, and preferred to the post of general of the *Roman* horse and foot, in which he acquitted himself with great reputation and fidelity^r. In the consulship he had *Monaxius* for his colleague, another of *Theodosius*'s officers; so that both consuls were in 419, subjects of the eastern empire, as they had been in 417, of the western. Of the two consuls, one was, generally speaking, chosen in the east, the other in the west; and he named the first, who was first in rank: if they were equal, each named in the first place his own consul. This year *Honorius*, by a law dated from *Ravenna* the twenty-second of *November*, extended the right and privileges of an asylum to all places withing fifty paces of the church, declaring those guilty of sacrilege, who should arrest any one within that space^s. On the second or third of *July* of this year, *Placidia* *Valenti-* was delivered at *Ravenna* of a son, who was named *Valenti-* *nian III.* *nian*, and succeeded *Honorius* in the empire^t. The barba- *born*. rians in *Spain* being no longer harrassed by the *Goths*, who had retired to *Gaul*, as we have related above, and settled there, began to quarrel among themselves. *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, having gained great advantages over *Eremeric*, king of the *Suevians*, obliged him in the end to fly for refuge to the mountains of *Biscay*, where he kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time, *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and the vicar *Maurocelus*, falling unexpectedly upon *Gonderic*, cut great num-

ⁿ IDAT. PROSP. chron. ^o JORN. c. 33. p. 658. IDAT. p. 32, 33. ^p JOHN. p. 659. OLYMP. p. 193. ^q PHILOST. l. xii. c. 8. p. 166. ^r SOCR. l. v. c. 23. p. 292. ^s Cod. Theod. p. 35. ^t IDAT. MARC. PROSP. OLYMP. p. 192. CANGE Byz. fam. p. 66, 67.

Gonderic, king of the Vandals, driven by the Romans out of Biscay and Galicia, retires into Andalusia.

Constantius is raised to the empire, but dies soon after.

Theodosius marries Eudocia.

bers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon *Biscay* and *Galicia*, and retire into *Bætica* ^u. Nothing happened this year in the east, which historians have thought worthy of notice, except an attempt upon the life of *Aetius*, prefect of *Constantinople*, who was attacked by an assassin, named *Ceryachus*, as he was returning from the great church ^w. We are not told what gave occasion to this attempt, nor what became of the assassin. By a law dated the twenty-fourth of *September*, *Theodosius* declared those guilty of death, who should teach the barbarians the art of building ships, to which they were yet strangers ^x. The following year, when *Theodosius* was consul the eighth time, and *Constantius* the third, the army mutinied in the east, and put to death their general, by name *Maximinus*, as we read in the chronicle of *Marcellinus* : but of this mutiny no mention is made by any other writer. In the west nothing remarkable happened this year ; but under the following consuls *Agricola* and *Eustatius*, the emperor *Honorius*, on the eighth of *February*, raised *Constantius* to the imperial dignity, declared him his colleague, and gave the title of *Augusta* to his wife *Placidia* ^y. The images of *Constantius* and *Placidia* were sent to *Constantinople*, with the news of their promotion ; but *Theodosius* refused, for what reason we know not, to acknowledge them ; which would have kindled a war between the two empires, had not *Constantius* died soon after, that is, on the second of *September*, after having reigned seven months wanting six days. He was buried at *Ravenna*, where he died of a pleurisy, in a mausoleum, built by his widow *Placidia*, near the church of *St. Vitalis* ^z. The same year the emperor *Theodosius* married *Eudocia* on the seventh of *June*, on which occasion there were great rejoicings at *Constantinople* ^a. *Eudocia* was the daughter of an *Athenian* philosopher, by name *Heraclitus*, upon whose death her two brothers *Gesius* and *Aurelianus* defrauding her of the share that was due to her of her father's estate, she went to *Constantinople* to implore the protection of *Pulcheria*. As she had been instructed by her father with extraordinary care in several languages, and in every branch of literature, and was besides remarkable for her beauty and engaging behaviour, *Pulcheria*, after several conferences with her, began to think her a proper match for her brother *Theodosius*, whom accordingly she persuaded to marry her. Thus the modern *Greeks* ; but the antient

^u IDAT. chron. ^w Chron. Al. p. 720. ^x Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 40. leg. 24. p. 322. ^y THEOPH. p. 72. OLYMP. p. 192. MAR. chron. ^z PHILOST. l. xii. c. 12. p. 537. OLYMP. p. 193. IDAT. chron. MABIL. it. Ital. p. 39, 40. ^a Chron. Al. p. 724.

writers tell, that she was the daughter, not of the philosopher *Heraclitus*, but of *Leontius*, an *Athenian* sophist, or professor of eloquence at *Athens* ^b. Before the nuptials were celebrated, *Theodosius* caused her to be baptized by *Atticus*, bishop of *Constantinople*, who changed the name of *Athenais*, which she bore before, into that of *Eudocia* ^c. As *Eudocia* had been brought up to letters, she used to divert herself with making verses, and this very year she composed a poem on the victory gained by the *Romans* over the *Persians* ^d, of which anon (Q). The two brothers of *Eudocia*, informed of her good fortune, and conscious to themselves of their behaviour towards her, absconded; but she, instead of resenting the injury they had done her, invited them both to court, and raised them to great preferments ^e. What *Codinus*, a modern *Greek* author, writes of the seven philosophers, who, he says, attended *Eudocia* to *Constantinople*, has the air of a fable ^f. This year the peace, which had long subsisted between the *Romans* and *Persians*, was broken, and a war kindled between the two empires on the following occasion. *Vararanes* V. who in 420, had succeeded his father *Isdegerdes* in the kingdom of *Persia*, having, at the instigation of the *Magi*,

War bet-
ween the
Persians
and Ro-
mans.

^b SOCR. l. vii. p. 360

^c EVAG. l. i. c. 20. p. 297.

^d SOCR. l. vii. c. 21. p. 360.

^e ZONAR. p. 44. Chron.

Al. p. 724.

^f Vide CODIN. de off. Constantin. eccles. p. 30, 31.

(Q) She likewise put into hexameter verse the five books of *Moses*, with those of *Josbua*, of the *Judges*, and of *Ruth*. This performance, which consisted of eight books, is highly commended by *Photius*, as is likewise the paraphrase, which the same princess wrote in verse upon the prophecies of *Zechariah* and *Daniel*, and *Photius* found with a poem on St. *Cyprian* and St. *Justin*, done without all doubt, says that writer, by the same hand (3). The reader will find in *Photius* a long abstract of that poem (4). *Zonaras* mentions another work of the same empress, which he calls *Hommer's rhapsody*. It contained the history of our Saviour, and intirely consisted of verses borrowed from *Hommer*. It was begun by a patrician, says *Zonaras*, but ended by *Eudocia* (5). Some take this patrician to have been one *Pelagius*, who was killed in the reign of *Zeno*, about the year 480, and is said to have been the author of a rhapsody (6). But he was a pagan as appears from *Cedrenus* (7); and consequently can hardly be thought to have been the author of that work, or any part of it.

(3) Phot. c. 183. p. 413—416.

(4) Idem, p. 420.

(5)

Zon. tom. iii. p. 37. Canne Byz. sam. p. 71.

(6) Voss. poet.

Geoc. p. 78.

(7) Cedr. p. 354.

raised a bloody persecution against the christians in his dominions, great numbers of them took refuge in the *Roman* territories, and repaired to *Constantinople*, where they were received with great kindness by *Atticus*, bishop of that city, and by him recommended to the emperor: who was so far from delivering them up, when redemanded by the *Persian* ambassadors, that, on the contrary, he declared his resolution of defending them, and the religion they professed, with the whole strength of the empire. Some misunderstanding had arisen before between the two princes, the *Persian* king refusing to send back some workmen, whom he had hired out of the *Roman* territories, to dig in mines of gold, which he had lately discovered. Besides, the *Persians* had plundered and insulted some *Roman* merchants trading to their country ^g. Upon these provocations, as *Varanes* continued to persecute the christians in his dominions, *Theodosius* proclaimed war with the *Persians*, and, without loss of time, dispatched *Ardaburius*, an *Alan* by nation, at the head of a considerable army, into *Azazene*, a *Persian* province beyond the *Tigris*, which he laid waste, after having gained a complete victory over *Narfes*, whom the king of *Persia* had sent with a numerous army to oppose him. The battle was fought on the third of *September*, and the news of the victory brought on the sixth of the same month to *Constantinople*, tho' seven hundred miles distant from the borders of *Persia*, by a famous courier of those times, named *Palladius*. He travelled with the same surprising expedition to what part soever he was sent; whence of him it was pleasantly said, that he had found means to reduce the *Roman* empire to a petty state ^h. *Narfes*, after his defeat, abandoning the province of *Azazene* to the mercy of the enemy, marched with incredible expedition into *Mesopotamia*, with a design to invade the empire on that side, which was then destitute of troops, and unprepared for a defence. But *Ardaburius*, aware of his design, followed him close, and obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of *Nisibis*, which place he immediately besieged. In the mean time the king of *Persia* having received intelligence of the defeat of his general, and the danger both he and the city of *Nisibis* were in, assembled all his forces; and entering *Mesopotamia*, laid siege to *Theodosiopolis*, with a design to divert *Ardaburius* from that of *Nisibis*. But the besieged, having at their head *Eunomius*, bishop of the place, defended it with such vigour and resolution, that the *Persians*, after having battered it with an incredible number of machines for a whole month without inter-

Narfes, the Persian general, defeated by Ardaburius.

Ardaburius besieges Nisibis.

And the king of Persia Theodosiopolis.

^g SOCR. l. vii. c. 18. p. 353.
558.

^h SOCR. c. 19. p. 557,

mission,

mission, were obliged to drop the enterprize and retire¹. The enemy were soon after reinforced with a numberless multitude of *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Alamundarus*, a renowned warrior, who, to raise the drooping spirits of the *Persian* monarch, bragged, that in a short time he would deliver into his hands, not only the *Romans* who besieged *Nisibis*, but *Antioch* itself, the metropolis of *Syria*. But not long after, his men, being seized with a panic, and not knowing whither to fly, threw themselves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where an hundred thousand of them are said to have perished. The *Romans*, seized at the same time with the like fear, upon a false report, that the king of *Persia* was advancing to the relief of *Nisibis* with a great number of elephants, burnt all their machines, raised the siege, and retired in the utmost confusion into the *Roman* dominions^k.

But are
both seiz-
ed with a
panic, and
retire.

THE following year, when *Honorius* was consul the thirteenth time, and *Theodosius* the tenth, the war was pursued with uncommon success against the *Persians*. From *Socrates*, who only hints at the military preparations, as foreign to his main purpose, it appears, that *Ariobindus*, one of the *Roman* generals, killed in a single combat a *Persian* famed for his valour; that *Ardaburius* put to the sword seven *Persian* commanders, surprised in an ambuscade; and that *Avitianus* cut in pieces the few *Saracens* who had escaped being drowned in the *Euphrates*¹. Notwithstanding these advantages, *Theodosius*, imagining the *Persians*, thus weakened and disheartened, would hearken to an accommodation, and give over persecuting the christians, in whose defence he had taken arms, sent ambassadors to *Vararanes*, with very reasonable proposals; which the *Persian* would have accepted with joy, had he not been diverted from it by the *immortals*, that is, a corps of ten thousand chosen men, so called because they had never been conquered. These persuaded the king to keep the *Romans* in suspense, with a design to surprise them in the mean time; for they imagined they would not at that juncture be upon their guard. With this view they divided themselves into two bodies, one of which lay concealed among the woods, while the other advanced in order to attack the enemy, and draw them into the ambuscade; but *Procopius*, who commanded a separate body of *Romans*, observing their motions from an eminence where he was posted, and apprised of their design, attacked them in the rear, while *Ardaburius* charged them in front; by which means they were surrounded, and all to a man put to the sword. *Vararanes* was no sooner informed of this new calamity, than calling the *Roman* embas-

The Ro-
mans gain
great ad-
vantages
over the
Persians.

¹ Idem ibid. THEODORET. l. v. c. 37. p. 243.
p. 357—360.

¹ Idem, c. 18. p. 357.

^k SOCR. ibid.

A peace
concluded
between
the Ro-
mans and
Persians
for 100
years.

The Ro-
mans re-
ceive a
great
overthrow
in Spain.

Placidia
obliged to
quit the
court and
retire into
the east,
with her
son Valen-
tinian.
Honorius
dies.

sadors, he agreed to the terms they had proposed, and concluded a peace with the empire for an hundred years: which lasted, according to *Evagrius*, till the twelfth year of the reign of *Anastatius*; that is, to the year 502^m. The chief article of this treaty was, that the *Persian* king should recal the banished christians, restore them to their estates, and put a stop to the cruel persecution he had raised against them. While these things passed in the east, *Honorius* attempted in the west to recover *Spain* out of the hands of the barbarians, greatly weakened by their intestine wars. With this view he ordered *Castinus*, general of the foot, and *comes domesticorum*, or captain of the guards, to march against them, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army. *Castinus* soon reduced them to such straits, that they were preparing to submit, and abandon the country which they had seized; but the *Roman* general having unseasonably ventured an engagement, twenty thousand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged with the rest to take refuge in *Tarraco*ⁿ. *Idatius* ascribes this defeat to the treachery of the *Goths*, who served in the *Roman* army; but all other writers to the rash and imprudent conduct of *Castinus*.

THE following year, when *Marinianus* and *Asclepiodotus* were consuls, a misunderstanding arose between *Honorius* and his sister *Placidia*, whom the emperor had entertained at court ever since the death of her husband *Constantius*, with such tenderness and affection, as gave occasion to some very scandalous reflections. Some authors write, that the great sway she bore in the administration, giving no small jealousy to the other courtiers, they persuaded the emperor, that she corresponded privately with the *Goths*, who still looked upon her as their queen, and betrayed to them all his councils^o. However that be, it is certain, that the extraordinary affection he had hitherto shewn her being this year changed into an aversion no less extraordinary, *Placidia* thought it adviseable to quit the court, and retire, with her son *Valentinian*, and her daughter *Honorina*, to *Constantinople*; where she was kindly received by her nephew *Theodosius*, tho' he had formerly refused to acknowledge her husband *Constantius* for emperor, and to give her the title of *Augusta* P. Soon after, *Honorius* died at *Ravenna* of a dropsy, having reigned twenty-eight years since the death of his father *Theodosius*, and thirty-one since the time he was first created *Augustus*. He died, according to *Theophanes*, on the fifteenth, according to *Olympiodorus*, on the twenty-seventh of *August* of the present

^m Evagr. l. i. c. 19. p. 276. THEODOR. l. v. c. 39. p. 245. SOCR. c. 21. p. 359. ⁿ GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63, 64. SALVIAN. l. vii. p. 165—168. ^o OLYMP. p. 196. ^p Idem ibid. CASSIOD. chron.

year 423⁹. His body is said to have been found in 1542, with those of his two wives, *Maria* and *Thermantia*, the daughters of *Stilicho*, in the church of *St. Peter* at *Rome*¹. If so, it must have been conveyed thither from *Ravenna*, where his mausoleum, supposed to have been built by his sister *Placidia*, is still to be seen. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, we shall speak in note (R). *Honorius* no sooner expired, than an express was dispatched

⁹ THEOPH. p. 72. OLYMP. *ibid.* ¹ MABILL. *it. Ital.* p. 145.

(R) Under *Honorius* flourished *Olympiodorus*, who wrote in *Greek* the history of that prince, from the year 407, the thirteenth of his reign, to his death. His work consisted of twenty-two books, and was inscribed to *Theodosius II.* or *the younger* (8). The reader will find an abstract of it in *Photius* (9), who censures the style as low, and altogether unworthy of an historian. However, both *Zosimus* and *Sozomen* seem to have copied it in several places, with some alteration in the phrase and expression. The author was a native of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, and a pagan by religion. He was sent, with others, in 412. on an embassy to a king of the *Huns*, named *Donatus*. Of this voyage (for he went by sea) he gives us an account, and likewise of his journey to *Athens*, and of another to *Syene* in *Egypt*, and to the country of the *Blenny*es (10). This is all we know of him. *Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus* wrote likewise the history of the reign of *Honorius*, from the year 406, to the death of that prince; but of his work only a few passages have reached our times, quoted by *Gregory of Tours* (11). *Claudian* may be ranked among the historians who have written of *Honorius*; for of him we have learnt several particulars of that prince's reign. He was a native of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, as he himself tells us in different places (12), and not the son of a merchant at *Florence*, as some modern writers have endeavoured to prove. He first applied himself to *Greek* poetry; and a fragment of a poem written in that language on the battle of the giants has reached our times (13). His first *Latin* poem was on the consulship of the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, who were consuls in 395. He continued to write on different subjects till the sixth consulship of *Honorius* in 404. He was sent by the citizens of *Rome*, in 396, to congratulate *Honorius* on his third consulship (14). He was honoured by the *Roman* senate with a statue, which, in consideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the square of *Trajan* (15). This honour was conferred upon him before he wrote his poem on the battle of *Pollentia*, fought in 403, (16). He was then tribune and notary, or secretary of state, and

(8) *Phot.* c. 80 p. 177. (9) *Idem ibid.* (10) *Ilem*, p. 177—193. (11) *Greg. Tur. hist. Franc l. ii. c. 9. p. 62—64.* (12) *Claud. ep. 1. p. 238. ep. 4. p. 241. ep. 5. p. 11, 15, &c.* (13) *Claud. p. 236.* (14) *Idem, epig. 9. p. 240.* (15) *Idem, conf. Hon. 3. p. 39.* (16) *Bell. Goth. p. 156.*

dispatched to *Theodosius* with the news of his death, which that prince concealed for some days, and in the mean time gave private

enjoyed the title of *clarissimus*, which was given to the Roman senators. Having, by means of *Serena*, *Stilicho's* wife, married a lady possessed of great wealth in *Africa*, he thenceforth became a professed admirer, or rather adorer, of that great general and statesman, inveighing at the same time with much bitterness against his rivals *Rufinus* and *Eutropius* (17); neither does he spare his countryman *Adrian*, who was *præfectus prætorio* in 405, and 412, having probably been ill-used by him; for in an epistle addressed to him to appease his wrath, he complains, that his family was undone; that of his friends some had been put to the rack, and others banished; and that he himself was reduced to beggary (18). To avoid the ill treatment he met with from *Adrian*, he retired, perhaps to the east; for *Evagrius* ranks him among the poets who flourished under *Theodosius II.* (19). He was, as appears from his poems, an adorer of *Jupiter*, and all the other pagan gods. *Orosius* calls him a most obstinate pagan; but at the same time commends him as an excellent poet (20). *St. Austin* likewise speaks of him as a person greatly attached to the pagan superstition (21). Hence such pieces as contain christian sentiments are by the best critics thought not to have been written by him, tho' they pass under his name, but perhaps by *Claudian Mamertius*, a christian poet of *Vienne* in *Gaul*. *Baillet* prefers *Claudian* to all the poets who have written ever since the age of *Augustus*, tho' he is not, in the opinion of that writer, without some faults. His style is sometimes flat, and sometimes sublime, and most of his poems filled with youthful sallies (22). In all his poems there are several most beautiful passages. His invectives, especially the two books against *Eutropius*, are most esteemed by the learned (23). It is uncertain whether or no the poem on mount *Ætna* was written by him. *Rutilius*, or, as he is styled at the head of his poem, *Rutilius Claudius Numatianus*, flourished in the reign of *Honorius*. He was a native of *Gaul*, according to some, of *Toulouse*. His father had been governor of *Hetruria*, quæstor, comes largitionum, and præfect (24). The *Hetruscans*, by whom he was greatly beloved, on account of his good nature, and impartiality in the administration of justice, erected several statues to his honour at *Pisa*, and in other places. He was dead when his son wrote his poem. *Rutilius* bore two of the greatest employments in the state, viz. the office of *magister officiorum*, and that of præfect of *Rome* (25). In his poem he declares himself a pagan, and a sworn enemy to the monks, especially to those who lived in the island of *Capraria* or *Capraia*, on the coast of *Tuscany*, a young nobleman of his acquaint-

(17) *Idem*, ep. 2. p. 239, 240. (18) *Idem*, epig. 29 p. 261, & p. 1. p. 257. (19) *Evagrius*, l. i. c. 19. p. 278. (20) *Orosius*, l. vii. c. 35. p. 221. (21) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 25. p. 142. (22) *Baill. jugemens de savans* tom. 6. p. 485—492. (23) *Idem*, p. 490, 491. (24) *Rut.* p. 128, 137, 139. (25) *Idem*, p. 131, 138.

vate orders to a body of troops to advance into the neighbourhood of *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, that they might be ready at hand, to prevent

ance having renounced a plentiful estate, and abandoned his friends, relations, and even his wife, to lead a retired life among them (26). *Rutilus* left *Rome*, where he had lived many years, to return to *Gaul*, where he had not been ever since the barbarians entered that country in 407. He set out from *Rome* in 417, or 420, about the month of *October*; and embarking on the *Tiber*, repaired to *Porto*, where he waited a whole fortnight for the new moon, and the setting of the *Pleiades* (27). Those who are skilled in astronomy, may learn from thence the precise year and day of his departure. In 417, and 420, it was new moon in the latter end of *October*. At *Porto*, twelve miles distant from *Rome*, he heard, or imagined to hear, the shouts of the people in the circus. He embarked there on board a small vessel, for the convenience of landing when he pleased to visit his friends, and of lying every night ashore (28). He landed at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, and went to view certain hot waters three miles from thence, called the baths of *Taurus*. Putting to sea again, he discovered the ruins of *Graviscæ*, and *Cosa* or *Cossa*, two cities famous in former ages. The inhabitants of the latter are said to have been forced, by prodigious swarms of rats, to quit their habitations, and abandon the place of their nativity (29). He came ashore likewise at *Port-Ercole*, beyond which he saw the island of *Elba*, more useful, says he, on account of its iron-mines, than the *Tagus* for its golden sands. From *Port-Ercole* he pursued his voyage to *Piombino*, and from thence to *Volterra*, where he went to see the fine house of *Albinus* prefect of *Rome*, and the salt-pits at a small distance from it. At *Volterra* he found *Victorinus* his intimate friend, who, having abandoned *Toulouse*, the place of his nativity, after the settling of the *Goths* there, had retired to *Italy*, and led a country-life in the neighbourhood of *Volterra*. He had been formerly vicar to the prefect of *Britain*, which office he discharged to the great satisfaction of the people. *Honorius*, upon his retiring from *Toulouse*, had invited him to court, and given him the title of *count*; but he preferred a retired life to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him (30). From *Volterra* he sailed to the island of *Gorgona*, and from thence to the port of *Pisa*, where he landed, and went to the city of *Pisa*, to see one of his old friends, by name *Protadius*, who, having lost a great estate in *Gaul*, seized, no doubt by the barbarians, enjoyed greater happiness on a small farm he had in *Umbria*, than he had ever done when possessed of immense wealth, and large territories in his own country. He had been prefect of *Rome*, and had been distinguished with several other great employments (31). Several letters written to him by *Symmachus*

(26) *Idem*, p. 137. (27) *Idem*, p. 131, 132. (28) *Idem*
ibid. (29) *Idem*, p. 133. (30) *Idem*, p. 137. (31) *Idem*,
p. 138.

prevent the disturbances, which, he apprehended, would be raised in the west by the death of *Honorius*, who had left no children

have reached our times (32). From the port of *Pisa*, where *Rutilius* was obliged to continue some time, by reason of the bad weather, he pursued his voyage to *Portus Lanæ*, now *Lerice*, as is commonly believed (33). Thus far his *itinerary*, that is, the poem in which he describes his voyage. It was divided into two books, of which the latter is almost intirely lost. It has all the elegance and beauty that can be expected in a performance of that unpolished age, and informs us of several things relating to the history of those times (34). Some gross mistakes that are to be found in it are, without all doubt, owing partly to the transcribers, partly to ignorant critics, who have strangely mangled and confounded several passages. The author betrays throughout the whole work an inveterate hatred both to the *Jews* and christians; whence we may conclude *Lachalius*, *Lucilius*, and his other heroes, to have been pagans. *Lucilius* wrote some satires, in no respect inferior, if we may depend upon the judgment of *Rutilius*, to those of *Turnus* and *Juvenal* (35); but none of them have reached our times. One *Flavius*, said by *St. Jerom* to have wrote in verse a treatise on phisic, is supposed by *Vossius* to have flourished in the reign of *Honorius*, and likewise the author of a comedy, styled *Querulus Plauti*, which is ascribed to one *Rutilius* (36). About this time flourished *Macrobius*, or, as he is styled at the head of his works, *Aurelius Theodosius Ambrosius Macrobius*; for all the persons he introduces in his *saturnalia*, lived under *Theodosius I.* and his son *Honorius*. He was born in a country where the *Latin* tongue was not common, that is, in *Greece*, or in the east (37). To his name is added, in an antient manuscript, the word *Sicetinus*, denoting perhaps his country (38); but to us quite unknown. He is distinguished with the title of *illustris*, peculiar to the first officers of the empire (39). Hence most writers conclude him to be the *Macrobius* who was great chamberlain to *Theodosius II.* in 422; for whose sake that prince equalled the office of great chamberlain to those of the *præfatus prætorio* and the *magister militie* (40). But against this opinion may be objected, that *Macrobius*, the author of the *saturnalia*, had a son, by name *Eustathius*; whereas the great chamberlains were, generally speaking, eunuchs. Besides, we cannot persuade ourselves, that *Theodosius II.* would have suffered a pagan (for such was the writer we are speaking of) to enjoy that office, which obliged him to be always about the emperor's person. The opinion of those is better founded, who suppose the *Macrobius*, who was proconsul of *Africa* in 410, to be the author of the *saturnalia*. One *Macrobius* was vicar of *pain* in 399 and 400; but stripped of

(32) *Sym. l. iv. ep. 17, 34, 57. p. 150, 174. ep. 30, 32, &c.*
 (33) *Rut. p. 141.* (34) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. iii. c. 2. p. 746.* (35) *Rut. p. 137.*
 (36) *Voss. ibid.* (37) *Macrobi. sat. l. i. c. 8. p. 161.*
 (38) *Wiltb. append. ad dypt. Leod. p. 4.* (39) *Macrobi. p. 159.*
 (40) *Cod. Theod. tit. 2. p. 82.*

children to succeed him. Having taken this step, he made public the death of his uncle, and at the same time caused himself to be

his employment, and punished for some neglect with respect to the posts (41). The work by which *Macrobius* is chiefly known is his *saturnalia*, that is, a collection of antiquities made by him for the instruction of his son, and supposed to have been uttered in a familiar conversation among friends, during the *saturnalia*, or the feasts of *Saturn*. The persons he introduces were the most famous then at *Rome* for their learning and erudition. He addresses his work to his son, for whose sake he undertook it. He relates most things in the terms of the authors from whom he borrowed them, by reason he could not express himself with ease in the *Latin* tongue; and truly, when he speaks himself, he plainly betrays his small knowledge of that language (42). Besides the *saturnalia*, he wrote two books on the dream of *Scipio*, which he likewise inscribed to his son, for whose instruction he undertook that, as he had done the other, work. These two books were translated into *Greek* by *Maximus*, surnamed *Planudes* (43). Another book passes under the name of *Macrobius*, on the conformity and disagreement of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues (44). *Macrobius* wrote indeed a book on that subject; but the work which has reached our times was done by *John Erigenes*, who flourished in the ninth century, and followed the plan of *Macrobius*, whom he copied, changing some things, and adding many of his own (45). One of the chief persons introduced by *Macrobius* in his *saturnalia* is *Servius*, who had lately begun to teach polite literature at *Rome*, and is painted as a person of great learning, and at the same time universally beloved on account of his modesty (46). He is introduced speaking mostly of *Virgil*, whose inimitable *Æneid* he explained daily to the *Roman* youth. *Maurus Servius Honoratus*, the author of the learned comment on that poet, is, without all doubt, the *Servius* of *Macrobius*; but most authors are of opinion, that what has reached us is but an abridgment of that learned work; nay, some take it to have been compiled from *Servius*, and several other antient critics. It is generally held in great esteem, tho' not quite free from faults (47). In the fifth or sixth century flourished a grammarian, named *Martianus Minus Felix Capella*, who published several philological pieces, partly in prose, and partly in verse, which are still extant, and divided into seven books. He is said in the manuscript copies to have been honoured with the proconsular dignity. He was a native of *Carthage*; and truly his barbarous and uncouth style plainly shews, that he was no *Roman*. In his allegorical marriage of *Mercury* with the sciences, there is a great deal of

(41) *Idem*, l. viii. tit. 5. leg. 61. p. 565. (42) *Vide Baill.*
tom. 2. p. 27, 28. (43) *Macrobius*, p. 17. (44) *Idem*, p. 556.
 (45) *Idem*, p. 601, 604, 736. (46) *Idem*, *sat. l. i. c. 2. p. 166.*
Æ l. vi. c. 7. p. 478. (47) *Vide Baill. tom. 2. p. 29—32.*

Theodo-
sius causes
himself to
be pro-
claimed
emperor of
the west.

be proclaimed emperor of the west in his room 9. This did not deter *John*, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, from assum-

9 OLYMP. *ibid.* SOCR. l. vii. c. 23. p. 363. IDAT. chron.

erudition; but the invention is low and mean (48). *Securus Melior Felix*, who professed the christian religion, and taught rhetoric at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, was at the trouble of correcting in 534, one of the copies of *Capella's* works. *Felix* is styled in that manuscript *V. SP. Com. Consist.* that is, *Vir spectabilis, comes consistorianus*, a man of rank, and one of the consistorial or the emperor's counselors (49). *Capella* was greatly esteemed in *France* about the end of the sixth century, as appears from *Gregory of Tours* (50). *Sosipater Charisius*, who published five books of observations on the grammar, still extant, flourished, according to *Baillet*, in the time of *Honorius*, and before him a grammarian named *Diomedes*, whose works have likewise reached our times; but strangely mangled by *Johannes Cæsarius*, who published them, with many observations of his own. *Charisius* is quoted by *Priscian*, who wrote about the end of the fifth century (51). About the same time, *Fabius Fulgentius Planciades* published an explication of some words, addressed to one *Calcidius*, another grammarian. He is styled, and indeed deservedly both by *Vossius* (52) and *Baillet* (53), one of the most ignorant, impertinent, and trifling, authors that ever wrote. He ascribes to *Tacitus*, and other writers, works never before heard of. *Cave* calls him an arrant trifler (54); and all other critics speak of him with the utmost contempt. In the reign of *Theodosius I.* or his children, was published, as is commonly believed, what we call the map or tables of *Peutinger*, which are a kind of itinerary made by some quarter-master, if we may so call him, for the use of those who conducted the *Roman* troops from one place to another. The author seems to have been altogether ignorant both of geography and mathematics. These tables belonged to one *Conrad Peutinger* in *Augsbourg*, and are thence called the tables of *Peutinger*; but they were published by *Velfer*, who had them engraved by *John Moret* of *Antwerp*. The reader will find them in the *theatrum geographicum* of *Bretius*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1619, and among *Velfer's* works, published at *Nuremberg* in 1682. A civilian, by name *Eusebius*, described the war of *Gainas* in a poem, which he styled *Gainades*; and the same subject was handled by another poet, named *Ammenius*, who read it to *Theodosius II.* in 438. Both these poems were greatly esteemed (55); but neither of them has reached our times. *Vossius* supposes them to have been written in the *Greek* tongue, and ranks the authors among the *Greek* poets (56).

(48) *Idem*, p. 34, 35. *Voss. hist. Lat. l. iii. p. 712, 713.* (49) *Wilt. p. 4.* (50) *Vide Voss. p. 713, 714.* (51) *Vide Baill. tom 3. p. 36—40.* (52) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 30. p. 159.* (53) *Baill. p. 38, 39.* (54) *Cave script. eccles. p. 274.* (55) *Socr. p. 309.* (56) *Voss. poet. Græc. c. 9. p. 77, 78.*

ing the purple in *Rome*, being, no doubt, encouraged in his usurpation by *Castinus*, then commander in chief of all the troops in the west; for he was afterwards disgraced and banished, as one of the usurper's chief friends and abettors. The new tyrant was immediately acknowledged, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but likewise in *Gaul* and *Dalmatia*; which encouraged him to dispatch ambassadors to *Theodosius*, to acquaint him with his promotion; but that prince refusing to acknowledge him, and having even ordered his ambassadors to be arrested, and thrown into prison, he began to prepare for war, and sent the famous *Aetius*, with great sums, to draw the *Hunns* over to his assistance. That celebrated commander, who governed the western empire with an absolute sway during the reign of *Valentinian III.* was a native of *Doroſterum* in *Mæſia*, and the son of *Gaudentius*, who, tho' by birth a *Scythian*, was raised to the highest employments in the empire, and married an *Italian* lady of great distinction, called by some *Italica*¹. By her he had *Aetius*, who served at first among the emperor's domestics, or the troops of his household, and was given as an hostage to *Alaric*, after the battle of *Pollentia* in 403, and afterwards to the *Hunns*, with whose chiefs he, by that means, became acquainted. Upon his return from the country of the *Hunns*, he married the daughter of *Carpilio*, captain of the guards, and had by her two sons, *Gaudentius*, who, after the death of *Valentinian*, was taken by *Genſeric*, and *Carpilio*, whom *Valentinian* sent with the character of ambassador to *Attila*². *Aetius* was a person of a majestic mien, of a tall stature, and a robust constitution, which enabled him to bear with patience the greatest fatigues and toils attending a military life. He is no less commended by the ancients on account of his prudence, address, and penetration, in state affairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience, in war. He was quite free from avarice, had but little ambition, and was such a lover of justice, that no recommendations, however pressing, were capable of making him swerve from what to him appeared equitable. Such is the character given him by *Frigeridus*, a writer who flourished in his time, as quoted by *Gregory of Tours*³. *Procopius* writes, that *Aetius* and *Bonifacius*, who defended, as we have observed above, *Marseilles*, when attacked by *Ataulphus*, were the two greatest commanders in the whole empire, and that they deserved to be called the last *Romans*⁴. *John*, upon his usurping the empire, committed to *Aetius* the care of his palace, and then sent him

John, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, assumes the purple.

Aetius his character.

He sides with the usurper.

¹ VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 220. ² CASSIOD. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4. PRIS leg. p. 53. SIDON. p. 169. OROS. p. 305. ³ GREG. Tur. p. 50. ⁴ PROCOR. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 183.

to engage the *Hunns* in his cause, with orders to fall upon the rear of the troops of *Theodosius*, if they entered *Italy*, while he himself charged them in front ^w. On the second of *January* of the present year, *Eudocia* was declared *Augusta* ^x.

Theodo-
sius grants
to Placidia
the title of
Augusta,
and to Va-
lentinian
that of
Cæsar.

THE next consuls were *Castinus* and *Victor*. The former, was general of the troops in the west. Of the latter we find no farther mention in history. In an antient inscription, *John* the usurper is styled consul, he being probably acknowledged in the west, and not *Victor*, whom we may suppose to have belonged to the eastern empire ^y. This year, *Theodosius*, having drawn together all the forces of the eastern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of *Dalmatia*, under the conduct of *Ardaburius*, his son *Aspar*, and *Candidianus*. With them he sent *Placidia* and her son *Valentinian*, allowing the former to resume the title and ensigns of *Augusta*, which had been given her by her brother *Honorius*, but she had quitted upon her entering the dominions of *Theodosius*; and the latter to wear the habit peculiar to the *nobilissimi*; which title had some time since been given to the sons of emperors before they were created *Cæsars*. This was renouncing all pretensions to the empire of the west, and tacitly yielding it to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*. Before they left *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* betrothed his daughter *Licinia Eudoxia*, born in 422, to young *Valentinian*, born on the second or third of *July* in 419. When this ceremony was over, *Placidia* set out from *Constantinople* with her son, who upon his arrival at *Thessalonica*, received the ensigns peculiar to the *Cæsars*, at the hands of *Helio*, *magister officiorum* to *Theodosius*, by whom he had been sent thither for that purpose ^z. The following year, *Theodosius* being consul, the eleventh time, with *Valentinian*, the army of *Theodosius*, having crossed *Pannonia*, and *Illyricum*, appeared unexpectedly before *Salonæ*, which was taken by storm. There it was agreed among the generals, that *Aspar* should lead the cavalry, with *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, by land to *Aquileia*, while the foot, under the command of his father *Ardaburius*, was conveyed thither by sea. This scheme was so well executed on the side of *Aspar*, that arriving at *Aquileia*, before the enemy had the least notice of his march, he entered the place without opposition; but the fleet being dispersed by a violent storm, *Ardaburius* was driven ashore, and taken by the usurper's soldiers, who immediately carried him to their emperor, then at *Ravenna*, by whom he was received with great joy, and treated with the utmost civility,

Aspar
takes A-
quileia
from the
usurper.

^w OLYMP. p. 96. PROSP. chron. ^x Chron. Alex. p. 726.
^y SIDON. p. 137. ^z OLYMP. p. 169. PROSP. chron. PHILOST.
p. 573. GREG. Tur. p. 57.

the usurper hoping by his means to prevail upon *Theodosius*, with whom *Ardaburius* bore a great sway, to acknowledge him for his colleague. As he was allowed to converse with whom he pleased, he gained over the chief officers, who had already begun to be tired of their new prince, and privately acquainting his son *Aspar* with the security in which the tyrant lived, advised him to advance speedily with his best troops to *Ravenna*.

Aspar immediately set out from *Aquileia* with the cavalry; and being conducted through the marshes which surrounded *Ravenna* on the land-side by a shepherd, whom *Socrates* supposes to have been an angel, he entered the city, finding the gates open and unguarded, and, with the assistance of the officers gained over by his father, secured the tyrant before he had time to make his escape, and sent him in chains to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, then at *Aquileia*, who ordered first his right hand, and then his head, to be cut off^a. *Procopius* writes, that after his hand was cut off in the circus, he was, by way of derision, carried about the streets on an ass, exposed to the outrages and insults of the incensed multitude^b. Thus ended the usurpation of *John*, after he had borne the title of emperor about a year and six months, according to *Philostorgius*^c. Three days after his death, *Aetius* entered *Italy*, with an army of sixty thousand *Hunns*, who being met by *Aspar*, a bloody battle was fought, without any considerable advantage on either side; but, in the mean time *Aetius*, informed of the death of the usurper, thought it adviseable to make the best terms he could for himself. Accordingly, *Placidia*

He surprises *Ravenna*, and takes the usurper, who is put to death.

promising not only to receive him into favour, but to distinguish him with the title of count, he submitted, and prevailed upon the *Hunns* to return into their own country^d. *Castinus*, who was supposed to have favoured the usurpation of *John*, was sent into exile^e. When news of the captivity and death of the usurper was brought to *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* declared his cousin, young *Valentinian*, emperor, and *Placidia* regent of the empire during her son's minority. He intended to have taken a progress into *Italy* in order to invest him there with the sovereignty, and with that design advanced as far as *Thessalonica*; but was seized in that city with a malady, which obliged him to return to *Constantinople*, whence he dispatched *Helio* to *Rome*, where *Valentinian* then was, with the purple and imperial diadem, which the young prince received on the twenty-third of *October* of the present year 425^f. The same year, the

Aetius submits, and is received into favour. *Valentinian* III. declared emperor of the west, and his mother *Placidia* regent.

^a SOCR. p. 363. PHILOSTORG. p. 538. OLYMP. ibid. p. 197.

^b PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 181. ^c PHILOST. ibid.

^d Idem ibid. CASSIOD. chron. ^e PROSP. chron. ^f SOCR.

l. vii. c. 24. p. 564. OLYMP. ibid. IDAT. chron.

Vandals,

Thrace
ravaged by
the Hunns.

The Goths
removed
from Pan-
nonia into
Thrace.

Bonifacius
in great
favour
with Pla-
cidia.

Vandals, who had settled in *Spain*, ravaged the *Balearic* islands, and the *Goths*, to whom settlements had been allotted in *Gaul*, seized on some of the neighbouring cities, and even laid siege to *Arles*, which however they were forced to raise at the approach of *Aetius*, who was sent against them with a considerable army ^g. In the east, *Thrace* was laid waste by the *Hunns*, probably the same who came to the assistance of the usurper *John*, and even threatened *Constantinople* with a siege, but their leader, by name *Rougas*, or *Roilas*, being killed with lightning, and great numbers of them being daily swept away by a plague which broke out in their army, their rest withdrew of their own accord, dreading, not the valour of the *Romans*, says *Socrates*, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently espoused the cause of *Theodosius* ^h. The following year 426, when *Theodosius* was consul the twelfth time, and *Valentinian* the second, nothing remarkable happened in either empire. But under the next consuls *Hierius* and *Ardaburius*, the *Goths*, who had held *Pannonia* ever since the year 377, when they first entered that province, were by *Theodosius* transferred from thence into *Thrace*, where they continued for the space of fifty-eight years, that is, till they made themselves masters of *Italy*, under the conduct of *Theodoric* ⁱ. This gives us room to believe, that *Theodosius*, in yielding the western empire to *Valentinian*, retained *Pannonia*, which comprised that part of the present *Austria* and *Hungary*, that lies on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and had hitherto belonged to the empire of the west. Great disturbances happened this year in *Africa*, which were attended with the loss of that province. The celebrated count *Bonifacius*, who is styled by *St. Austin* the joy of the church, the bulwark of *Africa*, and the glory of the empire, had been rewarded by *Honorius*, for his gallant behaviour at *Marseilles*, with the command of the troops in *Africa*; which province he defended with great bravery against the repeated attempts of *John*, tho' acknowledged by all the other commanders and governors of provinces. *Placidia*, highly pleased with his conduct and loyalty, called him to court, upon the death of that tyrant; and, after bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, preferred him to the post of *comes domesticorum*, and sent him back into *Africa* with an unlimited power. This gave no small jealousy to his rivals at court, especially to *Felix*, commander in chief of the *Roman* forces, and to *Aetius*, who, after his departure, persuaded *Placidia*, that he had preserved *Africa* for himself, and only waited an opportunity of establishing there an

^g SIDON. p. 22. IDAT. chron. ^h SOCR. p. 387. ⁱ THEOP. p. 81. MARC. chron.

independent sovereignty. *Aetius* added, that the empress might, when she pleased, oblige him to pull off the mask, by recalling him from his government; for he was very sure *Bonifacius* would disobey her orders. Hereupon the credulous princess immediately ordered *Bonifacius* to repair to *Rome*; but *Aetius* having written to him before, that the empress sought his ruin, and, in order to compass it, would soon recall him, advising him at the same time, with great protestations of friendship, to consult his own safety, he, upon the receipt of *Placidia's* letter, concluded *Aetius* to be his true friend, and following his advice, refused to comply with the orders he had received. Hereupon *Placidia*, no longer questioning the truth of *Aetius's* information, declared *Bonifacius* a public enemy, and dispatched a strong body of troops against him, under the command of *Mavortius*, *Galbio*, and *Sinex*, who besieged *Bonifacius*, in what place we are no-where told, and kept him shut up, till quarrelling among themselves, *Mavortius* and *Galbio* were killed by the treachery of *Sinex*, and he in a fall by *Bonifacius*, who gained a complete victory without the loss of one man. *Placidia*, being resolved, notwithstanding the ill success of her three generals, to pursue the war with vigour, committed the whole management of it to *Sigisvult*, by nation a Goth, who, without loss of time, passing over into *Africa* with a great number of his countrymen, made himself master of *Carthage* and *Hippo*. *Bonifacius*, finding the empress obstinately bent upon his ruin, and himself not in a condition to contend with the whole strength of the empire, had recourse to the *Vandals*, who, ever since the defeat of *Castinus* in 422, had peaceably enjoyed the province of *Bætica* or *Andalusia*, and were at this time governed by *Genferic*, brother to the late king *Gonderic*. *Genferic* was, according to *Jornandes*^k and *Procopius*^l, of a low stature, and lame by a fall from his horse: he thought much, and spoke little; was an enemy to pleasure and debauchery; had a wonderful address in gaining the affection of the people, and sowing dissensions among his enemies. He was remarkably brave and courageous; but no less ambitious and passionate; well skilled in the art of war, and long enured to the hardships and toils attending it. He renounced the catholic faith, which he first professed, to embrace the doctrine of *Arius*, which prevailed among his countrymen the *Vandals*^m. His brother *Gonderic* left several sons behind him; but he caused them all to be put to death, together with their motherⁿ. With this barbarian *Bonifacius*, whose piety had

He is forced by the treachery of Aetius and Felix to revolt.

Defeats the troops sent against him.

Another army sent to reduce him.

He returns to Genferic king of the Vandals.

^k JORN. c. 36. p. 657. ^l PROCOP. p. 184. ^m IDAT. p. 17. ⁿ MALEL. hist. chron.

been formerly so much extolled by St. *Austin*^o, was forced, in his own defence, to enter into a treaty, whereof the chief, and perhaps the only, article was, that, upon their assisting him, *Africa* should be divided between *Gonderic*, says *Procopius* falsely, supposing him still alive, *Genferic*, and himself^p. The treaty being agreed to, *Genferic*, having assembled a great number of vessels, ordered all his *Vandals*, women and children as well as men, to imbarque; and abandoning *Spain* in the month of *May* of the year 528, while *Felix* and *Taurus* were consuls, crossed the straits of *Gibraltar*, and landed in *Africa*^q. The *Romans* took possession anew of the provinces which the *Vandals* had abandoned, and held them, till they were driven out by the *Suevians*, as the *Suevians* were in their turn by the *Goths*, who by that means came to settle in that part of *Spain*^r. The same year, *Aetius* was sent into *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Franks*, whom he defeated with great slaughter, and obliged them to abandon the country on the *Roman* side of the *Rhine*, in which they had been allowed by *Honorius* to settle, and to retire with their families beyond that river^s. What gave occasion to this war, we are no-where told. The *Franks* were governed at this time by *Clodius*, as *Prosper Tyro* styles him^t, or *Clodion*, as he is called by *Gregory of Tours* and the modern writers^u. He is supposed to have been the son, as well as the successor, of *Faramond*. Nothing happened this year in the east worthy of notice, except the publishing of a law, by which all brothels were suppressed in *Constantinople*^w. *Florentius* and *Dionysius*, consuls for the year 429, were succeeded by *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, the former the thirteenth time, and the latter the third time, consul. During the consulship of the two princes, *Aetius* was raised to the chief command of all the troops of the western empire, in the room of *Felix*, who was at the same time created a patrician; but soon after killed in *Ravenna* by the mutinous soldiery, stirred up against him by *Aetius*, jealous of his great credit at court. The same year, *Aetius* gained considerable advantages over the *Juthongi*, whose country bordered on *Rhaetia*; over the inhabitants of *Noricum*, who had revolted; and over the *Goths* in *Gaul*, attempting to raise new disturbances in that province^x. The following year,

Who passes
over into
Africa.

The Franks
driven out
of Gaul by
Aetius.

Who is ap-
pointed
commander
in chief of
all the
forces of
the west-
ern empire.

^o AUG. ep. 70. p. 126. ^p PROCOP. p. 45. ^q PROSP. chron. IDAT. p. 18. VICT. VIT. de perfec. Vandal. p. 3.
^r PROCOP. p. 19. IDAT. ibid. ^s CASSIOD. chron. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. ^t TYR. PROSP. ^u GREG. Tur hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. ^w Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 8. leg. 13. p. 38. ^x IDAT. SIDON. car. vii. p. 338. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660.

when *Bassus* and *Antiochus* were consuls, *Aetius* intirely reduced the *Noriti*; and likewise the *Vindelici*, who had joined the former in the revolt. From *Noricum* he passed into *Gaul*, to awe the *Franks*, who were said to be in arms^y. This year, *Placidia* discovered at length the true cause of the revolt of *Bonifacius*. Some of that general's friends, greatly surpris'd at his entering all on a sudden into an alliance with the enemies of the empire, after having defended it against the barbarians with so much zeal and integrity, obtained leave of the empress to pass over into *Africa*, in order to confer with him in person, and hear what he could alledge in his own defence. *Bonifacius* was overjoyed to see them, and produced, upon their charging him with treason and rebellion, the letter which *Aetius* had written to him, protesting, that nothing but his own safety and preservation could have induced him to turn his arms against his prince and country. With this letter they returned to *Placidia*, who was thereby fully convinced of the treachery of *Aetius*; but not thinking it adviseable to provoke him, as he was then at the head of a victorious army in *Gaul*, she conceal'd her indignation for the present, and contented herself with expressing, in a letter to *Bonifacius*, her sincere detestation of the injury that had been done him; withal assuring him of her favour and protection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and consulting, with his usual zeal, the safety of the empire, drive out the barbarians, whom, for his own safety, he had called in. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them immense sums provided they quitted *Africa*, and returned to *Spain*; but as they had already reduced the whole country, except three cities, viz. *Carthage*, *Hippo*, and *Cirtha*, *Genferic* first returned him a scoffing answer; and then falling upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himself to fly to *Hippo*: which place the barbarians immediately invested; but were obliged, the following year, for want of provisions, to raise the siege, after it had continued for the space of fourteen months, *Genferic* attacking the town almost daily with incredible fury, and *Bonifacius* defending it with equal vigour and intrepidity^z. In the east was held this year an œcumenic council at *Ephesus*, in which the doctrine of *Nestorius*, bishop of *Constantinople*, asserting not only two natures in Christ, but two persons, was condemned, and he deposed on the twenty-second of *June*, the sentence of his deposition being signed by above two hundred bishops. The next year, *Aetius* was raised to the consulship, *Placidia* still pretending to be unacquainted with his treacherous conduct towards *Bonifacius*. He

Placidia acquainted with the true cause of the revolt of Bonifacius.

He endeavours to persuade the Vandals to retire from Africa. Most of Bonifacius's men cut in pieces by Genferic.

^y IDAT. p. 19.^z PROCOPIUS. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185.

Bonifacius and Aspar defeated by Genseric,

Who overruns all Africa.

A civil war between Bonifacius and Aetius, in which the former was killed.

had for his colleague *Valerius*, the preceding year prefect of *Constantinople*. This year *Bonifacius*, reinforced with powerful succours sent both by *Placidia* and *Theodosius*, offered battle to the *Vandals*; who readily accepting it, cut most of his men in pieces, took an incredible number of prisoners, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves among the rocks and mountains. Among the prisoners was *Marcianus*, who afterwards attained to the empire. *Aspar*, who commanded on this occasion the eastern troops, with much-ado escaped into *Africa*, and returned to *Constantinople*, as did *Bonifacius* to *Italy*, being invited thither by *Placidia*. Upon their departure, the barbarians overran all *Africa*, committing every-where dreadful ravages and unheard-of cruelties; which struck the inhabitants of *Hippo* with such terror, that they abandoned their city, which was first pillaged, and then set on fire, by the victorious enemy ^a. *St. Austin*, bishop of the place, died the year before, in the fourth month of the siege. *Carthage* and *Cirtha* were now the only places in all *Africa* held by the *Romans*. *Bonifacius*, upon his arrival at *Ravenna*, was received with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem by *Placidia*, and raised to the chief command of the army, in the room of *Aetius*; who, finding his treachery discovered, and dreading the power of *Bonifacius*, assembled the forces under his command, in order to destroy his rival. *Bonifacius*, at his approach, marched out at the head of a body of chosen troops to meet him. Hereupon a battle ensuing, *Bonifacius* received a wound, of which he died three months after ^b. Thus *Marcellinus*, who did not, it seems, think it necessary to acquaint us in what place the battle was fought, nor which side carried the day. The same writer adds, that *Bonifacius* on his death-bed exhorted his wife *Pelagia* to marry no man but *Aetius*, if his wife should die before him. *Aetius*, dreading the resentment of *Placidia*, withdrew to the court of *Rugula*, or *Rouas*, king of the *Hunns*, whence he returned soon after, at the head of a numerous army of barbarians; but the empress promising not only to pardon him, but restore him to his former post, he dismissed the barbarians, and returned to court, where he was this very year raised to the rank of a patrician ^c. The following year, *Theodosius* being consul the fourteenth time, with *Petronius Maximus*, a dreadful fire broke out at *Constantinople*, which lasted three days, and consumed all the public granaries, with many other stately edifices, and great part of the city ^d. In the following consulship of *Aspar* and *Areobindus*,

^a Idem ibid. ^b MARC. chron. ^c PROSP. IDAT. chron.

^d SOCR. l. vii. c. 39. p. 385.

Honorina, sister to the emperor *Valentinian*, having suffered herself to be debauched by one of her domestics, named *Eugenius*, was banished the court, being then sixteen years old, and sent to *Constantinople*, her mother *Placidia* having discovered, that, by means of her eunuchs, she maintained a private correspondence with *Attila*, who had succeeded *Romas* king of the *Hunns*; that she had even sent him a ring, and was daily pressing him to enter *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, and marry her. The following year 435, *Theodosius* being consul the fifteenth time, and *Valentinian* the fourth, a peace was at length concluded with the *Vandals* in *Africa*, to whom the *Romans* yielded great part of *Numidia*, all the province *Præconsularis*, and likewise *Bizacene*. This treaty was signed at *Hippo*, on the eleventh of *February*, by *Geneseric*, and by *Trigetius*, who had succeeded *Bonifacius* in *Africa*. The king of the *Vandals* delivered up to the *Romans* his son *Huneric* by way of hostage^c. The same year, *Aetius* gained a great victory over the *Burgundians*, who having been allowed in 413 to settle in that part of *Gaul* which borders on the *Rhine*, had revolted from the *Romans*, and plundered *Belgic Gaul*. *Gondicarius*, their king, was obliged to submit to such conditions, as the conqueror thought fit to impose upon him and his people^f. But *Gondicarius* did not long enjoy the peace which *Aetius* had granted him, being soon after, that is, in the beginning of the following year, when *Anthemius* *Isidorus* and *Senator* were consuls, attacked by the *Hunns*, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his men^g. *Socrates* writes, that of the unhappy *Burgundians* three thousand only were left alive, who having embraced the christian religion, and received the sacrament of baptism, went, full of courage and confidence, to attack the enemy, of whom they killed a thousand, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight^h. Thus *Socrates*. But *Orosius* assures us, that the *Burgundians* had embraced the christian religion, before the year 417ⁱ. The *Goths*, who had been allowed to settle in *Aquitain*, as we have observed above, and had *Theodoric* for their king, not satisfied with the countries that had been allotted them, made themselves masters of several neighbouring cities belonging to the *Romans*, and even laid siege to *Narbonne*; which, however, they were forced to raise, either this year 436 or the following, as *Idatius* will have it, count *Litorius* coming seasonably to the relief of the place

Honorina, sister to
Valentinian, privately corresponds with *Attila*.

The *Romans* yield a great part of *Africa* to the *Vandals*.

20,000 *Burgundians* cut off by the *Hunns*.

The *Goths* besiege *Narbonne*; but are obliged to drop the enterprize and retire.

^c PROSP. chron. PROSP. p. 386. ^f IDAT. p. 21. SID. car. vii. p. 338. ^g IDAT. p. 25. VALES. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136—138. ^h SOCR. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372. ⁱ OROS. l. vii. c. 32. p. 305.

Theodo-
sius's edit
against all
manner of
idolatrous
worship.

Eudoxia
the daugh-
ter of
Theodo-
sius mar-
ried to Va-
lentinian
III.

Who yields
to Theo-
sius West
Illyricum.

with a numerous body of *Hunns*, who falling upon the *Goths*, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved a very welcome supply, the inhabitants being by the long siege reduced to the utmost extremity ^k. While these things passed in the west, *Theodosius* completed the ruin of idolatry in the east, by a law enacted in 435, ordering all the temples, oratories, and places, consecrated to the worship of the idols, to be pulled down, and forbidding his subjects, on pain of death, to practise any of the pagan ceremonies, either in public or private. By this law the very foundations of the temples were to be intirely demolished, and the sign of the christian religion, no doubt the cross, to be set up in the place where they had stood ^l. *Theodosius* passed part of the year 436, at *Cyzicum*. The following year 437, when *Aetius* was consul the second time, with *Sigisvultus*, or *Sigisvult*, the *Romans*, assisted by the *Hunns*, pursued the war against the *Goths* in *Gaul* ^m; but with what success we are nowhere told. The *Saxon* pirates began this year to infest the coasts of the *Armorici* ⁿ. *Eudoxia*, the daughter of *Theodosius* by the empress *Eudocia*, had been betrothed to *Valentinian* in 424, as we have related above; and this year the nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity at *Constantinople*, on the twenty ninth of *October*, *Valentinian* being then eighteen years and five months old. The ceremony was to have been performed at *Theffalonica*; but *Valentinian*, out of complaisance to the royal bride, proceeded to *Constantinople*; which city he entered on the twenty-first of *October* ^o. *Theodosius*, in giving, or as others will have it, in betrothing his daughter, to *Valentinian*, obliged the young prince to yield to him *West Illyricum*, comprehending the *Upper* and *Lower Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the two *Noricums*, viz. *Mediterraneum* and *Ripense* ^p. The two *Pannonias* comprised that part of *Austria* and *Hungary*, that lies on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*; and the two *Noricums* the archbishopric of *Salzburg* with *Styria* and *Carinthia*. As for *East Illyricum*, it had belonged to the emperors of *Constantinople* ever since the time of *Gratian*, who yielded it to *Theodosius the Great*. *Valentinian* left *Constantinople* in the latter end of this year; and having spent the winter at *Theffalonica*, returned early in the spring to *Ravenna*. He had by *Eudoxia* two daughters, viz. *Eudocia* and *Placidia*.

^k IDAT. p. 21. SID. car. vi. p. 346. ^l Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg. 25. p. 296. THEODOR. l. v. c. 36. p. 749. ^m PROSP. MARC. chron. ⁿ SID. car. vii. p. 342. ^o SOCR. l. vii. c. 44. p. 388. Chron. Alex. p. 570. ^p SOCR. ibid. Chron. Alex. JORN. de reg. suc. p. 92, 93.



THE following year, *Theodosius* being consul the sixteenth time, with *Acilius Glabrio Faustus*, the *Suevians*, who had settled in *Galicia* in 409, under the conduct of their king *Ermeric* or *Hermeric*, came after a long and bloody war to an agreement with the antient inhabitants¹; but the articles of that treaty have not been transmitted to us. The *Romans* still pursued the war against the *Goths* in *Gaul*, of whom eight thousand were this year cut in pieces by *Aetius*². In the east *Justinian* published, on the fifteenth of *February* of the present year 438, his famous code, that is, a collection of all the best and most useful laws that had been enacted by the lawful princes his predecessors. Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was *Antiochus*, who had been consul in 431. Such laws, as were not contained in this code, were declared to be of no force. It was immediately received in the west; nay, it met with better success there than in the east, where it obtained only for the space of about ninety years, that is, to the reign of *Justinian*, who abrogated this, and published a new code: but in the west it was received by *Theodoric*, and the *Ostrogoths*, who made themselves masters of *Italy* about the end of the fifth century, and likewise by *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths* or *Westrogoths*, in *Languedoc*, and *Spain*. The laws that were afterwards added to the code by *Theodosius*, and some other princes, were called *Novellæ*. *Theodosius*, in publishing the code, enacted, that the laws made by one prince should be of no force in the dominions of the other, unless confirmed and signed by him³. In the following consulship of *Theodosius*, the seventeenth time consul, and of *Festus Litorius*, after having gained great advantages over the *Goths* in *Gaul*, laid siege to *Toulouse*, their capital. *Theodoric*, who was in the place, sent several catholic bishops to *Litorius*, with very reasonable proposals; nay, he offered in the end to submit to what terms the *Romans* thought fit to impose upon him, begging only, that they would grant to him and his *Goths* their lives and liberty. But *Litorius*, confiding in the valour of his *Hunns*, and desirous of taking the *Gothish* king alive, and carrying him in triumph, would hearken to no proposals. Hereupon *Theodoric*, having first performed his devotions, and visited all the churches of his capital in the habit of a penitent, sallied out at the head of his *Goths*; and falling upon the enemy, cut most of them in pieces; put the few who survived the general slaughter, to flight; and having surrounded *Litorius*, while he was attempting to make his

¹ IDAT. p. 21, 22. ² PROSP. chron. ³ PROSP. chron.
DOVIAT. hist. jur. civ. c. 1. RITTERSHUT. in jur. Just. c. 3. Cod.
Theod. nov. 1. p. 1.

His men
are cut in
pieces by
Theodo-
ric, and he
himself
taken pri-
soner.

Theodoric
concludes a
peace with
the Ro-
mans.

Merida
taken by
the Sue-
vians, and
Carthage
by the
Vandals.

escape, took him alive in spite of the vigorous and desperate resistance he made, and carried him with his hands tied behind his back in that city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. *Theodoric* caused him to be exposed for some time to the insults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public prison, where he died soon after ¹. *Litorius* seems to have been a pagan; for he reposed great confidence in the answers of the aruspices ². He was, next to *Aetius*, the most powerful man, and the best general, in the western empire ³. After this victory, the *Goths* might have easily extended their conquests to the *Rhine*; but *Theodoric*, thinking he ought to use with moderation a victory, for which he acknowledged himself in a particular manner indebted to heaven, hearkened to the proposals of *Avitus*, prefect of *Gaul*, and this very year concluded a peace with the *Romans* upon very reasonable terms ⁴. *Jornandes* supposes this peace to have been made by *Litorius*, and no battle to have been fought, or victory gained, by the *Goths*; so little was that writer acquainted even with the history of his own nation. The *Hunns*, who served under *Litorius*, were commanded by a king of their own nation, named *Gauferic*, who, during this war, laid siege to the city of *Bazas*, belonging to the *Goths*; but is said to have been obliged by a miraculous apparition to drop the enterprize and retire, as the reader will find related at length by *Gregory of Tours* ⁵. The same year *Merida*, then the metropolis of *Lusitania*, was taken by *Richila*, who the year before had succeeded his father *Hermeric*, king of the *Suevians*, in *Galicia* ⁶. But the loss of *Carthage* in *Africa*, surpris'd on the twenty-third of *October* of the present year by *Genferic*, king of the *Vandals*, proved a more fatal blow to the western empire. By the taking of that important place, which had belonged to the *Romans* for the space of five hundred and eighty-five years, the *Vandals* remained masters of the *Proconsularis*, of *Byzacene*, *Getulia*, and part of *Numidia*. However, *Valentinian* maintained, so long as he lived, the two *Mauritanias*, viz. *Cæsariensis* and *Sitifensis*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part of *Numidia* in which *Cirtha* stood. In the east, nothing worthy of notice happened this year, except the journey which the empress *Eudocia* undertook to *Jerusalem*, in compliance with a vow she had made to visit the holy places there ⁷. She passed

¹ GREG. Tur. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 27. p. 81. SALV. p. 164. SID. car. vii. p. 340. IDAT. p. 22. ² SALVIAN. de gub. l. vii. p. 164.

³ Idem ibid. ⁴ PROSP. IDAT. chron. SID. car. vii. p. 341.

⁵ GREG. Tur. de glor. martyr. l. i. c. 13. p. 31—34. ⁶ IDAT. p. 22. ⁷ SOCR. l. vii. c. 47. p. 390.

through

through *Antioch*, where, in the presence of the senate and people, she pronounced a speech in commendation of that city from a throne of gold enriched with precious stones ^a. At her departure, she presented the magistrates with a very considerable sum, for the relief of the indigent citizens. The inhabitants of that metropolis acknowledged the kindness she had shewed them by erecting two statues to her honour; placing the one, which was of brass, in the museum, and the other, which was plated over with gold, in the senate ^b. At *Jerusalem* she presented *Juvenal*, bishop of the place, with great sums, to be distributed among the poor, and with a cross of gold, adorned with precious stones, to be set up on mount *Calvary*; for which the bishop is said to have presented her in his turn with the right hand of *St. Stephen*, the protomartyr ^c. The following year, when *Valentinian* was consul, the fifth time, with *Anatolius*, *Genferic* made a descent upon *Sicily* in the month of *June*; and meeting with little or no resistance, ravaged the open country, committing unheard-of cruelties, and even laid siege to *Palermo*: but not being able to reduce the place, he returned to *Africa* with an immense booty ^d. The same year, count *Censorius*, who had been sent by *Valentinian* to negotiate a peace between the *Suevians* in *Galicia* and the natives of that country, was besieged by *Rechila* in *Mersola* on the *Guadiana*, where he resided, and, upon the reduction of the place, taken prisoner ^e. About the same time, *Aetius*, removing the *Burgundians* from the banks of the *Rhine*, allotted them settlements in the present dutchy of *Savoy*, and rewarded a body of *Alans*, who had served the *Romans* with great fidelity under the conduct of their king *Eocaric* or *Eocric*, with lands on the *Loire* ^f. These *Alans* are supposed to have settled afterwards with the *Britons* in *Armorica* ^g. *Buchorius* takes *Sangiban*, king of the *Alans*, mentioned by *Jornandes*, to have been the successor of *Eocaric* ^h. As *Salvianus* wrote at this time his treatise on judgments, we shall transcribe out of that piece a passage, wherein the author acquaints us with the chief virtues and vices of the several barbarous nations then infesting the empire. The *Goths*, says that writer, are treacherous, but chaste: the *Alans* are not so chaste, but less treacherous: the *Franks* are liars, but kind to strangers: the *Saxons* are exceeding cruel, but wonderfully chaste. But tho' the *Saxons* are cruel, continues *Salvianus*,

Sicily ravaged by Genferic.

The Burgundians removed by Aetius to the present dutchy of Savoy.

^a EVAGR. l. i. c. 20. p. 277.

^b Idem ibid. Chron. Al. p. 731.

^c CEDREN. p. 337. THEOPH. p. 74. MARC. chron.

^d PROSP.

IDAT. & Chron. Al. p. 730.

^e IDAT. p. 21, 23.

^f PROSP.

chron. VALES. rer. Franc. p. 173. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 37. p. 665.

^g VAL. ibid.

^h BUCH. Belg. p. 492.

Paulinus
put to
death by
the empe-
ror's or-
ders.

The cause
of his dis-
grace, as
related by
the more
modern
writers.

Misunder-
standing
between
the empe-
ror and his
wife Eu-
dokia, who
retires to
Jerusalem.

the *Gepidæ* are void of humanity, the *Hunns* lewd and deceitful, the *Alemans* drunkards, the *Alans* lovers of plunder, and the *Franks* deceitful and perfidious to such a degree as to look upon false oaths as ornaments of speech; yet these vices are not so criminal in the barbarians as in the *Romans*, who are instructed in the morals of the christian religion ⁱ. The same writer observes elsewhere ^k, that tho' the *Goths* would not suffer their own people to frequent brothels, yet in the countries allotted to them they kept up those infamous places for the sake of the *Romans*, who lived among them, and claimed the scandalous privilege of frequenting them without restraint. In the east, *Paulinus*, the empress *Eudokia's* chief favourite, who by her interest had been raised in 430, to the highest post of *magister officiorum*, was this year put to death by the emperor's orders at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* ^l. And this is all we find in the antient writers concerning this remarkable event. The more modern *Greeks* ascribe his death to the jealousy of *Theodosius*; and tell us, that the emperor being presented on the sixth of *January* with an apple of an uncommon size, and extraordinary beauty, he immediately sent it, as a rarity, to *Eudokia*, and she to *Paulinus*, in whose conversation she took great delight, as he was a man of learning, and the empress herself well versed in all the branches of literature. *Paulinus*, not knowing by whom it had been sent to the empress, thought it a proper present for the emperor, and accordingly carried it to him. This raised some jealousy in *Theodosius*, who thereupon dismissed *Paulinus*; and sending for *Eudokia*, asked her what was become of the apple. The empress, not caring to own she had given it to *Paulinus*, answered, she had eat it. Upon this, the emperor, producing it commanded *Paulinus* to be immediately executed, and from that time, shewed himself so indifferent towards the empress, that she begged leave soon after to return to *Jerusalem*, and to continue in that city, which was readily granted her. Thus *Constantine Manasses*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Glycas* and *Codinus* ^m. That *Eudokia* retired about this time to *Jerusalem* is very certain; and likewise, that there was a misunderstanding between her and the emperor, who caused a priest, by name *Severus*, and a deacon, named *John*, whom *Eudokia* had carried with her from *Constantinople*, to *Jerusalem*, to be murdered, for no other reason, but because the empress lived in great intimacy with them, and made them frequently rich presents. This giving, either jealousy to the prince, or occasion to scandalous re-

ⁱ SAL. de jud. l. v. p. 107. ^k Idem, l. vii. p. 160. ^l MARC. chron. ^m MANASS. p. 55. ZONAR. tom. p. 37. NICEPH. l. xiv. c. 23. p. 485. GLYC. p. 261. CODIN. orig. Constantinop. p. 56.

fections, *Theodosius* dispatched *Saturinus*, his *comes domesticorum*, to *Jerusalem*, with private orders to dispatch the two favourite ecclesiastics. *Eudocia* was so affected with their death, that, not mistress of her temper, she caused, in her turn, *Saturinus* to be murdered; which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he ordered all the great officers of her court to quit her service, and return to *Constantinople*; which was reducing her to the condition of a private person. Thus she lived at *Jerusalem* to her death, which happened in 460. She is said to have solemnly declared on her death-bed, that she was altogether innocent as to the crime, of which *Theodosius* had suspected her and *Paulinus*ⁿ. As she was possessed of immense wealth, which the emperor left untouched, she built at *Jerusalem* a great number of churches, monasteries, and hospitals, adorned the city with many stately edifices, and, at a vast expence, repaired the walls, which in most places were intirely ruined. She was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of *St. Stephen*, which she had built in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*^o. Her piety is greatly extolled by most writers, especially by *Cassiodorus*, who styles her of all women the most pious, the most religious^p. The following year, *Cyrus* alone was consul: he excelled in polite learning, especially in poetry; and having by that means gained the favour and protection of *Eudocia*, who took great delight in verses, he had been raised by her interest to the first employments in the state. As he entered the circus this year with the consular ornaments, the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, received him with such acclamations, that the emperor, who was present, caused him out of jealousy, a few days after, to be stripped of all his employments, and his estate to be confiscated, giving out, that he was inclined to paganism, and that he aspired at the empire. Hereupon *Cyrus* fled for refuge to a church, and caused himself to be ordained priest. The emperor, respecting his new character, granted him his life, and soon after suffered him to be ordained bishop, and to be raised to the see of *Cotyea* in *Phrygia*^q. As *Genferic*, king of the *Vandals*, was now become very formidable, *Theodosius* resolved in the end to assist *Valentinian*, his cousin and son-in-law, against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, consisting of eleven hundred large ships, and putting on board of it the flower of his army under the conduct of *Arco-vindas*, *Ansilus* and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in

Where she died.

The consul *Cyrus* stripped of his consular ornaments by the emperor.

Theodosius sends a powerful fleet and army against *Genferic*.

ⁿ EVAG. l. i. c. 21. p. 277, 278. CEDR. p. 343. THEOPH. p. 88. ^o EVAGR. l. i. c. 22. p. 280. CED. p. 337. Chron. Al. p. 732. NICEPH. l. xiv. c. 50. p. 558, 559. ^p CASSIOD. ps. l. p. 174. ^q ZON. p. 35. THEOPH. p. 83. Chron. Al. p. 736.

But he is
obliged to
recall them;
and Va-
lentinian,
to conclude
a peace
with Gen-
seric.

The end of
the ancient
kingdom of
Armenia.

Africa, and joining the western forces there, to drive *Genferic* out of the countries he had usurped. They steered their course to *Sicily*, in order to pass more easily from thence over into *Africa*. But in the mean time, *Genferic* having sent a solemn embassy to *Theodosius*, and pretending to be desirous of concluding a peace with the two empires, the *Roman* generals waited on the coast of *Sicily* the result of the negotiations, which *Genferic* craftily spun out till the season proper for action was over^r. While his ambassadors were still at *Constantinople*, the *Persians*, with an open breach of the treaty made between the two empires in 422, entered the *Roman* territories in a hostile manner; which obliged *Theodosius* to recall his forces, and *Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genferic*, which he could not obtain but by yielding to him all the countries in *Africa*, which he had seized, as we have mentioned above^s. *Anatolius* and *Aspar* were dispatched against the *Persians*, who finding the *Romans*, whom they expected to surprise, upon their guard, hearkened to an accommodation; so that a peace was concluded, whereof one of the chief conditions was, that neither the *Persians* nor the *Romans* should for the future raise any new fortifications on the frontiers^t. The same year, *Arsaces*, king of *Armenia*, dying, divided his kingdom between his two sons *Tigranes* and *Arsaces*; but by his last will bequeathed the far greater part to *Tigranes*. Hereupon *Arsaces* had recourse to *Theodosius*, who threatening to make war upon *Tigranes*, terrified the young prince to such a degree, that flying to the protection of the *Persian* king, he yielded to him his share, preferring the ease and quiet of a retired life to all the charms of a crown. *Arsaces*, on the other hand, dreading the power of the *Persians*, put *Theodosius* in possession of his share, upon certain conditions, one of which was, that his family should enjoy for ever an intire liberty, and an exemption from all tribute and taxes^u. Thus ended the kingdom of *Armenia*, after it had continued for many ages, and given occasion to much bloodshed and endless wars, waged by the *Romans* first with the *Parthians*, and afterwards with the *Persians*. It began and ended in an *Arsaces*. The share of *Tigranes* belonging to the *Persians*, was called *Persarmenia* and *Armenia Persica*^w. The part of *Arsaces* held by the *Romans* was thenceforth governed by a particular officer, with the title of *comes Armeniæ*, or count of *Armenia*^x. The same year, the *Hunns*, taking ad-

^r THEOPH. p. 87. Chron. Al. p. 730.

^s Idem, p. 88.

^t AGATH. p. 237. PROCOPIUS. bell. Pers. p. 8.

^u PROCOPIUS. de

ædific. l. iii. c. i. p. 52, 53.

^w PROCOPIUS. l. i. p. 29. THEODORET.

p. 944.

^x THEOD. p. 77. PROCOPIUS. p. 29.

vantage of the wars, in which the *Romans* were engaged with *The Hunns* the *Vandals* and *Persians*, passed the *Danube*, and with a formidable army fell unexpectedly upon *Thrace*. They had invaded that province in 425, under the conduct of *Rougas*, their king, as we have related above; but he being killed with lightning, and at the same time a plague breaking out, and raging with great violence, in his army, the barbarians repassed the *Danube* of their own accord, not caring, says *Socrates*, to engage in a war with the *Romans*, whose cause heaven had evidently espoused. *Rougas* was succeeded by *Roas* or *Rouas* in 434, who concluded a peace with the *Romans*, whereof one of the conditions was, that they should pay him yearly a pension of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. A few years after, the *Hunns* resolving to drive out the *Boschi*, and other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, under the protection of the *Romans*. *Rouas* dispatched one *Eilas* to the court of *Constantinople*, threatening to make war upon *Theodosius*, if he lent them the least assistance. Hereupon the two generals, *Plintha* and *Dionysius*, were appointed by the emperor to treat with the king of the *Hunns*, and divert him, if possible, from the resolution he had taken. But in the mean time, *Rouas* dying, and his nephew, the famous *Attila*, of whom we shall speak at length in the history of the *Hunns*, succeeding him, the ambassadors were ordered to treat with him and his brother *Bleda*, his partner in the sovereignty. But in the room of *Dionysius*, who could not agree with *Plintha*, was sent the quaestor *Epigenes*, a man of great experience in negotiations. The ambassadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Moesia*, at a place where the *Margus* or *Margis* falls into that river. The *Romans* were obliged to confer with them on horseback, the *Hunns* refusing to dismount. The peace was confirmed, but upon such conditions as plainly betrayed the weakness and deplorable condition of the empire. These were, 1. That the *Romans* should deliver up to *Attila* and *Bleda* such *Hunns* as had taken, or should for the future take, refuge in the *Roman* dominions. 2. That the *Roman* prisoners, who should make their escape from the *Hunns*, without paying their ransom, should in like manner be delivered up, or eight pieces of gold be paid for each of them. 3. That, instead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the *Romans* should for the future pay annually seven hundred. 4. That the *Romans* should not assist any nation whatsoever, when attacked by, or at war with, the *Hunns*. In compliance with this shameful treaty, the *Romans* immediately delivered up to *Attila* some

Rouas,
king of the
Hunns,
dies, and is
succeeded
by Attila.

The Ro-
mans con-
clude a
peace with
the Hunns
upon most
shameful
conditions.

Attila,
notwith-
standing
the treaty
of peace,
passes the
Danube;

And makes
himself
master of
several
cities.

The Ro-
mans
dread the
name of
Attila.

princes of the royal blood of the *Hunns*, who were by his orders crucified like the meanest of slaves, in the sight of the *Romans*, for no other crime but because they had abandoned their own country to serve in their armies. *Attila*, being, in virtue of this treaty, at full liberty to make what conquest he pleased, reduced all the northern countries, his authority being acknowledged even by the several barbarous nations lying north of the *Euxine* sea². Having thus extended his dominions, he resolved to take advantage of the wars in which *Theodosius* was engaged this year with the *Per-
sians* and *Vandals*; and accordingly, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he passed the *Danube* at the head of a very numerous and formidable army, and entering *Thrace*, made himself master of several cities and strong-holds, and, among the rest, of *Viminacium*, a place of great importance on the *Danube*, and of *Margum*, which was betrayed to him by the bishop of the place. Elated with this success, he dispatched a messenger to *Theodosius*, requiring, or rather commanding, him, to deliver up forthwith all the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, to pay part of the tribute that had been owing for some time, and to settle what should be paid him for the future. *Theodosius* could not prevail upon himself to abandon those, who, after the declaration of war, had forsaken *Attila*, and come over to him. Whereupon *Attila* began to ravage the country, putting all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. He took by storm *Retiarium* on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœsia*, *Singidunum*, *Naissus*, and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum*, with several other cities and strong-holds, insomuch, that *Theodosius*, not thinking himself safe at *Constantinople*, retired the following year 442, when *Eudoxius* and *Dioscorus* were consuls, into *Asia*³. As to the issue of this war, we are left quite in the dark. All we know is, that this very year a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodosius*, who thereupon returned to *Constantinople*, and entered that city on the twenty-seventh of *August*⁴. From this time *Attila* continued quiet till the year 447, contenting himself with only threatening to make war upon the *Romans*, in order to draw from them corn, money, provisions, and whatever else he stood in need of; for the *Romans*, trembling at the very name of *Attila*, complied with all his demands, however unreasonable, and obeyed him, says *Priscus*, like so many slaves, that he might have no pretence to take arms against them. The ambassadors he sent to *Constantinople* returned always loaded with presents; insomuch that, when he thought fit

² PRIS. hist. Goth. de legat. p. 45 — 48. ³ Idem, p. 34 — 37. Chron. Al. p. 730. PROSP. MARCEL. chron. ⁴ MARC. PROSP. chron. Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg. 9. p. 898.

to reward any of his own people, he used to send them, under some pretence or other, with the character of ambassadors to *Theodosius*, who, to court the friendship of their master, never failed to load them with presents to a great value. Thus were the subjects of the empire impoverished to enrich the barbarians, their sworn enemies ^c. *Attila*, finding himself thus become the terror of the *Romans*, is said to have sent, out of mere wantonness, two *Goths*, with the character of ambassadors, the one to *Theodosius*, and the other to *Valentinian*, whom, by his orders, they addressed thus; *Attila, my master and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception* ^d. During these transactions in the east, the *Suevians* made great progress in *Spain*, where they took the city of *Seville*, and reduced all *Bætica* with the province of *Carthagera* ^e. His haughty behaviour and arrogance.

THE following year, *Maximus* being consul, the second time, with *Paterius*, *Theodosius* leaving *Constantinople*, visited the province of *Pontus*, where he caused the public edifices and walls of *Heraclea* to be repaired ^f. As he was one day, during this progress, marching on foot, greatly tormented with heat, dust, and thirst, an officer of his guards presented him with a beautiful cup full of fresh and excellent liquor; but the emperor, returning the officer thanks in a most obliging manner, declared, that he would not by any means refresh himself, when it was not in his power to refresh those who attended him ^g. In 444, when *Theodosius* was consul, the eighteenth time, with *Albinus*, died *Arcadia*, the sister of *Theodosius* ^h. The same year the eunuch *Antiochus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, being convicted of extortion, and abusing his authority to the oppression of the people, was by *Theodosius* degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monastery of *St. Euphemia* at *Chalcedon*, stripped of the great wealth he had amassed, and deprived of all the honours which he had enjoyed ⁱ. *Theophanes* writes, that *Theodosius* made him pope, meaning perhaps, that he obliged him to take holy orders. Upon his disgrace, the emperor enacted a law excluding all eunuchs from the dignity of patrician ^k. The following year, when *Valentinian* was consul, the sixth year, with *Nomus*, nothing remarkable happened in the east; but in the west, *Vitus* being sent with a considerable army into *Spain*, to support the *Romans*, that is, the natives, against the *Suevians*, most of his men were cut off by *Rechila*, and he obliged to save himself by flight, and abandon Arcadia dies. The eunuch Antiochus disgraced. The Romans defeated by the Suevians in Spain.

^c PRISC. p. 36, 37. ^d Chron. Al. ^e IDAT. p. 23. ^f PA RC.

p. 315. Cod. Theod. nov. tit. 30. p. 13. ^g PASC. p. 390.

^h MARC. chron. ⁱ ZONAR. tom. iii. p. 34. THEOPH. p. 83.

^k Cod. p. 48.

The Britons recur in vain to Actius.

Attila breaks anew into the empire at the head of a formidable army.

He overruns several provinces.

the inhabitants to the mercy of those barbarians¹. The next year, *Actius* being consul the third time with *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*, the *Britons*, no longer able to withstand the *Scots* and *Picts*, had recourse to *Actius*, who, governed the western empire almost with an absolute sway; to move him to compassion, they wrote him a letter with the following direction, *The groans of the Britons to the consul Actius*; but could not, with all their groans and tears, prevail upon him to lend them the least assistance^m. The learned *Usher* thinks, that *Valentinian* was then under apprehension of a war with *Attila*ⁿ. The venerable *Bede* supposes the *Hunns* to have already broken into the western empire^o; but he was therein certainly mistaken. In the east a dreadful plague raged this and the following year, when *Ardaburius* and *Alypius* were consuls; and violent earthquakes were felt in most provinces, which overturned several cities, and great part of the new walls of *Constantinople*, with fifty-seven towers, and many stately edifices, not only in that city but likewise at *Antioch* and *Alexandria*^p. The same year, 447, *Attila*, upon what provocation we know not (for both emperors readily complied with all his demands, however unjust and arrogant), broke into *Thrace* with a formidable army, consisting of *Hunns*, *Goths*, *Gepidæ*, *Alans*, and many other barbarous nations, commanded by their respective kings. *Attila*, whom they all obeyed, at the head of this numerous host, overran without opposition *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, both *Dacias*, *Mæsia*, and *Scythia*. He took and plundered above seventy cities, and amongst the rest *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*, properly so called, *Arcadiopolis* in the province of *Europe*, and *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mæsia*. They extended their ravages on one side to the *Euxine* sea, and on the other to the straits of *Thermopylæ*, which part *Thessaly* from *Achaia* or *Greece*. In the mean time, *Arnegisclus*, governor of *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, having drawn together all the troops quartered in those two provinces, marched against *Attila*; and engaging him in *Lower Mæsia*, on the banks of the river *Utis*, which falls into the *Danube* near a city of the same name, cut off great numbers of his men; but falling unluckily from his horse, he was himself killed, after having sold his life dear, and his army put to the rout^q. Another battle was fought in the *Chersonesus* near *Galipoli*, probably by the generals *Aspar* and *Arcobindus*, who

¹ SID. car. v. p. 315. IDAT. p. 24. ^m GILD. excid. Britan. c. 6. p. 118. ⁿ USSER. eccles. Brit. antiq. p. 1204. ^o BED. hist. c. 13. p. 156. ^p Chron. Al. p. 734. EVAGR. l. i. c. 17. p. 275. NICEPH. l. xiv. c. 48 p. 543. ^q JORN. rer. Goth. c. 44. p. 553 THEOPH. p. 88. Chron. Al. p. 734. PRISC. p. 35. 36.

were

were both sent against *Attila* ¹. But no better success attended *And de-*
the *Romans* in this than in the other engagement; so that *Theo-* ^{feats the}
dosius was obliged the following year 448, when *Zeno* and *Post-* ^{Roman}
humianus were consuls, to send *Anatolius*, with one *Vigilius*, ^{generals}
who understood the language of the *Hunns*, to *Attila* to sue for ^{sent a-}
peace, which he was strictly enjoined to conclude upon any ^{gainst him.}
terms. A peace was accordingly agreed to, and ratified by the *The Ro-*
emperor, on the following terms, highly opprobrious to the ^{mans con-}
Roman name, viz. 1. That the *Romans* should pay imme- ^{clude a}
diately to *Attila* six thousand pounds weight of gold, and every ^{peace with}
year two hundred. 2. That they should send back to him all ^{him upon}
his deserters, and receive none for the future. 3. That they ^{shameful}
should deliver up the *Roman* captives, who had escaped without ^{terms.}
paying their ransom, or pay for each of them twelve pounds
weight of gold. 4. That the *Romans* should send no embassa-
dors to *Attila*, till they had delivered up to him all his deserters
and fugitives ². Pursuant to this ignominious treaty, six thou-
sand pounds weight of gold were sent immediately to *Attila*,
with all the *Hunns* who had taken refuge in the *Roman* domi-
nions, among whom were several princes, who chose rather to
be killed by the *Romans* than to fall into the hands of *Attila* ³.
While these things passed in the east, *Rechila* king of the *Sue-* ^{Rechila,}
vians settled in *Spain*, died at *Merida* in 447, and was suc- ^{king of the}
ceeded by his son *Requarius*, who the year following married *Suevians*
the daughter of *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, and ^{in Spain,}
soon after went to pay a visit to his father-in-law at *Toulouse*; ^{dies, and}
but on his return to *Spain*, surprised the city of *Lerida*; and ^{is succeeded}
carrying with him from thence a great number of captives, pil- ^{by his son}
laged the territory of *Saragosa*, which, according to *Isidorus*, ^{Requia-}
belonged to the *Romans* ⁴. This year a misunderstanding arose ^{Attila}
between *Attila* and *Valentinian* on account of some sacred ves- ^{seeks a pre-}
sels, which *Attila* falsely pretended to have been stolen from ^{tence to}
him by one *Silvanus*, a banker in *Rome*. *Silvanus*, who was ^{quarrel}
the lawful owner of these vessels, had sold them to the church. ^{with Va-}
But as they were pieces of exquisite workmanship, *Attila*, ^{lentinian.}
coveting them, or rather seeking a pretence to quarrel with
Valentinian, claimed them as stolen from him by *Silvanus*,
and with great arrogance pressed the emperor either to re-
store the vessels, or deliver up to him *Silvanus*. Here-
upon count *Romulus* was sent with *Promotus*, governor of
Noricum, and *Romulus* an officer of distinction, to the court
of *Attila*, to convince him, if possible, that the vessels in
dispute had never belonged to him; or if he continued to
claim them, to pay him their value in gold. *Attila* received

¹ PRIS. p. 34.² Idem ibid. & p. 51—53. THEOPH. p. 83.³ IDAT. p. 26.

Theodo-
sius at-
tempts to
get Attila
murdered.

Who spares
the conspi-
rators, and
makes
peace with
the empe-
ror.

Theodo-
sius dies.

the ambassadors in a very obliging manner, entertaining them at his own table with the ambassadors of *Theodosius*, who arrived at his court much about the same time. But the only answer that he returned to their reasoning and arguments was, that the vessels belonged to him, and that he was determined to do himself justice, and declare war, if *Valentinian* did not either restore them, or deliver up to him *Silvanus*, who had stolen them. But notwithstanding these menaces, he did not make war upon *Valentinian* till three years after, tho' that prince could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with either of his demands. The following year, when *Protogenes* and *Asturius* or *Asterius* were consuls, one *Edecon* being sent by *Attila* with the character of ambassador to *Theodosius*, the eunuch *Chrysaphus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, discovering him to be greatly taken with the splendor of the court, and desirous to continue among the *Romans*, promised him great wealth and preferments, provided he dispatched *Attila*; which he promising to do, *Theodosius* consented to the wicked attempt, and charged *Vigilius*, interpreter to the *Roman* ambassadors at the court of *Attila*, to be assisting to him in that undertaking. But *Edecon*, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such a desperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the emperor and his minister, upon his return discovered the plot to *Attila*; who thereupon caused *Vigilius* to be seized, and dispatched his secretary *Orestes* to reproach *Theodosius* with his treachery, and demand *Chrysaphus*, the chief author and contriver of the conspiracy, to be delivered up to him. But *Nomus*, who was sent ambassador to the king of the *Hunns* on this occasion, with several other persons of great distinction, gained his esteem and affection to such a degree, that he promised to live in peace and amity with *Theodosius*, pardoned *Chrysaphus*, set *Vigilius* at liberty, and dismissed the ambassadors, loaded with rich presents. Thus *Priscus*, who was an eye-witness of what he wrote, having attended the ambassadors to the court of *Attila* ^w.

THE following year, 450, when *Valentinian* was consul the seventh time, with *Avienus*, *Theodosius* was so bruised with a fall from his horse in hunting, that being with much ado carried in a sedan to *Constantinople*, he died there the next day, the twentieth of *June*, according to *Theophanes*^{*}, or the twenty-eighth of *July*, as we read in *Theodorus*^y, who is followed by most chronologers. According to this opinion he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having reigned forty-two years and near three months after the death of his father, and forty-eight since he had

^y PRISC. p. 57—68.
^y THEOD. p. 88.

^w Idem, p. 72.

^{*} THEOPH. p. 568.

received the title of *Augustus*. He was buried on the thirtieth of *July*, in the same tomb with his father *Arcadius*². He is *His character* generally commended as a prince of exemplary piety; but all own him to have had but slender parts, and to have been intirely guided by those about him, especially by the eunuchs of the court, who, abusing his authority, oppressed the people to such a degree, that many in his reign chose rather to abandon their native country, and live among the *Hunns*, and other barbarians, than bear the tyrannical government of those, who, by the eunuchs, were set over them. Authors give us the following instance of his disattention to public affairs: As he had been used, when yet a child, to sign all the acts that were brought to him by his ministers, without reading them, he continued the same custom even after he was married, till his sister *Pulcheria*, to apprise him of the evil consequences that might attend it, caused an act to be drawn up, whereby he yielded to her for ever the empress *Eudocia* as her slave. This act the emperor signed without perusing it, or inquiring what it contained; which he had no sooner done, than *Pulcheria* desired him to read it, when, ashamed of his past indolence and neglect, he resolved to be upon his guard for the future, and to sign no papers till he was well informed what they contained². He was a great friend to the church, but yet, misled by ill-meaning men, countenanced the declared enemies of the orthodox faith, as the reader will find in the account which the ecclesiastic writers give us of the two councils held by his orders at *Ephesus*, and of the progress which the heresy of *Eutyches* made in his reign. Of the writers who flourished under *Theodosius*, we shall speak in note (S).

² THEOD. *ibid.* ² THEOPH. p. 87. CONSTANT. MANASS. p. 55. ZOS. p. 36. SUID. p. 577.

(S) We are chiefly indebted to the ecclesiastic writers *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Philostorgius*, for the history of the reign of *Theodosius* the younger. *Socrates* was born in *Constantinople* about the year 380, and spent most part of his life in that city (1). He speaks of what happened after the year 395, as of things that had happened in his time (2). He tells us, that when he was yet very young, he knew a *Novatian* priest, by name *Auxano*, who remembered the council of *Nice*, and lived to the reign of *Theodosius* the younger, that is, to the year 408 (3). *Socrates* studied grammar under *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, two pagan priests of *Alexandria*, who had retired to

(1) *Socr. l. v. c. 24. p. 293.*
Idem, l. i. c. 13. p. 41.

(2) *Idem, l. vi. c. 1. p. 299.*

(3)

Constantinople, when the temples of the idols were pulled down in their own country, which happened in the year 389. He probably studied eloquence under *Troilus*, who in his time taught it with great applause at *Constantinople*; for he bestows mighty encomiums upon that sophist (4). He begins where *Eusebius* ended his history, but repeats the transactions of the first year of *Constantine's* reign, that is, of the year 306, and carries his work down to the seventeenth consulship of *Theodosius II*, that is, to the year 439, so that it comprises the space of a hundred and thirty-four years. He addresses it to one *Theodorus*, by whose orders he undertook it. *Theodorus* was probably a bishop or priest; for he calls him a person consecrated to the worship of god (5). He writes in a familiar, but plain and easy, style. At first he followed *Rufinus*, especially in his first two books, copying even his mistakes; but these he corrected, after having perused the works of *Athanasius*. He informed himself with great care of the truth of what he relates, copying what had happened before his time from the authors that were most esteemed, and relating only such events of his own time as he himself had either seen, or learnt from persons of unquestionable veracity (6). As he speaks of the *Novatians* with great respect, and even pretends some of their bishops to have wrought miracles, several writers conclude from thence, that he himself held the tenets of *Novatus*. But on the other hand, he blames the *Novatians* for separating from the church (7), and in express terms disapproves the suppressing of the office of penitentiary in the church of *Constantinople*, against which office the *Novatians* had always exclaimed (8). *Socrates* wrote in *Greek*, but seems to have been acquainted with the *Latin* tongue. His history is quoted by *Liberatus*, and the seventh œcumenical council. *Sozomen*, or *Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes*, as he is styled by *Photius*, was not, as some have conjectured from the first of these names, a native of *Salamis* in the island of *Cyprus*, but of a village in the territory of *Gaza*, named *Bethelia*, as appears from the account he gives of the conversion of his grandfather to the christian religion (9). The title of *scholasticus*, bestowed upon him by *Photius*, (10) and others, gives us room to believe, that he was well versed in polite literature. He pleaded at the bar in *Constantinople* (11), and was at the same time assessor or counsellor to *Isidorus*, prefect of the east in 435, and 436 (12). He was well acquainted with the civil law, as is plain from his works. He wrote first in two books the ecclesiastic history, from the ascension of our Saviour to the deposition of *Licinius* in 323 (13), which work has been long since intirely lost. He afterwards undertook his great history, which was to comprise whatever had happened worthy of notice from the third consulship of *Crispus* and

(4) *Idem*, l. ii. c. 1. p. 79. & prol. p. 6. (5) *Idem* prol. p. 7. (6) *Idem*, l. ii. c. 1. p. 79. (7) *Idem*, l. ii. c. 38. p. 144. (8) *Idem*. l. v. p. 278. (9) *Soz.* l. v. c. 15 p. 617. (10) *Phot.* c. 30. p. 17. (11) *Soz.* p. 105. (12) *Isidor.* *Peluf.* l. i. ep. 300. p. 880. (13) *Soz.* l. i. c. 1. p. 401.

Constantine Cæsar, that is, from the year 324, to the seventeenth consulship of *Theodosius* the younger, in 439 (14). Whence it is manifest, that the work, which has reached our times, is imperfect, since it ends in the year 415. Some think he was prevented by death from pursuing his design. *St. Gregory* writes, that the history of *Sozomen* was not received by the church of *Rome* on account of the many falsehoods it contained, and of the great commendations the author bestowed on *Theodorus* of *Mopjuestia*. He is not indeed without faults; but notwithstanding some mistakes that are to be found in his work, he is commonly preferred to the other historians of those times. Whoever compares his history with that of *Socrates*, will find, that the one has evidently copied from the other, most likely *Sozomen* from *Socrates*; for the latter seems to have written before the former. When *Socrates* wrote, the house in which *Arius* died was still standing; whereas *Sozomen* observes, that an *Arian*, having bought it, had pulled it down, and built another in its room (15). Besides, the candor and simplicity with which *Socrates* writes, would not, in our opinion, have allowed him to copy his history from another without owning it. Though *Sozomen* bestows great commendations on some *Novatian* bishops, as *Socrates* had done; yet he condemns in several places their tenets (16). About the beginning of the sixth century, *Cassiodorus* caused the histories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* to, be translated into the *Latin* tongue by one *Epiphanes*, that *Greece* alone, says *Cassiodorus*, might not possess so valuable and necessary a work. He divided them, thus translated, into twelve books, commonly known by the name of *Historia Tripartita*. Before him *Theodorus*, the reader, had begun to compile a history in *Greek*, from the three above-mentioned historians. But of that work, only the two first books, comprising the reigns of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, have reached our times. It does not appear, that the author wrote any more; and, those, which he wrote, have never yet been printed. *Philostorgius*, born about the year 368, in the province of *Cappadocia Secunda*, wrote an ecclesiastic history, or rather, under that name, an apology for the *Arians*, especially the *Eunomians* whose tenets he himself held. He began his work, which was divided into twelve books, with the death of *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, and carried it down to the accession of *Valentinian III.* to the empire, that is, to the year 425. This work has been long since lost; but an abstract of it, which may be called a large history, has been conveyed to us by *Photius* (17), who commends the style, but thinks the author often too diffuse and tedious. The whole is a continued satire on the catholics, and a panegyric on the *Arians*. *Philostorgius* seldom agrees with other writers, and relates several remarkable

(14) *Idem. ibid.* § p. 991, 397, 403. (15) *Socr. l. i. c. 38. p. 74.*
Soz. l. ii. c. 30. p. 49. (16) *Soz. l. vii. c. 16. p. 726. § l. viii.*
p. 754, § c. (17) *Phot. c. 40. p. 25.*

events, quite unknown to those who lived at the same time with him, such as the miracles wrought by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, by *Theophilus* the *Indian*, by *Leontius* of *Tripoli*, &c. whence *Photius* styles him a fabulous and lying writer (18). However, he is often quoted by *John* of *Antioch*, who wrote about the beginning of the seventh century, by *Nicetas Coniates*, who flourished in the thirteenth century, by *Nicephorus* and others. *Suidas* likewise has copied several passages from him. *Philostorgius*, besides his history, wrote a long panegyric on *Eunomius*, and an apology for the christian religion against *Prophyrus*; but neither of these works has reached our times. About the same time flourished *Philip* of *Sida* in *Pamphylia*, who wrote a very diffuse history from the creation to his time, consisting of eight hundred and sixty-four books, which he intitled the *Christian history*. Of this voluminous work, which has been long since lost, *Photius* speaks with great contempt (19). The same author wrote another extensive work, wherein he confuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor *Julian* (20); but that performance has undergone the same fate as the other. The author was a deacon of the church of *Constantinople*, and thought himself highly injured, because he was not preferred to that see (21). *Priscus*, who attended *Maximus* when sent ambassador to *Attila* in 449, wrote the history of the war between that prince and *Theodosius*; the history of *Marcian's* reign; an account of the journey of *Anthemius* to *Rome*; of the war carried on in the reign of *Leo* against *Genseric*; and of the unhappy end of *Aspar* and his children, put to death by the emperor *Leo* in 471 (22). *Suidas* ascribes to him eight books of the *Byzantine* history, and of the war with *Attilus*, meaning, no doubt, *Attila* (23). *Priscus* was a native of *Panes* or *Panium*, reckoned among the cities of the province of *Europe* in *Thrace* (24). He was a sophist, or professor of eloquence (25). He visited *Rome*, where he saw the king of the *Franks* (26), no doubt *Merouée*, and travelled likewise to *Thebais* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. In the latter city he was an eye-witness of the disorders which attended the election of the holy bishop *Proterus* to that see, and greatly contributed to the appeasing of them by the good advice he gave to *Florus*, prefect of *Egypt*. *Euphemius*, *magister officiorum* to the emperor *Marcian*, advised with him in all matters of importance (27). His history is said to be still extant and lodged in some libraries (28). Hitherto only some fragments of it, relating to embassies, have been published, which are to be found among the works of the other *Byzantine* historians. Some passages of his history are quoted by *Jor-*

(18) *Idem*. p. 16, 25. (19) *Idem*, p. 21, (20) *Socr.* l. vii. c. 27. p. 368. (21) *Idem* *ibid.* (22) *Evagr.* l. i. c. 17. p. 273. & l. ii. c. 1. p. 283. (23) *Suid.* p. 590. (24) *Theoph.* p. 100. *Evagr.* p. 74. (25) *Evag.* l. i. c. 17. p. 275. (26) *Idem* *ibid.* (27) *Idem*, l. ii. p. 295. *Prisc.* p. 41. (28) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. iv. c. 18. p. 488.

nandes (29). He wrote with great exactness and elegance (30). *Suidas* mentions his declamations and letters (31). The history of *Theodosius* the younger was likewise written by one *John*, who is often quoted by *Evagrius*, and by him styled *orator*, or professor of eloquence (32). He is thought to have been a native of *Antioch*, because he is frequently quoted by *Evagrius* in what relates to the history of that city (33). His history ended with the seventh year of *Justin I.* of the christian æra 525; whence we must distinguish him from another historian of the same name, whose history began with the death of *Justinian*, and was carried down to the reign of *Mauritius* (34). Another historian, named likewise *John*, a follower of *Eutyches*, wrote in five books the ecclesiastic history, from the time of *Nestorius* to the defeat of *Basiliscus*; that is, from the year 428, to 477. To his ecclesiastic history he added five books (35), the contents of which are to us quite unknown.

- (29) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 24, 34, 35, 42, 49.* (30) *Evag. l. i. c. 17. p. 275. & l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.* (31) *Suid. p. 590.* (32) *Evag. p. 61.* (33) *Idem, l. i. c. 16. l. ii. c. 12. l. iii. c. 14, 28.* (34) *Idem, p. 274, & 383.* (35) *Phot. c. 41. p. 38.*

C H A P. XXXI.

The Roman history, from the death of Theodosius II. to the total failure of the western empire in Augustulus.

IF the laws at this time in force concerning private estates and inheritances, had obtained with respect to kingdoms and empires, the right of *Eudoxia* to the imperial crown had been indisputable, that princess being the only child of the deceased emperor; but not the least regard was had, either to her, or to the emperor *Valentinian* her husband: and truly neither of them seems to have laid any claim to the eastern empire, tho' *Theodosius* left no issue male behind him. As *Pulcheria* had shared the sovereignty with her brother, and bore the title of *Augusta*, she remained by his death sole mistress of the empire; and no person was more capable of governing it well. However, as no woman had yet reigned alone in either empire, she resolved to marry, notwithstanding the resolution she had taken, or the vow she had made, to continue a virgin to her death. Pursuant to this resolution, as soon as the death of *Theodosius* was publicly known, she sent for *Marcianus*, a person famous for his exemplary piety, and extraordinary qualifications; and told him, that she designed to raise him to the sovereignty, by marrying him, on condition that he would suffer her, agreeable to the resolution she had taken, to live and die a virgin. *Marcianus* readily complying with this condition, she sent for the patriarch *Anatolius*, and the senate, and in their presence declared *Marcianus* emperor. Her choice being approved by them, and applauded by all the officers at court, both civil and military, the new emperor was crowned at the palace of *Hebdomon*, on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of *August* of the present year 450^b. His election was immediately notified to *Valentinian*; and he approving it, his images were, according to custom, sent into the west, and received at *Rome* on the thirtieth of *March* of the following year^c. After this, the

*Pulcheria
resolves to
marry
Marcian.*

*Who is de-
clared em-
peror.*

^b THEOD. p. 551. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 1. p. 275. THEOPH. p. 89. Chron. Alex. p. 738. ^c EVAGR. p. 285.

marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, *Pulcheria* being then in the fifty-first, and *Marcian* in the fiftieth year of his age^d. He was a native of *Thrace* or *His birth, Illyricum*, and descended from a family of no great distinction, *education,* but remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith^e. *and character.* As his father served in the army, he resolved to follow the same profession; and, pursuant to this resolution, set out for *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*, in order to enlist himself there. On his journey, he found the body of a man lately killed lying on the public road, and, prompted by his good-nature, could not proceed, till he had decently interred it. This some persons, accidentally coming by, observed, and immediately acquainted the magistrates of *Philippopolis* with what they had seen; who thereupon caused *Marcian* to be seized and examined, and would have condemned him, had not the true author of the murder been seasonably discovered and convicted^f. *Marcian*, thus set at liberty, lifted himself among the troops quartered at *Philippopolis*, and served still as a private man in 421, when, upon the breaking out of the war between the *Romans* and *Persians*, the corps in which he served was ordered into *Syria*; but *Marcian* falling sick as they marched through *Asia*, continued a long time indisposed at a place called *Sydema*, and thence repaired to *Constantinople*, where he lifted himself among the troops that were commanded by *Ardaburius*, and his son *Aspar*, who discovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raised him to the post of their secretary. With that character he attended *Aspar* in 431 into *Africa*, where he was taken prisoner by *Genferic*, with many persons of distinction, *Aspar* himself having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. All the captives of note were, by *Genferic*'s orders, brought into the palace, where, while they were waiting in an open court till the king was at leisure to view them, *Marcian* lying down on the ground fell asleep, and an eagle at the same time appearing over him, says *Evagrius*, and intercepting with his extended wings the scorching rays of the sun, afforded him a friendly shade. This *Genferic* observed from his apartment, and concluding from thence, that he was destined by heaven to the empire, he granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to swear, that he would never make war upon the *Vandals*^g. From *Africa* he returned to *Constantinople*, where he was, according to *Theophanes*^h, honoured with the senatorial dignity. *Theodorus* styles him only tribune; but adds, that he distinguished himself in warⁱ. He

^d Idem ibid.^e Idem, p. 283. NICEPH. l. xv. c. i. p. 595.^f EVAGR. p. 283.^g Idem, p. 284.^h THEOPH. p. 81.ⁱ THEOD.

l. i. p. 551.

had by his first wife, who died before his accession to the empire, but one daughter, named *Euphemia*, whom, when he was raised to the sovereignty, he married to *Anthemius*, afterwards emperor of the west. All writers agree, that *Martianus* was a prince of most exemplary piety, a zealous patron of the orthodox faith, a father to his people, a sincere friend to virtue, an enemy to all vice and irreligion; in short, a person endowed with every great and good quality becoming a prince. Some writers prefer him even to *Constantine* and *Theodosius the Great*. He preferred none but persons of known abilities, and unblemished characters; whence the reader will find, in the writers of those times, great encomiums bestowed, not only upon him, but on all those who were employed by him in the administration. In the west died in the same year 450, *Pulcheria*, mother to the emperor *Valentinian*, and was interred at *Ravenna*, where her tomb is still to be seen^k. She is blamed by some writers for yielding, or inducing her son to yield, *West Illyrian* dies. cum to *Theodosius*. She had governed the western empire with an absolute sway for the space of twenty-six years, *Valentinian* suffering her to rule, to the hour of her death, with the same authority which she had enjoyed in his minority.

Attila assembles a formidable army. THE following year 451, *Attila* assembled one of the most numerous and formidable armies we find mentioned in history. It consisted of *Hunns*, *Gepidæ*, *Ostrogoths*, *Rugians*, *Geloni-ans*, *Burgundians*, *Belonarians*, *Squiri*, *Neurians*, *Bastarnæ*, *Turingians*, *Bructerians*, *Franks* dwelling on the *Neckar*, *Marconians*, *Suevians*, *Quadians*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingians*, and in short, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others will have it, of seven, hundred thousand men^l. *Attila*, in raising so formidable an army, had nothing less in view, than to make himself master of both empires. But *Marcian* returning no other answer to his ambassadors, sent to demand the annual pension or tribute paid him by *Theodosius*, than that *he had gold for his friends, and steel for his enemies*, he thought it adviseable to turn his arms first against *Valentinian*, whom he held in the utmost contempt, being well apprised, that it would be no difficult undertaking to reduce, in spite of all opposition, the eastern, after he had made himself master of the western, empire. Being therefore determined to make war upon *Valentinian*, he sent a solemn embassy to that prince, demanding his sister *Honorio*, whom he pretended to be his wife, and with her half the western empire, as belonging of right to her. We have observed above, that *Honorio* had maintained, by

Here resolves to make war upon Valentinian.

^k PROSP. chron. IDAT. MABIL. it Ital. p. 39, 40. ^l PRISC. p. 40. JORN. c 78. p. 666. SID. car. vii. p. 54.

means of her eunuchs, a private correspondence with *Attila*, and even sent him a ring, which the ambassador produced to prove their marriage. *Valentinian* answered, that, among the *Romans*, women had no right to the imperial crown, nor to any part of the empire; and at the same time dispatched *Carpilio*, the son of *Aetius*, and several other persons of great distinction, to the court of *Attila*, to convince him of the injustice of his claim. *Attila*, to the great surprize both of *Valentinian* and the ambassadors themselves, seemed to be fully satisfied with their reasoning, and the arguments they alledged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwary prince, and put in execution a new scheme. *Hemeric*, the son of *Genferic*, king of the *Vandals*, having married the daughter of *Theodoric* king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, caused her nose to be cut off soon after, and sent her back, thus disfigured, to her father, upon a bare suspicion, that she designed to poison him. As he was well apprised, that *Theodoric* would not fail to resent such an affront, he resolved to be before-hand with him; and therefore sent ambassadors with rich presents to *Attila*, to engage him to fall upon *Theodoric*. *Attila*, who wanted only some pretence to enter *Gaul*, readily closed with the proposal, pretending at the same time, that he might meet with no opposition from the *Romans*, to be fully satisfied with the reasons alledged by their ambassadors, and to relinquish all claim to any part of the empire; nay, he sent to *Valentinian* ambassadors, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, assuring him, that his warlike preparations were designed against *Theodoric* alone; that, as to the *Romans*, he should ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not espouse the cause of his enemy. At the same time he wrote to *Theodoric*, assuring him of his friendship, and exhorting that prince to join him against the *Romans*, as their common enemy. The better to surprize *Valentinian*, he did not wait the return of the ambassadors he had sent to him; but setting out immediately from *Scythia*, though in the midst of winter, and directing his march through *Germany*, he never halted till he reached, early in the spring, the banks of the *Rhine*. There such of the *Franks* as still dwelt on the *German* side of that river, endeavoured to stop him; but they were easily defeated, *Childeric*, the son of *Merouée*, and grandson of *Clodion*, being taken prisoner, with his mother and other persons of distinction^m. The *Franks* being thus overcome and dispersed, *Attila* caused an incredible number of boats to be built, cutting down for that purpose whole

Whom he
endeavours
to deceive.

Defeats
the Franks;
and enters
Gaul.

^m VAL. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 158. DU CHESNE tom. 1. p. 726.
SID. car. vii. p. 541.

Takes and
destroys
several
cities.

Aetius ar-
rives in
Gaul, and
is joined by
Theodoric
and other
princes.

Attila be-
siegues, and
takes, Or-
leans;

But is
driven out
with great
slaughter
by Aetius.

forests, and, passing the *Rhine* without opposition, entered *Gaul*ⁿ. As he gave out, that he designed to live in friendship with the *Romans*, and only begged leave to march through their country, in order to make war upon the *Visigoths* in *Languedoc*, several cities opened their gates to him; but the rapines and violences, which he suffered his men to commit in the cities that had received him, betraying his real design, the other cities shut their gates against him. Hereupon, pulling off the mask, he besieged, took by storm, and pillaged, *Tongres*, *Treves*, *Straßbourg*, *Spires*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, and all the cities in that neighbourhood. Advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, he put all to fire and sword, and not only reduced and pillaged, but laid in ashes, the cities of *Arras*, *Laon*, *Besançon*, *Toul*, and *Langres*^o. *Attila*, thus laying waste the country far and near, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, arrived at length before *Orleans*, and laid siege to that city. In the mean time, *Aetius*, arriving from *Italy* at *Arles*, assembled what forces he could, having brought with him but a small number of troops, which, however, were reinforced by a great number of *Visigoths*, under the command of their king *Theodoric*, whom *Aetius* had persuaded to join the imperial troops, and, with their united forces, oppose the furious torrent, which threatened both alike. The example of *Theodoric* was followed by several other nations, namely, by the *Franks*, under the conduct of *Merouée*, who, by means of one of his own nation, named *Wiomaud*, had made his escape; by the *Sarmatians*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, the *Armorici*, the *Lisians*, the *Riverins*, the *Ibrions*, and several other nations of *Celtic Gaul* and *Germany*, who, apprehending themselves to be in no less danger than the *Romans*, readily joined *Aetius* against the common enemy^p. The *Lisians* dwelt, according to *Valesius*^q, on the banks of the *Lis* in *Flanders*; the *Riverins* on the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*; and the *Ibrions* in *Vindelicia*, now *Suabia* and *Bavaria*. While *Aetius* was busied in assembling the *Roman* forces and those of their allies, *Attila* pursued the siege of *Orleans* with great fury, battering the place night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines. At length he carried it by assault, according to *Apollinaris Sidonius*; but while his men were busy in plundering, without the least apprehension of danger, *Aetius* and *Theodoric*, arriving with all their forces, entered the city, cut great numbers of the *Hunns* in pieces, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, and obliged *Attila* to repass the *Loire*, in which many of his men were drowned, and

ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o GREG. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 57. p. 275. IDAT. p. 28. COINT. annal. eccles. Franc. p. 451. ^p JORN. p. 6664. GREG. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. ^q VAL. p. 161.

to retire towards the *Rhine*. Having passed *Troyes*, he halted in the *Catalaunic* or *Mauriac* fields, that is, in the plains of *Chalons*, which city was then known by the name of *Catalauni*. The same plains were called, according to *Jornandes*^r, *Mauriaci* or *Mauritii*, no doubt, from some neighbouring city or village. *Valesius* indeed distinguishes the *Catalaunic* from the *Mauriac* plains, and supposes two battles to have been fought, the one, which was not decisive, in the *Mauriac*, and the other, which put an end to the war, in the *Catalaunic* plains^s. But all the antients mention only one battle fought in the plains, called by some *Mauriac* and *Mauritian*, and by others *Catalaunic*. *Attila* chose that place, as the most advantageous for his *Hunns*, who were all horse, to engage in. *Actius*, who followed him close, resolved, notwithstanding the enemy's advantageous situation, to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where *Attila* was encamped, the *Gepidæ*, who followed *Attila*, and the *Franks*, who served under *Actius*, meeting in the dark, engaged with such fury, that, on both sides, above fifteen thousand were left dead upon the spot^t. The next day *Attila* drew up his men in battle-array, placing the flower of his army in the centre, which he commanded in person, the *Ostrogoths* in the left wing, and the *Gepidæ*, with other barbarous nations, in the right. On the other hand, *Actius* placed the *Romans*, whom he commanded himself, in the left wing; the *Visigoths*, under the command of *Theodoric* and his eldest son *Thorismond*, in the right; and the *Alans*, with their king *Sangiban*, the *Franks*, and the other auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. That the *Romans* might not have time to pursue the victory, in case they gained it, *Attila* did not quit his camp till four in the afternoon, when the battle began, which, by all writers, is reckoned one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements mentioned in history, *Actius*, *Theodoric*, and his son *Thorismond*, distinguishing themselves in a most eminent manner. *Theodoric*, notwithstanding his great age, fought at the head of his *Goths* with a courage and resolution hardly to be expressed. But while he was thus animating his men, more by his example than his words, he unluckily fell from his horse, as some authors write, and was trod to death by his own people, who did no know him. Others write, that he was killed by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who served under *Attila*, and was descended from the royal family of the *Amali*^u. The *Goths*, not in the least disheartened by the death of their king, charged the *Hunns*

A bloody
encounter
between
the Franks
and Ge-
pidæ.

The battle
of Chalons.

Theodo-
ric, king
of the
Goths,
killed.

^r JORN. rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 664. ^s VAL. notit. Gall. p. 342.
^t JORN. c. 41. p. 671. ^u Vide BUCH. hist. Belg. c. 37—40.

Attila re-
tires to his
camp.

The num-
ber of the
slain.

so vigorously, that they began, after a most obstinate resistance, to give ground; which *Attila* no sooner perceived, than he caused the retreat to be sounded, and retired to his camp. As it was already dark, *Aetius*, thinking it adviseable not to pursue the enemy, withdrew likewise; but kept his men all night under arms, for fear of a surprise. The next morning, the extensive plains, in which the battle had been fought, appeared covered with heaps of dead bodies, and a neighbouring brook tinged with the blood of the slain. As *Attila* kept close in his camp, the *Romans* concluded from thence, that his army had suffered greatly, and that he owned himself conquered; but as his camp was well fortified, and surrounded with an incredible number of waggons, the *Romans* and *Goths* contented themselves with blocking it up, being well apprised, that the enemy would be soon obliged, for want of provisions, either to submit, or to quit their intrenchments, and venture a second battle in the open fields. In the mean time, the body of *Theodoric*, found among the slain, was interred with extraordinary pomp; and his son *Thorismund*, who had been dangerously wounded, proclaimed king of the *Visigoths* in his room^w. Such is the account the antients give us of this famous action. *Idatus* writes, that on both sides near three hundred thousand men were killed^x; and *Jornandes*, according to the *Amsterdam* edition in 1655, makes the number of the slain amount to two hundred and fifty-two thousand^y. Both armies were greatly weakened, and the loss on each side perhaps equal; but as *Attila* shut himself up in his camp, and declined a second engagement, the *Romans*, who remained masters of the field of battle, challenged the victory. *Cassiodorus*, and *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, ascribe this victory to the courage and bravery of the *Goths*^z; but *Gregory* of *Tours* will have it to have been chiefly owing to the prayers of *St. Agnan* bishop of *Orleans*^a. *Thorismund*, who had not been informed of his father's death till the day after the battle, was for revenging it on the *Hunns*, and attacking *Attila* in his camp. With this view he had already drawn up his *Goths* in battle-array; but *Aetius* fearing, if the *Hunns* were intirely cut off, that the young prince, who was of an aspiring genius, would turn his arms against the empire, advised him to return home with his forces, and take possession of his paternal dominions, lest his brothers, during his absence, should raise disturbances, and, seizing on the royal treasures, give rise to a civil war. *Thorismund* followed his advice, which *Attila* no

^w JORN. rer. Goth. c. 40. 41. p. 669—672. ^x IDAT. p. 28.

^y JORN. c. 41. p. 672. ^z CASSIOD. chron. & l. iii. ep. 1. p. 40.

^a Vide DU CHESNE p. 277. & Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 164.

sooner

sooner knew, than he quitted his camp, and began to retire to-
wards the *Rhine*. As he did not attack *Aetius* even after the
departure of *Thorismund*, *Valesius* concludes, that either the
number of his troops was greatly increased by the writers of
those times, or the loss he sustained in the battle lessened^b; but
the first is most likely. *Aetius* pursued *Attila* as far as the
Rhine; but never offered to attack him, being willing, some
authors say, that he should make his escape, and, by awing
the *Franks* and *Goths*, divert them from raising disturbances in
the empire. *Attila*, being thus driven out of *Gaul*, retired to
Pannonia; and having there reinforced his army with supplies
sent him out of *Scythia*, he resolved to make an irruption into
Italy, where he hoped to meet with more booty and less oppo-
sition, there being no *Goths*, *Alans*, *Franks*, or *Burgundians*,
there to oppose him. Pursuant to this resolution he left *Panno-*
nia, and finding the passes of the *Alps* unguarded, as no hosti-
lities were expected on that side, he entered *Italy* in the latter
end of the present year 451, as *Idatius* and *Jornandes* seem to
insinuate^c, or in the beginning of the following year 452, when
Herculanus and *Sporacius* were consuls. It is impossible to ex-
press the terror and consternation, which so sudden and unex-
pected an irruption occasioned, even in the most distant pro-
vinces. *Aetius* was at first for saving himself by flight, and re-
tiring with the emperor into *Gaul*; but shame getting the bet-
ter of his fear, he continued in *Italy*, and began to assemble the
forces that were dispersed up and down the provinces. In the
mean time, *Attila*, advancing as far as *Aquileia*, the metro-
polis of the province called *Venetia*, invested that important
place, battering it night and day with an incredible number of
warlike engines; but as it was well fortified, and defended by
the flower of the *Roman* troops, it held out, in spite of his ut-
most efforts, for the space of three whole months, at the end
of which it was taken by assault, pillaged for several days toge-
ther, and laid in ashes, not one house being left standing, nor
one person alive that fell into the enemy's hands, *Attila* design-
ing, by this barbarous and inhuman treatment, to strike terror
into the other cities, and frighten them into submission. The
cities of *Arvigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Brescia*, and
Bergamo, underwent the same fate, the barbarians raging
every-where with such fury, as can hardly be expressed or con-
ceived, and putting all to the sword, without distinction of sex,
age, or condition. It is commonly believed, that on this oc-
casion the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, to avoid fall-
ing into the hands of the *Hunns*, retired to the islands on

Thoris-
mond re-
turns home
with the
Visigoths.

Attila
quits Gaul,

And in-
vades
Italy.

Aquileia
taken and
destroyed,
with seve-
ral other
cities.

The found-
ing of
Venice.

^b VAL. p. 165. ^c JORN. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 672. THEOPH.
p. 92. GREG. TUR. l. ii. p. 277.

their

Milan
taken and
pillaged.

Valenti-
nian con-
cludes a
treaty
with At-
tila.

their coast, and there laid the foundations of a city, which, borrowing its name from the province, was called, *Venetia*, and is now known by the name of *Venice*^d. *Cassiodorus*, speaking of the *Venetians*, as he styles them, about fifty years after, says, that they inhabited the islands of the *Adriatic*; that they had no other fence against the waves but hurdles; no other food but fish; no wealth besides their boats; and no merchandise but salt, which they exchanged for other provisions^e. To return to *Attila*: From the province of *Venetia* he advanced to *Milan*, then the metropolis of *Liguria*, which he took and pillaged, the city of *Pavia*, and several other places in that neighbourhood he laid in ashes, after having plundered them, and put such of the inhabitants to the sword, as had not saved themselves by a timely flight. Seeing at *Milan* some pictures, representing the *Roman* emperors sitting on thrones of gold, and the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths* or *Hunns*, prostrate at their feet, he caused himself to be painted sitting on a throne, and the *Roman* emperors carrying on their shoulders sacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet^f. From *Liguria*, *Attila* was for advancing to *Rome*, which city was not in a condition to withstand him; but his men, remembering the untimely end of *Alaric*, who died soon after he had plundered that metropolis, did all that lay in their power to divert him, notwithstanding their thirst after plunder, from that resolution. *Attila* despised that omen; but his troops being greatly diminished for want of provisions, and by the maladies that raged among them, and *Aetius* having at the same time, with a reinforcement sent him by *Marcian* out of the east, defeated a party of *Hunns*, he thought it adviseable to put off his march to *Rome*, and pursue his ravages in the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, *Valentinian*, having no other resource, sent a solemn embassy to *Attila*, with proposals for an accommodation. At the head of this embassy was *Leo* bishop of *Rome*, a person famed for his eminent piety, eloquence, and learning. His colleagues were *Albienus* or *Avienus*, who had been consul in 450, and *Trigecius*, formerly prefect. They found *Attila* on the banks of the *Menzo*, not far from *Mantua*, and were by him received with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem. He concluded with *Leo*, who surprised and softened him with his eloquence, a kind of treaty, which, it seems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to *Italy*, and pursue his ravages with more cruelty than ever, unless the princess *Honoria* was sent him, with the share of the imperial treasures, that

^d POR. de imp. c. 28. p. 69, 72. VAL. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 169.
^e CASSIOD. l. xii. ep. 24. p. 199. ^f JORN. ibid. p. 673.

was due to her. One of the articles of this treaty was, that the emperor should pay an annual pension to *Attila*. It was no sooner signed, than he ordered his *Hunns* to forbear hostilities, and, leaving *Italy*, retired beyond the *Danube* ². *Damas-* *Whore-*
cus, who flourished about this time, writes, that a bloody battle *tires out of*
 was fought under the walls of *Rome* between the *Romans* and *Italy*.
 the *Scythians* under the conduct of *Attila*; and that the slaughter was great on both sides, none but the chiefs, and a small number of their guards, being left alive; but as he adds, that the souls of the slain pursued the engagement with great noise for three days and three nights ³, his whole account may be looked upon as fabulous. The following year, 453, when *Opilio* and *Vincomalus* were consuls, *Attila*, incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live in peace, crossing *Rhætia*, and following the course of the *Rhone*, entered unexpectedly *And re-*
 the country now known by the name of *Dauphiny*, and fell *turns to*
 upon the *Alans*, whom *Aetius* had allowed to settle in the *Va-* *Gaul*.
lentinis, under the conduct of *Sangiban*. But *Thorismond*, king of the *Visigoths*, whose dominions were divided from those of the *Alans* only by the *Rhone*, being well apprised, that *Attila*, after having reduced the *Alans*, would not fail to invade his territories, joined his neighbours with the whole strength of his kingdom, and having gained a complete victory over *Attila*, *Where he is*
 obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own coun- *defeated by*
 try ¹. *Jornandes* and *Sigebert* are the only writers who mention *Thoris-*
 this second irruption of the *Hunns* into *Gaul*; and their autho- *mond*.
 rity is suspected by *Valesius*, especially that of *Jornandes*, who seems not to have been well acquainted with the history of the *Visigoths*. *Attila* died soon after, that is, either in the present, or the following year, 454, and with him ended the kingdom, or rather empire, of the *Hunns* in the north, a civil war being kindled, upon his death, among his numerous issue; which gave the several nations he had subdued an opportunity of shaking off the yoke, and recovering their antient liberty, as we shall relate more at length in the history of the *Hunns*, and other northern nations. The same year, *Thorismond*, king of the *Visigoths*, was murdered in *Toulouse*, the capital of his king- *Thoris-*
 dom, by two of his brothers, viz. *Theodoric* and *Frederic*, *mond*
 and succeeded by the former, on whom *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who was intimately acquainted with him, bestows great encomiums, extolling him even above his father, and styling him the protector and bulwark of the empire ⁴.

² Idem, p. 674—685.

³ Phot. c. 242. p. 1040, 1041.

¹ JORN. p. 674, 675.

⁴ SID. CAR. VII. p. 347. et ep ii—vi p. 4.

CAR. XIII. p. 400.

The council
of Chalce-
don.

Several
barbarous
nations
settle in
Thrace
and Illyri-
cum.

WHILE these things passed in the west, the council of *Chalcedon* was held in the east by *Marcian's* orders, who nevertheless seems to have assisted in person only at the session of the twenty-fifth of *October*. The council began on the eighth of *October* of the year 451, and ended on the first of *November*¹. The same year the emperor enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, any one to sacrifice to the gods, or even to adorn their temples with flowers, and condemning the governors and officers, who should wink at such wicked practices, to pay fifty pounds weight of gold^m. The following year, the *Saracens*, the *Nubians*, and the *Blemmyes*, broke into the empire; but were defeated by the troops of *Marcian*, and forced to sue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire, as *Priscus* assures us, who attended the *Roman* ambassadors to *Damascus*, where the treaty was concludedⁿ. The following year 453, *Attila* dying, several nations, formerly subdued by that conqueror, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave of *Marcian* to settle in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, almost intirely dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the *Hunns* and other barbarians. Among these mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who, under the conduct of *Candax*, their king or leader, settled in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mæsia*: to the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called the castle of *Mars*: to the *Goths*, commonly called *Ostrogoths* or *Eastern Goths*, to distinguish them from the *Visigoths* or *Western Goths*, who afterwards became masters of *Spain*, *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, at present *Vienna*, in *Austria*, a large tract comprising many cities. These *Goths* were then governed by three brothers, viz. *Valemir*, *Theodimir*, the father of *Theodoric the Great*, afterwards king of *Italy*, and *Vidimir*, who divided that extensive country among them, *Valemir* settling in the eastern part of it, *Theodimir* in the western, and *Vidimir* between the other two^o. The *Goths*, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but at the same time their princes claimed an uncontrouled authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even one of the sons of *Attila*, named *Ernac*, and several other *Hunns*, submitted to the *Romans*, who granted

¹ Concil. tom. iv. p. 574, 576. ^m Cod. Just. l. i. tit. 11. leg. 7. p. 105, 106. ⁿ EVAGR. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. PRIS. p. 40. NICEPH. l. xv. c. 9. p. 61. ^o JORN. rer. Goth. c. 50—52. p. 688, 689.

them lands on the most distant borders of *Lesser Scythia*, in *Dacia*, and amongst the *Sarmatians* in *Illyricum* ^{p.}. The same *The em-* year died, in the month of *July*, the empress *Pulcheria*, daugh- *press Pul-* ter to *Arcadius*, sister to *Theodosius II.* and wife to *Marcian*. *cheriadist.* She left by her will, which was confirmed and executed with great fidelity by *Marcian*, the immense wealth of which she was possessed, and her rich moveables, to the poor ^{q.}. She was a woman of most extraordinary parts, and is, on account of her exemplary piety, honoured both by the *Greeks* and *Latins* with the title of *saint*.

THE following year 454, when *Aetius* was consul the fourth *The dis-* time with *Stodius*, is remarkable for the downfall and death of *grace and* that great commander, owing chiefly to the malice and insinua- *death of* tions of an eunuch, by name *Heraclius*, who having gained an *Aetius.* absolute ascendant over the emperor, easily persuaded the weak prince, that *Aetius* aspired at the empire, and maintained a private correspondence with the barbarians, in order to raise himself by their means to the imperial dignity. *Aetius*, on his side, gave some occasion to the accusations of the eunuch, by pressing the emperor with too much eagerness to perform the promise he had made of marrying his eldest daughter *Eudocia* to *Gaudentius*, the general's son. His importunity gave weight to the calumnies of *Heraclius*, and confirmed the weak and jealous emperor in his suspicions, which, according to *Gregory of Tours* ^r and all the writers of those times, were altogether groundless. But after all, his treachery towards count *Bonifacius*, and several others, plainly proves, that he did not on all occasions scruple sacrificing his conscience and honour to his preferment and grandeur. Some pretend, but without any positive proof, and probably without foundation, that he was at the bottom of all the disturbances that happened during his administration ^{s.}. *Petronius Maximus* is said to have greatly contributed to the death of *Aetius*, by prompting the eunuchs of the court to persuade the emperor, that he aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty. The view of *Maximus* therein was to remove out of the way the only person, who screened the prince from the vengeance he was resolved to take upon him for a late affront ^t; of which anon. However that be, the death of *Aetius* being resolved on, *Valentinian* ordered him one day to attend him in the palace, pretending to have some affair of the utmost importance to impart to him. *Aetius* obeyed the summons, repairing without delay to the emperor's apartment, attended by

^p Idem ibid. ^q MARC. chron. ^r GREG. Tur. hist. Franc.
l. ii. c. 8. p. 277. VALES. ^{p.} 175. ^s VAL. p. 176. BUCH. Belg.
p. 318. ^t JORN. reg. Sue. p. 654.

Who is
treache-
rously mur-
dered by
Valenti-
nian.

Boëtius, the *præfectus prætorio*, his intimate friend, and several others. But *Aetius* alone was admitted into the prince's chamber; which he had no sooner entered, than *Valentinian* ran him through with his sword; and with the assistance of the officers about him, namely, of *Heraclius*, dispatched him in a most barbarous and inhuman manner ^u. Thus fell the best general of his age, the terror of *Attila*, the bulwark of the western provinces, says *Sidonius*, by the hand of the greatest coward in the whole empire ^v. We are told, that *Valentinian* having one day asked a *Roman* whether he had done well in dispatching *Aetius*? the *Roman* answered, that he could not tell whether he had done well or no, but thought he had cut off his right hand with his left ^x. The præfect *Boëtius*, and all those who had attended *Aetius* to the palace, were likewise dispatched, being called one after the other into the emperor's chamber ^y. This bloody tragedy was acted, according to *Theophanes*, at *Rome* ^z. *Valentinian* immediately dispatched ambassadors to the *Suevians*, and other foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of *Aetius*, and confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them ^a. But the news of that great man's death encouraged, it seems, some of them to make irruptions into the empire. For in the beginning of the following year, the *Armorici*, that is, the inhabitants of the present *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, were under daily apprehensions of seeing the *Saxons* on their coasts; the *Alemans* passed the *Rhine* near *Basel*, and the *Franks* laid waste the territories of *Mentz* and *Rheims* ^b.

Valenti-
nian falls
in love
with the
wife of
Maximus.

THE following year 445, when *Valentinian* was consul the eighth time with *Anthemius*, son-in-law to the emperor *Marcian*, the western empire was involved in endless calamities. The emperor *Valentinian* was murdered on the seventeenth of *March*, and the empire seized by *Petronius Maximus*, grandson to *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, who having usurped the sovereignty in 383, was taken and put to death by *Theodosius the Great* in 388. Authors give us the following account of the unhappy end of *Valentinian*, and the usurpation of *Maximus*. The latter having married a lady, equally famous for her beauty and chastity, *Valentinian*, taken with her charms, fell passionately in love with her; but her virtue being proof against all his presents, menaces, and promises, he had recourse to the following artifice: he sent one day for *Maximus* to play with him at dice;

^u IDAT. p. 30. PROSP. MARC. chron. THEOPH. p. 92. SID. car. v. p. 318. ^v SID. car. vii. p. 342. ^x Persec. Vand. hist. l. i. c. 4 p. 187. ^y PROSP. IDAT. MARC. CASSIOD. &c. ^z THEOPH. p. 92. ^a IDAT. CASSIOD. &c. ^b SID. car. vii. p. 542.

and having won of him a considerable sum, obliged him to leave his ring as a pledge for the payment of it. This ring he sent privately to the wife of *Maximus*, desiring her in her husband's name to repair to the palace, and wait upon the empress. The lady, knowing the ring, hastened to the palace, in compliance with the supposed orders of her husband; but was conducted by some persons employed for that purpose to a remote apartment, where *Valentinian*, without any regard to her tears and intreaties, robbed her by force of that which was infinitely more dear to her than her life. Upon her return home, she burst into a flood of tears, reproaching, in most bitter terms, her husband, whom she believed privy to her dishonour, and his own infamy. *Maximus*, on the other hand, then first apprised of the emperor's wicked artifice, acquainted his wife with it, and resolved at all events to be revenged on *Valentinian* ^c. Pursuant to this resolution, he applied to the friends of *Aetius*, whom the emperor had caused lately to be murdered, especially to *Traustila* and *Optila* or *Occylla*, two barbarians, who had served under that general, and had been distinguished by him with particular marks of kindness and esteem. These readily undertook to revenge the death of their old commander, and at the same time the dishonour offered to *Maximus*; and accordingly falling upon *Valentinian*, while he was diverting himself in the *campus Martius* at *Rome*, they first killed his favourite eunuch *Heraclius*, who courageously interposed, and endeavoured to save his master, and then dispatched, with many wounds, the emperor himself in the sight of the whole court ^d. *Procopius* and *John of Antioch*, who evidently copies from him, are the only authors who mention the indignity offered to *Maximus*. *Sidonius* and *Idatius*, without taking the least notice of that outrage, ascribe the death of *Valentinian* to the unbounded ambition of *Maximus*, not to be satisfied with any thing less than the empire itself ^e. *Valentinian* was murdered on the seventeenth of *March* of the present year 455, after having lived thirty-four years, and reigned twenty-nine and about five months, reckoning from the twenty-third of *October* 425, when he was first declared *Augustus* ^f. His tomb is thought to be still extant at *Ravenna* ^g. As he had but very slender parts, he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, who disposed, at their pleasure, of all the great offices, sacrificing the good of the public, and the honour of

Maximus,
to revenge
the violence of-
fered her,
causes *Va-*
lentinian
to be mur-
dered.

^c PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4. p. 186. 187. ^d MARC. IDAT. CASSIOD. chron. EVAGR. c. 7. p. 298. JORN. reg. Suev. p. 654. GREG. Tur. p. 277. ^e SID. l. ii. ep. 13. p. 57. IDAT. p. 31. ^f IDAT. p. 30. ^g MAB. Ites. Ital. p. 40.

The character of Valentinian.

Maximus assumes the purple.

And appoints Avitus, commander in chief of all the Roman forces.

Eudoxia, being forced to marry him, invites Genferic into Italy.

the prince, to their private interest and ambition. He had not courage enough to head his armies in person: and besides, by his effeminate education, became altogether incapable of bearing the the toils of a military life. The only journies he undertook were from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, and from *Rome* back again to *Ravenna*, keeping himself in both places locked up in his palace with a herd of eunuchs, and indulging, without restraint, his most brutal inclinations, tho' married to one of the most beautiful women of that age^a. The day after his death, *Maximus*, the author of it, assumed the purple; and being saluted by the *Roman* people with the title of *Augustus*, he immediately raised his son, by name *Palladius*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. *Maximus* was sprung from an illustrious family in *Rome*, and had discharged with great applause and reputation the first offices in the state. He was possessed of immense wealth, which he shared and enjoyed with his friends, leading an easy and quiet life, and indulging himself in all the diversions and recreations, which his plentiful estate could afford him. Hence he no sooner began to feel the anxieties inseparable from a crown, especially when acquired by unlawful means, than he repented the step he had taken, panting after his former condition. *Sidonius* writes that the very first night he lodged in the palace, he was heard crying out, *Happy Damocles, whose reign began and ended with a dinner*; nay, he had some thoughts of abandoning *Rome*, of quitting the ensigns of majesty, and resuming in some corner of *Italy* his former method of life^b. But being diverted from that resolution by his friends, he appointed *Avitus*, then in *Gaul*, commander in chief of the *Roman* armies, who immediately dispatched *Messianus* to acquaint *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, with the accession of *Maximus* to the empire. That general went soon after to confer in person with the *Gothish* king, and entered *Toulouse*, attended by *Theodoric* himself on his right hand, and one of the prince's brothers on his left. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with *Theodoric*, when he unexpectedly received the disagreeable tidings of the death of *Maximus*, which put him upon other measures^c. The wife of *Maximus* dying soon after the outrage supposed to have been offered to her, the usurper, that he might have some title to the crown, obliged *Eudoxia*, the deceased emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination, a few days after the murder of her husband; and at the same time married her daughter *Eudoxia* to his son *Palladius*. *Eudoxia*, who had loved *Valentinian* with great tenderness, highly

^a THEOPH. p. 93. ZON. p. 40. CONST. MANASS. p. 51. PRO-COP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 182. ^b SID. l. ep. 13. p. 57, 58.

^c Idem, car. vii p. 343, 344.

provoked

provoked in seeing herself married against her will to the very person who had deprived him both of his life and empire, resolved, whatever it cost her, to revenge the death of her former husband, and the affront offered in her person to his bed. Blinded therefore with passion and thirst of revenge, she took such measures as proved fatal to herself, to *Rome*, and all *Italy*. For expecting no assistance from *Marcian*, unwilling perhaps to engage in a civil war, she dispatched a trusty messenger to *Genferic* in *Africa*, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*, and to rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, the murderer of her husband¹. Some authors affirm, that she wrote to the king of the *Vandals* with her own hand, assuring him, that he would meet with no great resistance in *Italy*, and promising to assist him to the utmost of her power. This message was very acceptable to *Genferic*, who had long wished for such an opportunity, which he embraced with great joy; and putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course strait to *Rome*. When his numerous fleet first appeared, the chief citizens, and all persons of distinction, struck with terror and dismay, instead of putting themselves in a posture of defence, thought only of consulting their safety by flight^m. Among these was *Maximus* himself; but as he was flying with those of his court, the populace, highly incensed against him for thus shamefully abandoning those whom it was his duty to protect, rising, all on a sudden, pursued him with showers of stones; which some of *Valentinian's* officers observing, they threw themselves upon him; and a *Roman* soldier, by name *Urfus*, gave him the fatal blowⁿ. His body was ignominiously dragged through the chief streets of the city; and, after it had lain some time exposed to the insults of the incensed multitude, thrown into the *Tiber*. Such was the end of the usurper *Maximus*, after he had lived about sixty years, and borne the title of emperor three months wanting five days. His son *Palladius* is supposed to have undergone the same fate. Three days after the death of *Maximus*, *Rome* that is, on the fifteenth of *June*, *Genferic* entered *Rome* without opposition, and abandoned it to the mercy of his *Vandals*, strictly injoining them, however, not to set fire to the city, nor shed the blood of the inhabitants, pursuant to the promise he had made to *Leo the Great*, then bishop of *Rome*, who had gone out to meet him^o. They continued in the city fourteen days, pillaging not only the private houses, but stripping the public buildings of all their rich ornaments, and even the churches of their

¹ EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298. ^m SID. p. 174. ⁿ PROCOPIUS. p. 186. JORNAND. rer. Goth. c. 45, 677. ^o THEOPH. p. 93. VICT. PROSP. chron.

Eudoxia
and her
daughters
carried
into capti-
vity.

sacred vessels. They took an incredible number of captives, every one seized such women as they liked best ; and amongst the men, those who they thought would be of most use to them. *Genferic* himself forced the imperial palace ; and having seized on the treasure, and all the rich moveables he found there, he caused them to be put on board a vessel, with the empress *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius* the son of *Actius*, and carried them all into captivity. Amongst the spoils, mention is made of a great many statues with which a vessel was loaded ; of half the covering of the capitol, which was of brass plated over with gold ; of sacred vessels of gold, enriched with precious stones ; and of those which had been formerly taken by *Titus* out of the temple of *Jerusalem*, and brought to *Rome*. *Genferic*, having thus stripped the city of all its wealth and valuable ornaments, returned with his fleet to *Africa*, but lost in his passage the ship that carried the statues ^p. *Marcian*, sensibly affected with the misfortune of *Eudoxia* and the two princesses her daughters, dispatched ambassadors to *Genferic*, earnestly intreating him to set them at liberty ; but he despising both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462, when he sent back *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to *Leo*, the successor of *Marcian*. As for *Eudocia*, he married her to *Huneric*, his eldest son, who had by her *Ailderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa* ^q. In the east *Marcian* enacted this year a famous law, dated, according to some, the first of *May*, according to others, the twenty-second of *April*, wherein he allowed every one to bequeath to the ecclesiastics and monks what they pleased, and revoked the laws of the other emperors his predecessors, forbidding widows and deaconesses to leave any thing by will to the church ^r. This law is addressed to *Palladius*, the *præfetus prætorio*, to whom is likewise addressed another against the *Eutychians*, dated from *Constantinople* the first of *August* ^s. Of the few writers who flourished under *Valentinian III.* we shall speak in note (T).

Avitus,

^p THEOPH. p. 93. EVAGR. p. 98. PROCOF. p. 189. ^q THEOD. l. i. p. 552. PRISC. p. 41. ^r Cod. Theod. nov. l. iii. tit. 5. ^s Concil. tom. iv. p. 886, 888.

(T) The chronicle of *Idatius* has been of great use to us in writing the history of *Valentinian's* reign. He was a native of *Lamego*, in the province of *Beira*, belonging then to *Galicia*, but at present to the kingdom of *Portugal*. His parents dying when he was very young, he left *Spain*, and retired to the east, where he saw *St. Jerom*, *Eulogius of Cæsarea*, *John of Jerusalem*, and *Theophilus of Alexandria*. He owns himself to have been but indifferently versed in polite literature, and

Avitus, or *Flavius Mætilius Avitus*, as he is styled on an ancient medal ¹, had been appointed by *Maximus* commander in

¹ GOLTZ. p. 135.

and still less in the study of the holy scripture (1). But as to the latter, *Leo the Great*, bishop of *Rome*, seems to have been of a different opinion, since he employed him against the *Priscillianists* (2). He was ordained bishop in the third or fourth year of the reign of *Valentinian III.* that is, about the year 427, for he reckons from the time that prince was created *Cæsar* (3). *Sigibert*, and some other writers, suppose him to have been bishop of *Lamego*. And truly the words of his preface leave it doubtful, whether he was bishop, or only a native, of that city; but in his chronicle he tells us, that the bishop *Idatius* was taken in the church of *Aquæ Flavie*, and returned after three months captivity to *Flavia* (4). As he evidently speaks in that place of himself, father *Labbé* concludes him to have been a native of *Lamego*, and bishop of *Aquæ Flavie* (5); which last city *Sanfon* places in the territory of *Braga*, on the confines of *Portugal*, calling it *Aquæ Læ Turodorum*. *Leo* bishop of *Rome* only writes, that *Idatius* was bishop in *Galicia* (6). *Dupin* will have him to have been archbishop of *Lugo* (7), not reflecting, that *Idatius* was ordained bishop in 427, and that six years after the see of *Lugo* was held by *Asterius* (8). In the year 431, *Idatius* was sent by the natives of *Galicia* to implore the assistance of *Actius*, then in *Gaul*, against the *Suevians*, who contrary to the articles of a late treaty, pillaged the country. He returned from *Gaul* the following year with count *Gensorius*, sent by *Actius* to treat with the *Suevians*. He was taken by the *Suevians* in the church of *Aquæ Flavie* on the twenty-sixth of *July* 462, but after three months captivity was set at liberty. Notwithstanding the wars and disturbances that reigned in his time all over the empire, especially in *Spain*, he wrote a chronicle, which is, properly speaking, a continuation of that of *St. Jerom.* What he wrote from the death of *Valens*, where his chronicle begins, to the third year of *Valentinian's* reign, and his own episcopacy, he either copied, as he assures us, from the best writers, or learnt of persons of unquestionable veracity: of all the rest, he was himself an eye-witness. He writes, that he had the misfortune to see the *Roman* empire reduced within narrow bounds, and in great danger of losing the little it retained; that the discipline of the church was utterly neglected in *Galicia*, and the liberties of the people intirely lost, the barbarians, who prevailed there, acknowledging no other law but their arbitrary will and caprice. He carries his chronicle down to the third of *Anthemius's* reign, that is, to the year 469, the forty-first of his episcopacy. The chronicle

(1) *Idat. Chron.* p. 2—10. (2) *Leo. ep.* xxxii. c. 17. p. 162. (3) *Idem*, p. 4. (4) *Idem*, p. 39. (5) *Labbe. script. tom.* ii. p. 496. (6) *Leo. tom.* ii. p. 827, 828. (7) *Dupin. tom.* iv. p. 557. (8) *Idat.* p. 20.

chief of all the *Roman* forces, and was at the court of *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, when news was brought him of the

of *Idatius* gives great light to the history of those times, especially to that of *Spain*; whence *Isidore* and some others have copied almost word for word. However, it is not quite free from faults, especially in point of chronology, either the author himself, or his transcribers, reckoning sometimes the end of one emperor's reign, and the beginning of another's, as two distinct years, which is a very gross mistake. The years of the emperors are marked all along with the olympiads, and, in imitation of *St. Jerom*, the years of the supputation of *Eusebius* from the birth of *Abraham*. The æra of *Spain*, which is thirty years anterior to ours, is marked in the beginning on the margin. Father *Sirmond*, to whom we are indebted for this chronicle, has annexed to it a book of consular tables, which he believes to have been done by the same author. . Father *Sirmond* published only part of these tables. But father *Labbé* inserted the whole in his *Bibliotheca nova*, and *Du Cange* in his *Chronicon Paschale* (9), which extends from the consulship of *Brutus*, the first consul, to the second consulship of *Anthemius* in 468, so that the consular tables end about a year after the chronicle. In the tables no other æra is marked but that of *Spain*, which gives us room to believe that they were done by a native of that country (10). They are reckoned very exact; but yet some faults have crept into them, which, in all likelihood, is owing to the ignorance of the transcribers. In the time of *Charlemagne*, a *French* chronologer published an epitome of the chronicle of *Idatius*, which is to be found in *Canisius* (11). The work intitled *Notitia imperii* is supposed to have been written in the reign of *Valentinian III.* and *Theodosius II.* but by some in the very beginning, by others in the latter end, of the reign of *Theodosius*. This *notitia* contains a succinct account of the state of the empire in those times, viz. of the provinces and their governors; of the other magistrates, both civil and military, their titles and offices; of their land and sea-forces; of their foot and horse; of their troops, both *Roman* and foreign, and the places where they were quartered, &c. This *notitia* was published by *Guidus Pancirollus* in 1593, with copious comments, of which father *Labbé* speaks with great contempt, ridiculing the cuts with which they are adorned, representing, as *Pancirollus* imagines, the habits and ornaments peculiar to each office and dignity. To the *notitia* is added the description of *Rome* by an anonymous author, who is supposed to have wrote under *Valentinian III.* To this description of *Rome*, father *Labbé* adds one of *Constantinople*, done likewise by an anonymous writer, either in the reign of *Arcadius*, or of *Theodosius* the younger. The treatise *de rebus bellicis*, which *Labbé* adds to it, is supposed to have been written about the same time; but the author, who seems to have been a private person, and to have professed the study of philosophy, is not known.

(9) *Labb.* p. 3. *Cange. chron. Pasc.* p. 439. (10) *Vide Wilt. ad. not.* p. 8. & *Noris de Diocles. num.* p. 11. (11) *Canis.* tom. ii. p. 640, 641.

death of the usurper. He immediately acquainted *Theodoric* with what had happened, who thereupon pressed him to assume the purple, and even caused him to be proclaimed emperor by the *Goths* in *Toulouse*, on the tenth of *July* of the present year, promising to support him in his new dignity with the whole strength of his kingdom^u. However, he did not, it seems, take upon him the title of emperor till he was proclaimed some time after, that is, on the eighth of *August*, by the *Roman* army at *Arles*, and by all the chief men in *Gaul*. *Theodoric* went immediately, attended by his brothers, to *Arles*, to congratulate the new prince on his accession to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed^v. From *Arles* the new emperor set out soon after for *Rome*, where he was received by the populace with great demonstrations of joy. *Marcian*, who had nothing so much at heart as the public welfare and tranquillity, readily approved of his promotion, and acknowledged him for his colleague^x. The following year, when *Varanes* and *Johannes* were consuls, a bloody war broke out between the *Suevians* in *Spain* and the *Visigoths* in *Aquitain*. *Requiarius*, king of the former, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, over-ran the province of *Cartagena*, which still belonged to the *Romans*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Hereupon *Avitus*, dispatching count *Fronto* to him with the character of ambassador, put him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the *Romans*. *Theodoric* likewise, whose sister *Requiarius* had married, interposed his good offices, conjuring his brother-in-law not to disturb the public tranquillity, and acquainted him with the engagements which he had entered into with *Avitus*. But *Requiarius*, without any regard either to treaties or remonstrances, pursued his ravages, laying waste, not only the province of *Cartagena*, but that of *Tarraco* too, which likewise belonged to the empire. Upon this, *Theodoric* sent him a second embassy, to which he answered with great haughtiness, that if *Theodoric* found fault with his conduct, he would soon give him an account of it at *Toulouse*. This answer piqued *Theodoric* to such a degree, that he immediately entered *Spain* at the head of a powerful army; and being met by *Requiarius* about twelve miles from *Astorga*, a battle ensued, in which the *Suevians* were entirely defeated, and their king, who was dangerously wounded, obliged to fly for shelter to a distant corner of *Galicia*. *Theodoric* pursued him close; and entering *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of *October*, gave that city up

Avitus
proclaimed
emperor at
Toulouse,
and after
at *Arles*.

Is received
as such at
Rome, and
acknow-
ledged by
Marcian.

War be-
tween the
Visigoths
and *Suevi-*
ans.

The *Sue-*
vians de-
feated.

^u GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 11. p. 280.
chron.

^x IDAT. p. 32.

^v IDAT. p. 31. ISIDOR.

Genferic
defeated
at sea by
Ricimer.

to be plundered by his soldiers. From *Braga* he advanced with all possible expedition to a place called *Portugal*, whither the fugitive king had retired ^y. Some writers take *Portugal* for the present city of *Porto* on the *Douro*, in the kingdom of *Portugal*, to which it is thought to have given name ^z. *Jornandes* writes, that *Requiarius* put to sea, in order to save himself by flight, but was driven back by a storm ^a. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken, and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who, after having kept him some time in prison, put him to death in the month of *December* ^b. The *Suevians*, disheartened by the death of their king, and destitute of a leader, submitted to *Theodoric*, who retained for himself the country he had conquered, appointing one *Aquiulphus* to govern it. *Aquiulphus*, revolting soon after from *Theodoric*, caused himself to be proclaimed king of the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, but died the following year in the month of *June* at *Porto* ^c. *Jornandes* writes, that a powerful army being sent against him by *Theodoric*, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded ^d. Some *Suevians*, refusing to submit to the *Goths* retired to a distant corner of *Galicia*, and there chose for their king one of their own nation, named *Maldra* ^e. The same year. *Genferic*, putting to sea with a numerous fleet, and a considerable army on board, with a design to ravage the coasts of *Italy* or *Gaul*, was overtaken near *Corfica* by the *Roman* fleet, under the command of *Ricimer*, and utterly defeated ^f. *Ricimer*, styled by some *Richimer* or *Richemer*, was sprung from the royal family of the *Suevians*; but as his mother was the daughter of *Valla*, king of the *Goths* in 418, he is commonly looked upon rather as a *Goth* than a *Suevian*. He had served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and acquired so much reputation by his warlike exploits, that *Sidonius* gives him the title of *invincible*, and *Jornandes* styles him the best commander of his age; nay, *Sidonius* prefers him for courage to *Sylla*, for prudence to *Fabius*, for good-nature to *Metellus*, for eloquence to *Appius*, for vigour and resolution to *Fulvius*, and for address to *Camillus* ^h. But these good qualities were not without the allay of as many bad ones; for he was a man without faith, honour, or honesty; ambitious to such a degree, that, not satisfied with being commander in chief of all the forces in the west, patrician, and son-in-law to the emperor, he took upon him to raise and depose emperors at his pleasure; and, since he was excluded by his birth from wearing the imperial crown himself, to command

^y IDAT. p. 33. ISIDOR. chron. JORN. p. 676. ^z BAUD.
^a JORN. ibid. ^b IDAT. p. 24. ISIDOR. chron. ^c IDAT.
p. 37. ^d JORN. p. 677. ^e IDAT. p. 34. ^f Idem ibid.
^g JORN. c. 45. p. 678. SID. car. ii. p. 301. ^h SID. car. v. p. 517.
and

controul those who wore it. This unbounded ambition, this unbridled lust of ruling, prompted him to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raised by himself, and to stir up and assist under-hand the avowed enemies of that empire, which he was by the strongest ties bound to protect and defend. Elated with his success over *Genferic*, instead of pursuing it, he returned to *Rome*, and, revolting with *Majorianus*, obliged the senate to declare *Avitus* unworthy of the empire; which no sooner came to the prince's ears, who was then in *Gaul*, than *Avitus deposed*. he hastened back to *Italy*; but upon his arrival at *Placentia*, he was stopped by *Ricimer*, and stripped of all the badges of majesty¹. *Theophanes* writes, that *Avitus* was overcome in battle by *Ricimer*, on the sixteenth of *October*^k; so that he had scarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus divested of the purple, he caused himself to be ordained bishop of *Placentia*, but the senate insisting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from *Placentia*, with a design to take sanctuary in the church of *St. Julian* at *Brioude* in *Auvergne*, the place of his nativity. *Gregory of Tours* adds, that he died on the road, and his body was brought to *Brioude*, and buried near that of the holy martyr *St. Julian*^l. During his short reign the *Burgundians*, who had been removed from the banks of the *Rhine* in 438, or, as others will have it, in 443, and had ever since that time dwelt amongst the mountains of *Savoy*, seized on part of *Gaul*, and made themselves masters of the city of *Lyons*^m. In 463, the city of *Die* in *Dauphiny* was subject to them, as appears from a letter of *Gondiac* their king to *Hilarius* bishop of *Rome*ⁿ. The next consuls were *Constantine* and *Rufinus*, belonging both to the eastern empire, no emperor being yet chosen in the west. In the beginning of this year 457, died the emperor *Marcian*, after having reigned six years, five months, and two days. His death, which *Theodorus*, surnamed the *Reader*, ascribes to his having assisted at a procession on the twenty-sixth of *January*^o, must have happened about the end of that month; for *Leo*, who succeeded him, was proclaimed at *Constantinople* on the seventh of *February*. *Marcian* is commended by all the writers of those times, for the innocence and simplicity of his manners, for his extraordinary piety, and zeal for the purity of religion^p. *Leo* bishop of *Rome*, calls him a prince of a blessed and venerable memory; and the *Greeks* honour him with the title of *saint*, celebrating his festival, with that of the empress *Pulcheria*, on the seventeenth of *February*.

¹ GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. ii. p. 280. ^k THEOPH. p. 94.^l GREG. Tur. p. 280. ^m MARC. chron. p. 210. ⁿ CONCIL. tom. 4. p. 1043. ^o THEOD. l. i. p. 650. ^p Idem, p. 70.

EVAGR. l. ii. p. 269. IDAT. MARC. & chron. Alex. p. 747.

Leo proclaimed emperor.

His birth, education, employment, &c.

Majorianus raised to the empire in the west.

He was buried in the church of St. *Zea* at *Constantinople*, which he had built^r. *Priscus*, of whom we have spoken above, wrote the history of his reign; but of that work only some fragments have reached our times^s. A few days after the death of *Marcian*, *Leo* was proclaimed emperor, with the unanimous consent of the senate, people, and soldiery, and crowned by *Anatolius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*^u. This is the first instance we find in history of a prince's receiving the crown at the hand of a bishop. *Leo*, distinguished by the *Greeks* with the surname of *the Great*, was, according to the most probable opinion, a native of *Thrace*, and thence commonly called *Leo the Thracian*. He had served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and commanded a body of troops encamped at *Selymbria* in *Thrace*, when he was raised to the empire. His prudence, moderation, impartiality in the administration of justice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the catholic religion, are greatly extolled by the writers who flourished in those times. *Leo* is said to have owed his promotion to the patrician *Aspar*, of whom we have made frequent mention, and his son *Ardaburius*, who, not daring, tho' very powerful, to assume the purple themselves, as they were *Arians* by religion, and not *Romans* by birth, but *Goths*, or rather *Alans*, conferred it upon *Leo*, in whose name they hoped to reign; nay, we are told, that *Leo* promised to raise one of *Aspar's* sons to the dignity of *Cæsar*^v. In the very beginning of his reign, great disturbances were raised by the *Eutychians* in *Alexandria*, who, hearing of the death of *Marcian*, rose in a tumultuous manner, murdered the catholic bishop *Proterus*, and chose in his room one of their own sect, named *Timotheus Elurus*. The tumult was soon quelled; but the authors of it putting themselves under the protection of *Aspar*, a zealous patron of *Arianism*, were by him screened from the punishment due to their wickedness^w. In the west, after an inter-reign of about three months, during which time *Ricimer* governed with an absolute sway, *Majorianus* was proclaimed emperor by the senate, the people, and soldiery. *Ricimer* proposing him as a person in every respect well qualified for that high station. All we know of his family is, that his father had served with great reputation under *Aëtius*, and was afterwards raised to the office of treasurer of the empire. His mother was daughter of *Majorianus*, appointed by *Theodosius I.* or rather by *Gratian*, in 379, general of the *Roman* horse and foot in *Pannonia*. From

^r LEO. ep. 12. ^s CODIN. orig. Constant. p. 48. ^t EVAGR. l. ii. c. 1. p. 283. ^u THEOPH. p. 95. THEOD. p. 563. MARC. chron. ^v ZONAR. p. 40. THEOD. p. 568. THEOPH. p. 575. ^w CEDREN. p. 346. LEO. ep. 118. p. 671.

him the emperor took the name of *Majorianus*. He was raised to the empire in the flower of his age, having already given several instances, not only of his courage and military abilities, but of his good-nature, generosity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. *Procopius*, speaking of him, says, that he surpassed in every virtue all the princes who had reigned before him *. He lived from his childhood in great intimacy with *Ricimer*, and therefore was easily prevailed upon by him to revolt from *Avitus*. Soon after the deposing of that prince, he was raised to the post of general in the room of *Ricimer*, who was created patrician, probably by *Marcian*, or *Leo* his successor; for the emperor of the east is supposed to have governed the western empire during the inter-regnum^y. He had not been long general, when he was proclaimed emperor at a place about six miles from *Ravenna*, called *The little pillars* z. In the beginning of his reign, *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, having almost intirely reduced the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, entered *Lusitania*, and made himself master of several cities there, and among the rest of *Merida*, the metropolis of that country; but receiving disagreeable tidings from *Gaul*, not mentioned in history, he set out from *Lusitania* the day after *Easter*, which fell this year 457, on the thirty-first, and not on the twenty-eighth, of *March*, as we read in *Idatius*, and returned in great haste to *Toulouse* a. He left a body of troops in *Spain*, with orders to reduce the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, who had not yet submitted to him. These forces being, on their march to *Galicia*, admitted as friends into the city of *Astorga*, which was held by the *Romans*, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put most of them to the sword, plundered their houses, and setting fire to the place, carried all those, whose lives they had spared, into captivity, and among the rest the whole clergy and two bishops, who happened to be there at that time. The city of *Palentia* met with the same treatment; but the castle of *Coviac*, about thirty miles from *Astorga*, making a vigorous resistance, the *Goths*, after having lost great numbers of their men, thought it adviseable to raise the siege, and return to *Gaul* b. The *Suevians* had, upon the death of *Requiarius* their king, chosen *Maldra* in his room, as we have observed above; but some of them, revolting from him, set up one *Frantan*. A civil war being thus kindled among them, they concluded a peace with the *Romans*, that is, with the natives, who still held several strong-holds in *Galicia*, and acknowledged the authority of the emperor; but, notwithstanding this peace, the partizans of

Galicia
almost in-
tirely re-
duced by
the Visi-
goths.

* PROCOPIUS. bell. Vand. l. i. p. 194. y Vide VALES.
p. 186. z JORN. rer. succ. p. 654. MARC. chron. a IDAT.
p. 35. b Idem, p. 36.

Lisbon
taken by
the Sue-
vians.

The Van-
dals de-
feated by
Majoria-
nus.

Spain ra-
vaged by
the Sue-
vians and
Visigoths.

Maldra, entering *Lusitania*, made themselves masters of *Lisbon*, after having been admitted into the place as friends ^c.

THE following year, when the two emperors, *Leo* and *Majorianus*, were consuls, the *Vandals* made a descent on the coast of *Campania*; but *Majorianus*, marching against them, defeated them in the neighbourhood of *Sinuessa*, between the *Garigliano* and the *Volturno*; put great numbers of them to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genferic* their commander, and obliged the rest to save themselves on board their fleet, which sailed immediately for *Africa* ^d. *Majorianus*, resolved to pursue them thither, and to attempt the recovery of that wealthy country, applied himself to the fitting out of a powerful fleet, and had, before the end of this year, assembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred ships ^e. But of this enterprize hereafter. *Majorianus*, leaving *Ravenna* in the depth of winter, passed the *Alps*, and entering *Gaul*, obliged the *Burgundians*, who had made themselves masters of the city of *Lyons*, to deliver it up, and retire. From that city, where *Sidonius* pronounced his panegyric, *Majorianus* pursued his march to *Arles*, where he passed the remainder of the winter and part of the spring; for he was still in that city on the seventeenth of *April* of the following year 459 ^f. In *Spain*, *Frantan*, one of the kings of the *Suevians*, dying, those who had followed him submitted to *Maldra*; so that the whole nation was again united under one head. An army of *Visigoths*, sent into *Spain* by *Theodoric*, ravaged the province of *Bætica*, while the *Suevians*, notwithstanding the peace concluded the preceding year with the natives, over-ran that part of *Galicia*, which borders on the *Douro*, putting all to fire and sword ^g. In the following consulship of *Ricimer* and *Patricius*, *Theodoric*, taking unexpectedly the field, surprised some cities in *Gaul* belonging to the *Romans*; but *Majorianus*, marching from *Arles* against him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to sue for peace; which was granted him, upon his promising to assist the *Romans* against the *Suevians* in *Spain*, and the *Vandals* in *Africa* ^h. In the east, the city of *Antioch* was almost utterly ruined by an earthquake, which happened on the fourteenth of *September*. Scarce a single house was left standing in the new city, the most beautiful quarter of that metropolis ⁱ. The following year 460, when *Magnus* and *Apollonius* were consuls, *Majorianus*, leaving *Arles*, bent

^c Idem, p. 37. ISIDOR. chron. ^d SID. car. v. p. 325. ^e Idem, p. 324. PRISC. p. 42. PROCOPI. bell. Vand. c. 7. p. 194. ^f SID. car. v. p. 576. COD. THEOD. Nov. 9. p. 372. ^g IDAT. p. 37. ^h Idem, p. 38. VALES. p. 191. ⁱ EVAG. l. ii. c. 12. THEOPH. p. 95. NICEPH. chron.

his march towards *Spain*, which he entered in the month of *Majorian-May*, with a design to pass over from thence into *Africa* ^{n. nus re-}
Procopius writes, that the better to inform himself of the ^{solves to} strength of the enemy, the state of the country, and the dispo- ^{pass over} sition of the inhabitants, he went in disguise to the court of ^{into} *Genferic*, pretending to be an ambassador sent by the *Roman* em- ^{Africa.} peror, with proposals for an accommodation ^{o.} This *Procopius* relates with such circumstances, as render the whole account altogether incredible. *Genferic*, alarmed at the vast preparations that were carrying on in all the parts of the empire, sent deputies to sue for peace; but his proposals being rejected, he dispatched a squadron of his best ships, with orders to attack the *Roman* fleet riding in the bay of *Alicant*; which they did with ^{His fleet} such success, that they took most of the *Roman* ships, and re- ^{surprised} turned with them in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, ^{by the} which was chiefly owing to the treachery of some on board the ^{Vandals.} *Roman* fleet, put a stop to the enterprize, and obliged *Majorianus* to return to *Arles*, whence he issued out orders for the equipping of a new fleet. But, in the mean time, *Genferic*, dreading the arms and valour of *Majorianus*, dispatched ambassadors to him, with new proposals; which in the end he accepted, as they were very advantageous to the empire ^{p.} Thus a peace was concluded between *Majorianus* and *Genferic*; but the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to posterity. In *Spain*, *Maldra*, king of the *Suevians*, being killed, *Remismond* his son, and *Frumarius*, probably another of his children, dividing his troops between them, the latter surprised *Aquæ Flavie*, and took *Idatius*, bishop of the place, prisoner, on the twenty-sixth of *July*, while *Remismond* laid waste the territories of *Orenso* on the *Minho*, and of *Lugo*. *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, two of *Theodoric's* generals, marched against them; and, after having ravaged part of *Galicia* entered *Lusitania*, and made themselves masters of *Scalabis*, now *Santarein* on the *Tagus* ^{q.} In the east, nothing happened this year that deserves notice, except an earthquake, which overturned great part of the city of *Cyzicus* ^{r.} The following year 461, *Severinus* and *Dagalaiphus* being consuls, *Ricimer*, who had raised *Majorianus* to the empire, thinking himself neglected by him, and jealous of the great reputation the prince had gained by his wife and vigorous administration, resolved to depose him; and accordingly, having got him by treachery into his power, as he was returning from *Gaul* to *Rome*, he stripped him of the imperial ornaments at *Tortona* in the

ⁿ IDAT. MARC. chron. PRISC. p. 42. ^o PROCOP. bell. Vand.
 l. i. c. 7. p. 194. ^p PROCOP. p. 194. PRISC. p. 42 ^q IDAT.
 p. 39. ^r MARC. chron.

Majorianus deposed by Ricimer and put to death.

Severus made emperor.

Milanese on the second of *August*, and caused him, on the seventh of the same month, to be put to death at *Iria*, now *Voghera*, after he had reigned three years and some months ¹. The account which *Procopius* gives us of his death shews, that we must not lay great stress upon the authority of that writer ². *Majorianus*, in whose reign the empire seemed in a manner to revive, being thus removed, *Ricimer* caused *Severus* to be proclaimed at *Ravenna*, on the nineteenth of *November*, hoping to reign in his name, the new prince being no ways qualified for that high station. All we know of him is, that he was a native of *Lucania* ³. In the east, *Leo* refusing to pay the usual pension to *Valamir*, *Theodimir*, and *Widimir*, kings of the *Ostrogoths*, whom *Marcian* had allowed to settle in *Pannonia*, as we have related above, they flew to arms, laid waste great part of *Illyricum*, and made themselves masters of several cities; but *Anthemius*, son-in-law to the late emperor *Marcian*, having obliged them to retire into *Pannonia*, they hearkened to the ambassadors that were sent by *Leo* to renew the antient alliance between them and the empire. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the famous *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, then in the eighth year of his age, delivered up to *Leo* as an hostage ⁴. But of him we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*.

THE following year, when the emperor *Leo* was consul for the second time, with *Severus* emperor of the west, who nevertheless seems to have been acknowledged by the *Greeks*, *Genferic*, pretending not to be bound by the late treaty with *Majorianus*, after that prince's death, sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and made himself master of *Sardinia* ⁵. In *Gaul* *Ægidius*, a native of that country, and commander in chief of the *Roman* forces there, provoked at the death of *Majorianus*, who had raised him to that post, resolved to march into *Italy*, and revenge it upon *Ricimer* and *Severus*. But in the mean time, the *Visigoths*, in all likelihood stirred up by *Ricimer*, having made themselves masters of *Narbonne*, which was betrayed to them by one *Agrippina*, and besieged *Arles*, *Ægidius* turned his arms against them, obliged them to raise the siege and retire, tho' they were powerfully assisted by the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of *Gondiac* their king, whom *Severus* had raised

¹ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. IDAT. p. 40. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 299. ² PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194. ³ JORN. reg. succ. c. 46. p. 654. THEOPH. p. 97. IDAT. p. 40. ONUPH. p. 306. SID. p. 111. EVAGR. p. 70. ⁴ JORN. p. 690. PRISC. p. 74. PHOT. c. 78. p. 172. ⁵ PRISC. p. 74. PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. iv. c. 6. p. 192.

to the command of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*, with the title of general ¹. The same year, *Marcellinus*, or, as *Procopius* calls him, *Marcellianus*, who had served with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, no longer able to bear the haughty behaviour of *Ricimer*, revolted from *Severus*, and retiring into *Dalmatia*, *Marcellinus* established there a new sovereignty, independent of the empire ². Hereupon the inhabitants of *Italy*, seeing themselves at the same time threatened by *Marcellinus*, by *Ægidius*, and by *Genferic*, had recourse to *Leo* emperor of the east, who immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Genferic* and *Marcellinus*. The latter, satisfied to see himself acknowledged, by *Leo*, prince of the country which he had seized, promised not to molest the *Romans*. But *Genferic* openly declared, that he would hearken to no terms, till the effects of *Valentinian* were delivered up to him; which he claimed, because his son *Huneric* had married *Eudocia*, that prince's eldest daughter. He likewise demanded the effects of *Actius*, perhaps because *Gaudentius*, that general's eldest son, whom he had taken at *Rome* in 455, was then at his court. However, he sent back to *Leo*, *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian*, and *Placidia* her second daughter; who being soon after married to *Olybrius*, of whom anon, *Genferic* declared he would wage an eternal war with the western empire, unless *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial dignity ³. To this low ebb was the *Roman* grandeur reduced by the death of *Majorianus* and the administration of *Ricimer*. The following year 463, *Flavius Cæcina Basilus* and *Vivianus* being consuls, *Ægidius* gained a signal victory over the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*. The battle was fought between the *Loire* and the *Loiret*. The latter river, after a short course of about six miles, falls into the former a little below *Orleans*. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, and among the rest *Frederic*, the king's brother, who in this action commanded in chief ⁴. After this battle *Ægidius* laid siege to the city of *Chinon* in *Touraine*; but the vigorous resistance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprise ⁵. The *Visigoths* were attended with better success in *Spain*, than in *Gaul*; for *Idatius* speaks of them now as masters of the whole country, except part of *Galicia*, which was still held by the *Suevians*, and the provinces of *Tarraco* and *Cartagena*, which belonged to the *Romans*. Such of the natives of *Galicia*, as had not yet submitted to the *Suevians*, sent this very year one *Paetorius*, to

The Visigoths defeated in Gaul by Ægidius.

¹ PRISC. p. 42. IDAT. p. 41. CUSP. p. 452. ² PHOT. c. 242. PROCOP. p. 191. IDAT. p. 43. ³ IDAT. p. 32. PRISC. p. 42. SID. car. ii. p. 349. ⁴ IDAT. p. 41. DU. CHESNE p. 211. ⁵ IDAT. ibid.

implore the protection not of *Severus* but of *Theodoric*^d; which plainly shews, that they acknowledged him, and not the Roman emperor, for their sovereign. The next year *Rusticus*, or *Rusticius*, and *Olybrius* being consuls, *Remismond*, king of the *Suevians*, surpris'd and plundered the city of *Coimbra*; but soon after concluded a peace with *Theodoric*^e. In the beginning of the year, *Beorgor*, king of the *Alans*, having entered *Italy* with a considerable army, was met by *Ricimer* in the neighbourhood of *Bergamo*, and, on the 6th of *February*, cut off with all his men^f.

The Alans
defeated by
Ricimer.

Different
nations
settle in
Gaul.

Severus
dies.

A great
fire at
Constantinople.

Whence these *Alans* came, is uncertain. This *Jornandes* supposes to have happened in the reign of *Anthemius*; but we have followed *Idatius*, who lived at that time. The same year, died *Ægidius* in *Gaul*, being, according to some, says *Idatius*, poisoned, according to others, murdered. That writer adds, that, upon his death, the *Visigoths* made themselves masters of the far greater part of *Gaul*. However, *Berri*, *Sens*, and *Auvergne*, still belonged to the *Romans* in 472, and were governed by one *Paulus*, distinguished with the title of count^g. *Sygarius*, the son of *Ægidius*, held *Soissons* and its territory, for several years, having erected there a petty sovereignty, according to the *French* historians, who give him the title of king^h. At the same time, *Childeric*, king of the *Burgundians*, laid siege to *Paris*, and reduced it; the *Franks* made themselves masters of the provinces bordering on the *Rhine*; the *Saxons* settled at *Nantes* and *Bayeux*; the *Alemans* in the country of the *Helvetii*; and the *Britons*, driven out by the *Angles* and *Scots*, in the territories of *Vennes* and *Treguier*, which, with the adjacent country, took from them, according to the most probable opinion, the name of *Bretagne*ⁱ. In 465, when *Basiliscus* and *Hermenericus* were consuls, died at *Rome* *Severus*, after having borne the name of emperor almost four years. He is supposed to have been poisoned by *Ricimer*^k. His death was followed by an inter-regnum of almost two years, *Ricimer* ruling, during that time, with an absolute sway; but not daring, as he was by birth a barbarian, to take upon him the title of emperor. The same year, a violent fire breaking out in *Constantinople*, on the second of *September*, reduced to ashes eight of the fourteen quarters into which that city was divided. However, it was at last overcome, after it had raged with incredible fury for the space of six whole days, and as many nights^l. The following year,

^d Idem, p. 42. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1062. ^e IDAT. ibid. ^f Idem ibid. ^g GREG. Tur. p. 282. ^h Idem, p. 285. ⁱ VAL. rer. Franc. p. 236, 237. SID. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. ^k JORN. p. 654. SID. car. ii. p. 317. IDAT. p. 43. ^l EVAGR. l. ii. c. 13. p. 307. THEODOR. p. 555. CEDREN. p. 348.

when

when the emperor *Leo* alone was consul the third time, *Ricimer* assembled a powerful fleet, with a design to attempt the recovery of *Africa*; but was, by contrary and violent winds, which continued blowing the whole summer, obliged to drop that enterprize ^m. The same year, *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, after having reigned near thirteen years, was murdered by his brother *Euric*, who immediately took possession of his dominions, and was proclaimed in *Toulouse* ⁿ. *Jornandes*, always favourable to the *Goths*, only writes, that *Euric* was suspected of having contributed to the death of his brother ^o. The new king sent embassadors to the emperor *Leo*, to *Remismund* king of the *Suevians*, and to *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, acquainting them with his accession to the crown ^p. In the east, the *Hunns* broke into *Dacia*; but were defeated, first by *Anthemius*, and afterwards by *Anagastus*, styled general of *Thrace*. They were commanded by *Dengizic*, one of *Attila*'s sons, who was slain in the engagement. His head was sent to *Constantinople*, and there exposed for some days to public view ^q. In the following consulship of *Pusæus* and *Johannes*, the inter-regnum ended in the west. *Anthemius* was, with the consent and approbation of *Ricimer*, declared emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by *Genferic* in favour of *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son. *Anthemius* was a native of *Constantinople*, descended of an antient, illustrious, and wealthy, family, and was, at the time of his promotion, count of the east. He had some claim to the empire, having married *Marciana*, the only daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*, by whom he had three sons and one daughter. He had been consul in 455, and was soon after, tho' yet very young, raised to the dignity of patrician, and the post of general. *Sidonius*, his panegyrist, writes, that, upon the death of *Marcian*, no one thought of conferring the empire on *Leo*, till *Anthemius* had refused it ^r. *Theophanes* styles him a most christian prince ^s. Soon after his nomination, he left *Constantinople*, where he then was, and set out for *Italy*, attended by a greater number of chosen troops, and several counts, with other persons of distinction: among whom was *Marcellinus*, prince of *Dalmatia*, whom *Leo* had persuaded to join the new emperor, and, jointly with him, make war upon the *Vandals* ^t. *Anthemius* was received at *Rome* by the

Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, murdered by his brother Euric.

Anthemius raised to the empire.

^m PRISC. p. 75. ⁿ IDAT. ISIDOR. MARC. chron. ^o JORN. c. 44. p. 677. ^p IDAT. p. 44, 45. ^q Chron. Alex. p. 744. JORN. c. 56. p. 688. PRISC. p. 44. ^r SID. p. 295. ^s THEOPH. p. 98. ^t PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. JORN. c. 46. p. 654.

And proclaimed at Rome.

Genferic ravages the Greek islands.

Sardinia and Tripolis recovered from the Vandals.

senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, and proclaimed, according to some, on the twelfth of April, according to others, in the month of August, at a place about three miles from Rome, called *Bontrota*^u. A few days after, he gave his daughter in marriage to *Ricimer*, pursuant to a private agreement between that general and the two princes^w. In the mean time, *Genferic*, highly provoked against *Leo*, for having preferred *Anthemius*, and not *Olybrius*, to the empire, sent a powerful fleet with orders to ravage *Peloponnesus* and the Greek islands; which they did with great cruelty, destroying all with fire and sword. *Leo* resolved at all events to revenge the affront offered to the eastern empire; and accordingly the following year 468, when *Anthemius* alone was consul, he fitted out the greatest fleet, says *Procopius*^x, the Romans had ever had. *Cedrenus* writes, it consisted of one thousand one hundred and thirteen ships, each ship having one hundred men on board^y. *Theophanes*^z and *Nicephorus*^a will have no fewer than one hundred thousand ships to have been employed in this expedition, a number altogether incredible. To the forces of *Leo* were joined all the best troops of the west, under the command of *Marcellinus*, who reinforced them with a chosen body of men, raised in his own dominions^b. *Leo* gave the chief command of this formidable fleet to *Basiliscus*, brother to his wife *Verina*, who had frequently overcome the barbarians in *Thrace*. Under him commanded one *John*, a person of extraordinary courage, and great experience in war^c. The island of *Sicily* was appointed the place of the general rendezvous. From thence *Marcellinus* was to sail for *Sardinia*, which the *Vandals* had lately seized; *Heraclius* of *Edeffa*, a brave and experienced officer, for *Libya*; and *Basiliscus*, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to steer his course strait to *Carthage*. *Marcellinus*, pursuant to this plan, landed in *Sardinia*, and made himself master of that island, while *Heraclius*, landing unexpectedly in *Libya*, defeated the *Vandals*, who attempted to oppose him, and reduced with incredible expedition *Tripolis* and all the other cities of that province^d. *Genferic*, receiving at the same time news of the loss of *Sardinia* and *Libya*, and of the arrival of the Roman fleet at cape *Mercury*, about thirty miles from *Carthage*, began to look upon himself as irretrievably lost, and is even said to

^u IDAT. p. 44. MARC. CASSIOD. CUSPIN. chron. ^w SID. l. i. ep. 21, 22. ^x PROCOP. l. i. c. 6 p. 192. ^y CEDREN. p. 350. ^z THEOPH. p. 99. ^a NICEPH. l. xv. c. 27 p. 631. ^b PROCOP. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. ^c Idem. p. 153. ^d Idem, p. 192. THEOPH. p. 101. SID. car. p. 1199.

have had some thoughts of yielding up *Africa* to the *Romans*, and retiring elsewhere; and indeed if *Basiliscus* had, during the panic which had seized the barbarians, marched directly to *Carthage*, he might have easily made himself master of that city, and put an end to the war at once; but his dilatory proceedings giving *Genferic* time to recover from his consternation, he began to despise the *Roman* admiral, and had even the confidence to send deputies to him, begging a truce of five days, to settle with him the conditions on which he was to submit to *Leo*. Some authors write, that, with the ambassadors, *Genferic* sent privately an immense sum to *Basiliscus*, with whose avaricious temper he was well acquainted^e. Others tell us, that *Aspar*, who had lately quarrelled with *Leo*, fearing that prince would become too powerful, if he overcame the *Vandals*, had promised to raise *Basiliscus*, who was no less ambitious than covetous, to the empire, provided he spared *Genferic*^f. Be that as it will, *Basiliscus* readily consented to the truce, during which *Genferic* taking one night advantage of a favourable wind, sailed unexpectedly out of the harbour with a great number of fire-ships, which being by the wind driven full sail upon the *Roman* navy, set fire to many of their ships, and threw the whole fleet into the utmost confusion. The next morning *Genferic's* fleet appeared drawn up in line of battle, and falling upon the *Romans* before they could recover themselves from their terror and consternation, took several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the rest to save themselves in the best manner they could. *John*, who commanded under *Basiliscus*, and was no ways privy to his treachery, after having killed with his own hand an incredible number of barbarians, threw himself, when overpowered, on a plank into the sea. *Genfon*, the son of *Genferic*, greatly taken with his courage and gallant behaviour, offered him his life and liberty; but the brave commander answering, *It shall never be said, that John owed his life to dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned^g. As for *Basiliscus*, *Zonaras* writes, that, in the heat of the engagement, he all on a sudden tacked about, and, crowding all sails, betook himself to flight; which raised the courage of the enemy, and quite disheartened his own people^h. *Marcellinus*, after the reduction of *Sardinia*, returned to *Sicily*, with a design to pass from thence over into *Africa*; but, before he set sail, he was assassinated by an officer, who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was supposed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no

The Ro-
man fleet
in Africa
put to
flight.

^e THEOPH. p. 100. THEODOR. p. 555. ^f SUID. PHOT. c. 242. p. 164. ^g PROCOF. l. i. c. 6. p. 192. ^h ZONAR. p. 42.

small umbrage ⁱ. *Heraclius*, who was on full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad success of *Basiliscus*, thought it adviseable to turn back, and hasten into the territories of the empire ^k. *Basiliscus* returned to *Sicily*, with the few ships that had escaped, having lost above fifty thousand men ^l. From *Sicily*, he returned to *Constantinople*, and there, as his treachery was publicly known, took sanctuary in the church of *St. Sophia*. Though both the emperor and people were incensed against him, yet, by the mediation of the empress *Verina*, his sister, his life was spared, and leave granted him to retire to *Heraclea* in *Thrace* ^m. Such was the issue of this unhappy expedition, which is said to have cost both empires above an hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold ⁿ, not only the two princes, but all governors, and other persons in employments, chearfully contributing large sums to defray the charges of an enterprize so advantageous to the empire ^o. *Priscus* the historian, who flourished at that time, wrote a very minute and exact account of it ^p; but his work has not reached our time. The same year, *Leo* married his daughter *Ariadne* to *Zeno*, descended from an illustrious family in *Isauria*. His father's name was *Rufumbladastes*, and his, before his marriage, *Trascalissæus*, or *Tarasicodisus* ^q. He took the name of *Zeno* from another *Isaurian*, who had been raised to great employments in the reign of *Theodosius* the younger ^r. *Evagrius* refers us to one *Eustathius*, a *Syrian* writer, who, he says, will inform us as to the motives that prompted *Leo* to prefer *Zeno* to many other persons of great merit in the choice of a son-in-law ^s; but the works of *Eustathius* have been long since lost. *Theophanes* and *Candidus Isaurus* write, that *Leo*, jealous of the too great power of *Aspar*, and apprised of his wicked practices, gave his daughter to *Zeno*, hoping by his means to gain over the *Isaurians* his countrymen, who were deemed the best soldiers of the empire ^t. However that be, *Leo* immediately raised his son-in-law to the rank of patrician, appointing him at the same time captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the east. In the west, *Remismond* made himself master of *Lisbon*, betrayed to him by one *Lusides*, a native of *Lusitania*, who commanded in that place. About the same time,

Leo mar-
ries his
daughter
to Zeno.

Lisbon
taken by
the Sue-
vians,

ⁱ PROCOF. p. 193. PHOT. c. 242. p. 1048. MARC. chron.
^k Idem ibid. ^l PRISC. p. 193. ^m Idem ibid. CEDREN. p. 330.
THEOPH. p. 100. ⁿ PROCOF. p. 191. EVAGR. p. 74. ^o EVAGR.
ibid. ^p Idem, l. ii c. 16. p. 308. THEOPH. p. 100. ^q ZON.
p. 42. AGATH. l. iv. p. 149. ^r THEOPH. p. 111. ^s EVAGR.
l. ii. c. 15 p. 308. ^t THEOPH. p. 101. CAND. ISaur.
p. 18.

the *Goths* surprised *Merida*, and committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring country, sparing neither *Romans* nor *Suevians*^b. Here *Idatius* ends his chronicle, with telling us, that many prodigies appeared this year in *Galicia*, and, among the rest, that several fishes were taken in the *Minho*, marked with *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, characters^c. The next consuls were *Marcianus* and *Zeno*, the two sons-in-law of the emperor *Leo*, the latter having married *Ariadne*, and the former, who was the son of the emperor *Anthemius*, *Leoncia*. Nothing worthy of notice happened this year in either empire; but in the following consulship of *Severus* and *Jordanes*, *Euric*, king of the *Visigoths*, an ambitious and warlike prince, made himself master of *Auvergne*, *Berri*, and *Gevaudan*, after having defeated a body of twelve thousand *Britons* dwelling on the *Loire*, who, under the conduct of *Riothim* or *Riotham*, came to the assistance of the *Romans*^d. At the same time one *Odoacer*, who had commanded a body of *Saxons* under *Ægidius* in 464, made himself master of *Angers*; but was overcome by *Childeric* king of the *Franks*, who reduced not only the city of *Angers*, but all the neighbouring country^e. The *Burgundians* too, taking advantage of the weak and distracted state of the empire, reduced the city of *Lyons*, and the whole province called *Lugdunensis Prima*^f.

And Merida by the Goths.

The Visigoths extend their dominions in Gaul,

And likewise the Franks and Burgundians.

THE following year, when *Leo* was consul the fourth time with *Probianus*, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and *Aspar*, who had raised him to the empire; but as *Aspar* was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a separate and independent body, having one *Quelcal*, by nation a *Hunn*, for his lieutenant, the emperor thought it adviseable to dissemble for the present; and pretending to be reconciled with *Aspar*, gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Patricius Secundus*, that general's eldest son, and soon after created *Aspar* *Cæsar*. The inhabitants of *Constantinople*, knowing *Aspar* and his whole family to be greatly attached to the doctrine of *Arius*, were highly displeased at this promotion; but the emperor soon delivered them from the apprehension they were under of seeing an *Arian* raised to the empire; for being informed by some persons, privy to all the counsels of *Aspar*, that a plot was carrying on against him by that general and his children, he resolved to be before-hand with them; and accordingly caused *Aspar*, and his son *Ardaburius*, to be murdered this very

Aspar and his son Ardaburius murdered.

^b IDAT. p. 41. ^c Idem, p. 47, 48. ^d JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45. 678. SID. l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74. GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. p. 282. ^e GREG. Tur. ibid. ^f SID. l. vi. ep. 12. p. 168. & car. xv. p. 386.

year. The antients only tell us, that they fell by the hands of the eunuchs of the palace, *Leo* having ordered them to be put to death, because they aspired at the empire ^e. But the modern writers add several circumstances, which seem inconsistent with what we read in the authors who flourished in those times. *Patricius* was dangerously wounded, but found means to make his escape, as did likewise *Aspar's* third son, named *Hermeneric* ^h. The friends of *Aspar*, especially the *Goths* in the emperor's service, attempted to revenge his death, and committed great disorders in *Constantinople*, being headed by one of their countrymen, named *Ostroui*. But *Zeno*, who was then at *Chalcis*, hastening with a choice body of troops to the metropolis, the *Goths* were driven out of the city with a great slaughter. However they ravaged *Thrace*, and, being joined by the *Goths*, settled in *Pannonia*, made themselves masters of *Philippi* and *Arcadiopolis*; which they restored soon after, laying down their arms, upon the emperor's promising to pay them a certain sum, and to appoint *Theodoric*, son to *Triarius*, the brother of *Aspar's* wife, commander of the *Goths* in the *Roman* service ⁱ. Upon the death of *Aspar*, who had been a zealous patron of the *Arians*, *Leo* published several rigorous laws against those heretics, depriving them of all their churches, and forbidding them to hold any public or private assemblies ^k. The following year, when *Festus* and *Marcianus* were consuls, *Ricimer*, who was no less powerful in the west, than *Aspar* had been in the east, dreading the same fate, resolved to be beforehand with the emperor *Anthemius*, who, he saw, began to mistrust him. Accordingly he openly revolted, and, at the head of the barbarians in the *Roman* service, but under his command, laid siege to *Rome*, where the emperor then was. The citizens, who were, generally speaking, well-affected to *Anthemius*, made a vigorous resistance, notwithstanding the famine and plague that raged in the city, depending upon the succours they daily expected out of *Gaul*, under the conduct of *Bilimer*, who commanded the *Roman* troops there, and was greatly attached to the interest of *Anthemius*. *Bilimer* arrived at length with a considerable army, consisting partly of *Romans*, partly of barbarians; but having ventured an engagement, he was utterly defeated by *Ricimer*; who, encouraged with this success, pursued the siege with fresh vigour, and breaking in the end into the city, raged with no less fury than *Alaric* or

Rome besieged by Ricimer.

Which is taken and plundered.

^e MARC. chron. PROCOP. bell. Vand l. i. c. 6. p. 139. VICT. TUN. JORN. reg. succ. p. 664. ^h NICEPH. l. xv. c. 27. p. 373. ZONAR. p. 39. ⁱ MARC. chron. THEOPH. p. 181. ^k THEODOR. l. iv. c. 4. p. 273.

Genferic had done, allowing his men not only to plunder the houses of the unhappy citizens, but to commit all manner of cruelties¹. As for the emperor *Anthemius*, *Ricimer* caused him to be put to death, and *Olybrius* to be proclaimed in his room^m. *Zeno*, who succeeded *Leo*, reproached the Roman senate with the death of *Anthemius*ⁿ. He is supposed to have died on the eleventh of *July*^o; but authors are quite silent as to the circumstances of his death, contenting themselves only with telling us, that, by the treachery of *Ricimer*, he lost both his life and the empire. *Ricimer* did not long outlive *Anthemius*; for being seized with violent pains in his bowels, he died on the eighteenth, or rather nineteenth, of *September*^p; and was followed soon after by *Olybrius*, who died a natural death at *Rome*, on the twenty-third of *October*^q. This year, mount *Vesuvius* in *Campania* threw out such an immense quantity of ashes, as turned night into day, even at *Constantinople*, where the people were assembled in the circus, when the cloud first appeared. All the streets and houses were covered with ashes three inches deep^r. This happened according to *Marcellinus* on the sixth, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, on the eleventh of *November*. The following year 473, when *Leo* alone was consul the fifth time, *Glycerius* took upon him the title of emperor at *Ravenna*, on the fifth of *March*, being supported by *Gondibal*, nephew to *Ricimer*, whom *Olybrius* had raised, during his short reign, to the rank of patrician. All we know of this new prince is, that he had been comes domesticorum, and was, according to *Theophanes*, a man of some merit^s. In the very beginning of his reign, the *Goths*, who had been allowed to settle in *Pannonia*, resolved, without the least provocation, says *Jornandes*, to make war upon both empires. Pursuant to this resolution, *Vidimir* broke into *Italy*, while his brother *Theodemir* invaded the eastern empire; but the former dying, his son, bearing the same name, was, by the rich presents of *Glycerius*, prevailed upon to quit *Italy*; whence he retired into *Gaul*, and there joined the *Visigoths*, who, being thus reinforced, conquered soon after both that country and *Spain*^t. *Theodemir* likewise died as soon as he entered the territories of the eastern empire, and was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, surnamed the Great^u. The same year 473, *Leo* apprehending, either from his age or infirmities, that his end approached, was for naming

¹ MARC. chron. ONUPH. p. 57. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1238.

^m EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

ⁿ MARC. p. 94.

^o CUSPIN.

p. 457. ^p ONUPH. p. 57. ^q Idem ibid. JORN. p. 67. THEOPH.

p. 102. ^r ZONAR. 4. 42. THEODOR. p. 555. PROCOP. l. ii.

c. 4. p. 398. ^s THEOPH. p. 102. ^t JORN. rer. Goth. c. 56.

p. 194, 195. ^u Idem de reg. succ. c. 47. p. 655.

Leo the
younger
created
Cæsar.

Leo the
elder dies.

Zeno de-
clared col-
league to his
son Leo.

Leo dies.

Glycerius
deposed,
and Julius
Nepos
raised to
the empire.

Clermont
yielded to
the Goths.

Zeno to succeed him; but both the senate and people of *Constantinople*, who hated Zeno, strongly remonstrating against his promotion, the emperor raised Leo the younger, the son of Zeno by his daughter *Ariadne*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and even declared him his partner in the empire, tho' he was then only five, or at most six, years old^w. The following year, when Leo the younger was consul alone, the emperor, his grandfather, was seized with a bloody flux; which, being attended with a violent fever, carried him off in a short time. He died at *Constantinople*, in the month of *January*, after having reigned seventeen years, wanting some days^x. Soon after his death, the empress *Verina* prevailed upon the senate and people of *Constantinople* to suffer his son-in-law Zeno to be declared colleague to young Leo in the empire. The ceremony was performed in the month of *February*, not in the palace of *Hebdomon*, as usual, but in the circus at *Constantinople*^y. The young prince did not survive his grandfather above ten months; for he died in the month of *November* of the same year^z. *Victor Tununensis* and *Ado* suppose, that he was dispatched by his own father; but neither the antient nor modern *Greek* writers, tho' highly prejudiced against Zeno, charge him with that unnatural murder. Leo the elder, or, as he is commonly surnamed, *the Great*, not approving of the promotion of *Glycerius*, had, before his death, named to the empire of the west *Julius Nepos*, or, as some call him, *Nepotianus*, a native of *Dalmatia*, and nephew, by the mother, to *Marcellinus*, prince of that country, who was murdered in *Sicily*, as we have related above. *Nepos*, who, it seems, was then at *Constantinople*, sailed from thence without loss of time, for *Italy*; and landing at *Porto*, surprised *Glycerius* there, took him prisoner, and, stripping him of the imperial ornaments, caused him to be ordained bishop of *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, after he had borne the title of emperor a year, and some months^a. In the mean time, the *Visigoths*, under the conduct of *Euric* their king, broke into the territories which the *Romans* had still left in *Gaul*; but he was prevailed upon by *Epiphanius*, bishop of *Pavia*, whom *Nepos* sent to him with the character of ambassador to conclude a peace with the empire; whereof one of the articles was, that the city of *Clermont*, which *Euric* had not been able to reduce by force, should be delivered up to him^b. Thus the whole country lying between

^w ZONAR. p. 429. THEODOR. p. 555. EVAGR. p. 408. GOLTZ. p. 265. ^x MARC. THEOPH. p. 103. ^y EVAGR. l. vii. c. 17. p. 309. THEOPH. p. 111. ^z Chron. Alex. p. 751. THEOPH. p. 103. ^a PHOT. c. 78. p. 372. JORN. rer. Goth. p. 654. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 338. ^b JORN. c. 45. p. 679. SID. l. iii. ep. 7. p. 72.

the ocean, the *Rhone*, and the *Loire*, fell under the power of the *Goths* ^c, who it seems, had made themselves masters of all the open places, before *Clermont* was yielded to them. The following year, when *Zeno* alone was consul the second time, *Nepos*, having raised *Orestes* to the post of general, appointed him commander of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*; but he, instead of hastening into that country, pursuant to his orders, bent his march towards *Ravenna*, with a design to depose *Nepos*, who, he knew, was not in a condition to oppose him. The emperor, suspecting his design, and distrusting the few troops he had with him, abandoned the city at his approach, and fled by sea to *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, where he was entertained by the bishop *Glycerius*, whom he had lately deprived of the empire ^d. The flight of *Nepos* happened on the twenty-eighth of *August* of the present year 475 ^e. *Orestes* was by birth a *Roman*, that is, he was born a subject of the empire ^f. As he lived in *Pannonia*, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the *Hunns* in 430, he lifted himself among the troops of *Attila*; who, finding him to be a man of parts, made him his secretary, and sent him at least twice to *Constantinople* with the character of ambassador, viz. in 448, and 449 ^g. His father, by name *Tatula*, bore likewise some considerable employment at the court of *Attila* ^h. *Orestes* married the daughter of count *Romulus*, sent by *Valentinian* on an embassy to *Attila* in 449, and had by her a son, called by *Males*, or *Malus*, *Romulus Augustus* ⁱ, but, by all other historians, *Romulus Augustulus*, either by way of derision, or because he was very young when raised to the empire. *Orestes*, leaving the *Hunns*, served with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, and was raised to the rank of patrician, and appointed, by *Nepos*, general of the troops in *Gaul*; when turning his arms against the prince who had entrusted him with them, he drove him from the throne, as we have related above, and caused not himself, but his son *Augustus*, or *Augustulus*, to be proclaimed emperor in his room, on the twenty-ninth of *October* of the present year ^k. The new prince styled himself *Augustus Romulus Augustus*, *Augustus* being both his proper name, and the title of his dignity ^l. As *Augustulus* was very young, his father took upon him the administration, contenting himself with the title of patrician, and governing only as tutor and guardian to his son, during his minority ^m. While these things passed in the west, the *Saracens* committed

Orestes
revolts.

Nepos
flies into
Dalmatia.

Orestes
causes his
son Au-
gustus to
be declared
emperor.

^c SID. l. iii. ep. 1. p. 62, 63. ^d JORN. c. 45. p. 679. ONUPH. p. 67. ^e ONUPH. MARC. chron. ^f JORN. ibid. ^g PRISC. p. 37. ^h Idem, p. 57, 60. ⁱ MAL. leg. p. 93. ^k JORN. c. 45, 46. p. 679, 690. ^l JORN. ibid. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. ^m PROCOF. p. 308.

Zeno concludes a peace with Genferic.

Zeno driven out by Basiliscus.

The barbarians in the Roman service revolt in the west, and abuse Odoacer for their leader.

dreadful ravages in *Mesopotamia*; and the *Hunns* in *Thrace* put all to fire and sword, and afterwards retired unmolested, the emperor *Zeno*, a most lewd and debauched prince, being wholly intent upon his scandalous pleasures and diversions ^m. However, he concluded a peace with *Genferic*, which was religiously observed by the *Vandals*, till the reign of *Justinian* ⁿ. The same year, the empress *Verina*, who had by her interest raised her son-in-law *Zeno* to the empire, highly provoked by his enormous vices and scandalous indolence, formed a conspiracy against him, at the head of which was her brother *Basiliscus*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. *Zeno* was privately informed of the whole; but, instead of putting himself in a posture of defence, and defeating their measures, as he might have easily done, he betook himself to flight, retiring first to *Chalcedon*, and from thence into *Isauria*, his native country. Upon his retreat, *Basiliscus* was proclaimed emperor by the senate and people of *Constantinople*, to the great disappointment of *Verina*, who designed to confer the empire on *Patricius*, *magister officiorum* to *Zeno*, with whom she is said to have maintained a criminal correspondence ^o. *Basiliscus* immediately declared his wife *Zenonides Augusta*, and raised his son *Marcus* to the dignity of *Cæsar* ^p. The following year 476, when *Basiliscus* and *Armatius* were consuls, the barbarians who served in the *Roman* armies, and were distinguished with the title of allies, demanded, as a reward for their services, the third part of the lands in *Italy*, pretending that the whole country, which they had so often defended, belonged of right to them. As *Orestes* refused to comply with this insolent demand, they resolved to do themselves justice, as they called it; and, openly revolting, chose one *Odoacer* for their leader. Thus *Procopius* ^q. He is called by *Theophanes* a *Goth* ^r; by *Marcellinus*, king of the *Goths* ^s; and by *Isidore*, prince of the *Ostrogoths* ^t. We cannot conceive what could induce *Baronius*, and several others, to call him king of the *Heruli*. *Jornandes* styles him in one place king of the *Rugians* ^u, and in another king of the *Turcilingians* ^w. The *Rugians* inhabited both the banks of the *Danube*, near the city of *Faviana*, a little above *Vienna*. As for the *Turcilingians*, we find no account in the antients of them, or their country. *Odoacer*, whether by birth a *Goth*, *Rugian*, or *Tur-*

^m EVAGR. l. vii. c. i. p. 333. ⁿ PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195. ^o MAL. p. 94. AGATH. l. iv. p. 139. Chron. Alex. p. 750. JORN. reg. succ. c. 47. p. 654. ^p JORN. ibid. ^q PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. p. 308. ^r THEOPH. p. 102. ^s Vide VALES. rer. Franc. p. 228. ^t ISIDOR. chron. ^u JORN. reg. succ. c. 45. p. 659. ^w Idem, rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 679.

cilingian,

cilingian, was, according to *Ennodius*, meanly born^x, and only a private man in the guards of the emperor *Augustulus*, when the barbarians revolting, chose him for their leader^y. However, he is said to have been a man of uncommon parts, *His cha-* equally capable of commanding an army, and governing a state^z. *rafter*. Having left his own country, when he was yet very young, to serve in *Italy*, as he was of a stature remarkably tall, he was admitted among the emperor's guards, and continued in that station till the present year; when putting himself at the head of the barbarians in the *Roman* pay, who, tho' of different nations, had, with one consent, chosen him for their leader, he marched against *Orestes*, and his son *Augustulus*, who still refused to give them any share of the lands in *Italy*. As the *Roman* troops were inferior, both in number and valour, to the barbarians, *Orestes* took refuge in *Pavia*, at that time one of the best fortified cities in *Italy*; but *Odoacer*, investing the place *He besieges* without loss of time, took it soon after by assault, gave it up to *Orestes* in *Pavia*, be plundered by his soldiers, and then set fire to it, which reduced most of the houses, and two churches, to ashes^a. *Orestes* was taken prisoner, and brought to *Odoacer*, who carried *Who is taken prisoner and put to death* him to *Placentia*; and there caused him to be put to death on the twenty-eighth of *August*, the day on which he had driven *Nepos* out of *Ravenna*, and obliged him to abandon the empire. From *Placentia* *Odoacer* marched strait to *Ravenna*, where he found *Paul*, the brother of *Orestes*, and the young emperor *Augustulus*. The former he immediately put to death; but sparing *Augustulus*, in consideration of his youth, he stripped him of *lus stripped of the imperial ornaments* the ensigns of the imperial dignity, and confined him to *Lucullanum*, a castle in *Campania*; where he was, by *Odoacer's* orders, treated with great humanity, and allowed an handsome maintenance to support himself and his relations^b. *Rome* readily submitted to the conqueror, who thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Italy*, but would not assume the purple, or any other mark of the imperial dignity^c. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the west. *Britain* had been long since abandoned by the *Romans*; *Spain* was held by the *Goths* and *Suevians*; *Africa* by the *Vandals*; the *Burgundians*, *Goths*, *Franks*, and *Alans*, had erected several tetrarchies in *Gaul*; at length *Italy* itself, with its proud metropolis, which for so many *Italy and Rome submitted to O-* ages had given law to the rest of the world, was enslaved by a *doacer*.

^x ENNOD. THEODOR. panegy. p. 308.^y PROCOP. p. 308.^z MALEL. p. 93.^a ENNOD. vit. Epiphan. p. 386. JORN. rer.

Goth. c. 46 p. 679. & reg. succ. c. 47. p. 654.

^b JORN. ibid.

PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. i. p. 308.

^c JORN. rer. Goth. c. 46.

CANDID. ISAU. c. 19. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

The end of
the west-
ern empire.

contemptible barbarian, whose family, country, and nation, are not well known to this day. The downfall and ruin of the greatest state the world ever beheld, were, no doubt, owing to the depravity of the people in general, and to the sloth, luxury, and ambition, of their princes; but more immediately to their allowing such swarms of barbarians to settle within the empire, and to serve in the *Roman* armies, under their own officers, in separate and independent bodies. Thus they became more numerous and powerful than the natives; controuled the emperors; disposed of the imperial crown as they pleased; and at length became absolute masters of those whom they were employed to defend and assist. This great revolution happened in the west in the year 476 of the christian æra, five hundred and seven years after the battle of *Actium*, when the *Roman* monarchy was first established, and one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine since the foundation of *Rome*. Most writers observe, that the empire began with *Augustus*, and ended in a prince of the same name. Of the state of *Italy* under *Odoacer*, till he was overcome and slain by *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, and under the *Ostrogoths*, from *Theodoric* to their expulsion by *Narses*, we shall speak in another part of this work; and in the mean time pursue the *Roman* history, that is, the history of the *Constantinopolitan Roman* empire, in which were preserved the same marks of sovereignty, the same ceremonies, titles, and employments, that had been first established at *Rome*.

C H A P. XXXII.

The Roman history, from the dissolution of the western empire, to the death of Justinian the Great.

AT the same time that the *Roman* empire failed in the west, it was usurped in the east by *Basiliscus*; who, upon the flight of *Zeno*, the lawful prince, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and his son *Marcus* to be acknowledged *Cæsar*. *Zeno* fled into *Isauria*, whither he was pursued by *Illus* *Zeno be-* and *Trocondes*, two of the usurper's generals, who having easily *sieged in a* defeated the few troops he had with him, forced the unhappy *castle of* prince to shut himself up in the castle, which they immediately *Isauria.* invested. But in the mean time, *Basiliscus*, having by his cruelty, *Basiliscus* avarice, enormous extortions, and, above all, by his unseason- *disobliges* able zeal for the doctrine of *Eutyches*, highly disobliger the se- *the people* nate and people of *Constantinople*, as well as the soldiery, the *and sol-* two generals, informed of what passed in the metropolis, and *diery.* privately encouraged, as some write, by the senate, instead of pursuing the siege, openly declared for *Zeno*; and joining him with all their forces, bent their march to *Constantinople*. *Basiliscus* no sooner heard of their revolt, than he dispatched *Harmatius* or *Armatus*, his kinsman, with a very numerous army against them, after having obliged him to swear, by his baptism, that he would not betray him. But, notwithstanding this oath, he had no sooner passed the *Bosporus*, than he joined *Zeno*, encamped with *Illus* and *Trocondes*, in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, upon that prince's promising to appoint him general of the troops of his household, and to continue him in that office during his life; to raise his son, by name *Basiliscus*, who was yet very young, to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and to leave him the empire after his death^d. *Zeno*, thus reinforced, marched *Zeno re-* directly to *Constantinople*, which he entered without opposition, *stored.* the usurper flying for refuge, with his wife *Zenonides* and his children, to the great church, where he is said to have laid down his crown upon the altar. *Zeno* ordered them to be imme-

^d CANDID. p. 19. THEOPH. p. 106. PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7 p. 295. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354.

Basiliscus
taken, and
confined to
a castle in
Cappado-
cia, where
he perishes.

Harmatius
murdered
by Zeno's
orders.

A great
fire at
Constanti-
nople.

Marcian
revolts ;

diately stripped of all the marks of the imperial dignity; and having soon after got them into his power, being either betrayed a second time by *Harmatius*, as *Candidus Isaurus* writes ^c, or delivered up, as we read in *Procopius* ^f, by *Acacius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, he confined them to a castle in *Cappadocia*, named *Limnos*, where they perished in a short time with hunger and cold ^g. Thus ended the usurpation of *Basiliscus*, after it had lasted, according to most writers, twenty months, that is, from *October* 475, to *June* of the present year 477. *Zeno*, pursuant to his promise, raised *Harmatius* to the post of general of the troops of his household, and his son *Basiliscus* to the dignity of *Cæsar*; but soon after, distrusting the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to *Basiliscus*, who had preferred him to the first employments in the state, he caused him to be murdered in the palace, employing for that purpose one *Onoulus* or *Onoulphus*, by birth a barbarian, but brought up in the family of *Harmatius*, and by his interest raised from a mean condition to the dignity of count, and the post of general of *Illyricum* ^h. As for *Basiliscus*, the son of *Harmatius*, he was deposed from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and made reader in a church near *Constantinople*. He was afterwards ordained bishop of *Cyzicus*, the metropolis of *Hellepont*, which church he governed with great prudence and piety, and assisted in 518, at the council of *Constantinople* ⁱ. During the usurpation of *Basiliscus*, a dreadful fire happened at *Constantinople*, which consumed great part of the city, with the library, containing an hundred and twenty thousand volumes, and the works of *Homer*, written, as it is said, in gold characters on the great gut of a dragon, an hundred and twenty foot long ^k. In the following year, 478, when *Illus* alone was consul, *Theodoric*, the son of *Triarius*, who had espoused the cause of *Basiliscus*, broke into *Thrace* with a numerous army of *Goths*, and advanced within four miles of *Constantinople*; which so terrified the emperor, that he concluded a peace with him upon his own terms; whereof one of the articles was, that *Theodoric* should be appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* horse ^l. The next year, *Zeno* being consul the third time, *Marcian*, the son of *Anthemius*, who had reigned in the west, claiming the empire in right of his wife *Leontia*, the eldest daughter of the late emperor *Leo*, attacked unexpectedly the imperial palace in *Constantinople*, at

^c CANDID. p. 19.

^f PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194.

^g EVAGR. l. iii. c. 8. p. 341. PROCOP. ibid. ^h CANDID. p. 19.

EVAGR. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354. PROCOP. p. 195. ⁱ EVAGR. l. iii.

c. 24. p. 354.

^k CEDR. p. 35. ZONAR. p. 43, 44.

^l JORN.

c. 57. p. 696.

the head of some malecontents prepared for any desperate attempt. The emperor's guards, endeavouring to make head against them, were either dispersed or cut in pieces, and Zeno himself shut up with a small number of officers in the palace. Had *Marcian* pursued his design, and without loss of time forced the gates of the palace, which in that consternation he might have easily done, the emperor must have fallen into his hands. But the attack being with the utmost imprudence put off till the next morning, Zeno in the mean time gained over, what with presents, what with promises, most of *Marcian's* men, who, thereupon distrusting the rest, withdrew all on a sudden, and took sanctuary in the church of the apostles, whence he was dragged by the emperor's orders, ordained priest, and confined to a monastery in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*^m. As Zeno had not for some years paid the *Ostrogoths* in *Pannonia* their annual pension, *Theodoric*, their king, no sooner heard of the revolt of *Marcian*, than he broke into *Macedon*; and from thence advancing into *Epirus*, made himself master of *Duras* on the *Adriatic* sea, that important place being betrayed to him by a Goth named *Sidimont*. But *Sabinianus*, an officer of great experience and address, having surprized and cut in pieces a strong reinforcement that was marching to the assistance of *Theodoric*, under the conduct of his brother *Theudimont*, and taken all their baggage and two thousand waggons loaded with provisions, the *Goths*, abandoning *Duras*, retired in great haste into *Pannonia*ⁿ. The following year 480, when *Basilus*, surnamed the younger, was consul, Zeno not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance with *Huneric*, the son and successor of *Genferic*, dead three years before^o. In 481, when *Placidius* or *Placitus* was consul, *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, renewed his ravages, laying waste the provinces of *Macedon* and *Thessaly*; which obliged Zeno in the end to comply with his demands, that is, to yield to him part of *Lower Dacia* and *Mæsia*; to give him the command of the troops of the household, and to name him consul for the ensuing year 483. Upon these terms he withdrew in 482, when *Severinus* and *Trocundus* were consuls, out of *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, restored *Larissa*, the metropolis of the latter province, which he had taken, and promised to employ, when required, all his forces in defence of the empire^p. The following year, when *Theodoric* was consul at *Constantinople*, and *Venatius* at *Rome*, (for *Odoacer* made no change in the government, or magistrates of

^m CANDID. p. 20. EVAGR. p. 335. THEOPH. p. 109. ⁿ MAL. p. 78—81. ^o MARC. ad ann. 481. MALEL. p. 95. ^p JORN. rer Goth c. 57. p. 696. MARCEL. ad ann. 483. THEOPH. p. 142.

Leontius
revolts.

Is joined by
Illus.

They are
both de-
feated, and
besieged in
Papyra.

Theodo-
ric the
Ostrogoth
breaks into
Thrace.

Turns his
arms a-
gainst O-
doacer,
king of
Italy.

the city) *Leontius*, a native of *Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, some say at the instigation of the empress *Verina*, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Against him *Zeno* immediately dispatched *Illus*, captain of his guards. But he, instead of opposing *Leontius*, joined him; and having ravaged the provinces of *Syria* and *Isauria*, advanced to *Antioch*, with a design to seize on that metropolis. *Longinus*, the emperor's brother, met them in that neighbourhood, at the head of a considerable army; but his troops were all to a man cut in pieces by the rebels, and he himself taken prisoner. After this victory, *Leontius* and *Illus* entered *Antioch* in triumph. *Zeno*, upon the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched *John*, an officer of great valour, and experience in war, into *Syria*, with what troops he could assemble, and prevailed upon *Theodoric*, the *Ostrogoth*, to join him with a numerous army of *Goths*. These two commanders were attended with better success; for meeting *Leontius* and *Illus* in the neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, they gained a complete victory, and the following year, when *Symmachus* was consul, obliged the two ringleaders of the revolt to fly for refuge to the strong castle of *Papyra* in *Cilicia*, which *John* immediately invested, while *Theodoric* returned, as the war seemed now ended, with his troops to *Constantinople*⁹. *Trocundus*, the brother of *Illus*, taken prisoner by *John*, as he was attempting to make his escape out of *Syria*, in order to stir up the barbarians, was, by his orders, beheaded¹. The same year, *Theodoric*, upon some disgust, withdrew from *Constantinople*, and returned to *Pannonia*. *Evagrius* writes, that *Zeno*, jealous of the glory he had acquired by his late victory, and of the great esteem persons of all ranks shewed him, attempted privately to dispatch him². However that be, it is certain, that *Theodoric*, after having spent the following year, when *Longinus* and *Decius* were consuls, in raising troops and making other military preparations, as if he designed to make war upon the barbarians, broke suddenly into *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army; and putting all to fire and sword, advanced within fifteen miles of *Constantinople*; but, instead of laying siege to that metropolis, as was apprehended, he marched back to *Pannonia*, in virtue of a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, by which the emperor yielded to him, as some authors write, all the provinces of *Italy*, held then by *Odoacer*, encouraging him to rescue them out of the hands of that barbarian, and promising to acknowledge him king

⁹ THEOPH. p. 112. Liberat. c. 18. p. 125.
ibid. ¹ EVAGR. l. iii. c. 27. p. 356.

² THEOPH.

of *Italy*^t. The *Romans* afterwards pretended, that *Zeno* had sent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, not for himself, but for the emperor of the east, to whom of right it belonged. On the other hand, the *Goths* maintained, that *Zeno* had yielded it to be held for ever by the *Goths*. Some authors write, that, in virtue of this treaty, *Theodoric* was to hold *Italy* during his lifetime, but that upon his death it was to be reunited to the empire. However that be, *Theodoric*, in the beginning of the autumn of this year 487, when *Boetius* was consul, returned to *Novæ* in *Mæsia*, which city he had chosen for a place of his residence; and having spent the winter in military preparations, he set out the following year, when *Sifidius* and *Dinamius* were consuls, at the head of a powerful army for *Italy*, and entering that country, overcame *Odoacer* in several battles, and established a new monarchy there, as we shall relate at length hereafter. About the end of this year, *Leontius* and *Illus*, *Leontius* after having defended with incredible bravery the castle of *and Illus* *Papyra* for the space of four years, were in the end taken by *taken, and* treachery, and put to death. Their heads were sent to *Constantinople*, and there exposed for several days together to public *put to death.* view^u. In the following consulship of *Anicius Probinus* and *Chronion Eusebius*, *Zeno* caused several persons of great distinction to be put to death, and banished others, confiscating their estates, under pretence that they had favoured *Leontius* and *Illus* *. The following year, when *Longinus* was consul the second time with *Faustus*, *Zeno*, raging with more cruelty than *Zeno's* ever, caused *Pelagius*, a patrician of great distinction, to be *cruelty.* strangled, for no other reason but because he had been told by an astrologer, that he was to succeed *Zeno* ^v. The emperor did not long survive him; for in the month of *April* of the following year 491, when *Olybrius* was consul, he was seized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in a few days, *His death.* after he had lived sixty-five years and nine days, and reigned seventeen years and three months ^x. The more modern *Greek* writers, and amongst the rest *Cedrenus*, tell us, that being seized with an epileptic fit, he was buried alive, his wife *Ariadne*, who hated him, and was in love with *Anastasius*, whom she immediately married, not suffering him to be relieved, though he made a dreadful noise in his tomb; which being afterwards opened, he was found to have devoured the flesh off his own arms, and even his buskins ^y. But of this tragical end no

^t JORN. rer. Goth. l. ii. c. 57. p. 696. ^u THEOPH. p. 114.
^{PHOT.} c. 242. p. 1072. THEODOR. p. 558. ^{*} THEOPH. p. 116.
^{CEDR.} p. 354. ^v ZONAR. p. 44. ^x Chron. Al. p. 758.
^{EVAGR.} l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. ^y CEDREN. p. 355.

mention is made by the more antient writers. He is painted by the antients as one of the most wicked and debauched princes recorded in history, as a person destitute of every good quality requisite in a prince, and equally incapable of governing a state and commanding an army^z. Of the writers, who flourished about this time, we shall speak in note (U).

Anastasius
declared
emperor.

UPON the death of Zeno, his brother *Longinus* laid claim to the empire; but, he being universally abhorred on account of his lewdness and cruelty, *Ariadne*, widow of the deceased emperor, easily prevailed upon the senate to acknowledge *Anastasius* for emperor, who was accordingly crowned on the eleventh of April in the circus, according to some, by *Ariadne*^a, according to others^b, by *Euphemius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, who absolutely refused to place the imperial crown upon his head,

^z PROCOPIUS. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308. MARC. p. 1232. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 3. p. 334. ^a THEOPH. p. 117. CEDREN. p. 357. ^b EVAGR. p. 361. THEOPH. ZONAR. p. 45.

(U) *Theodulus*, a native of *Syria*, published in the reign of Zeno several pieces against the *Manichees* and other heretics, a comment on the epistle of St. Paul to the *Romans*, and a poem on the miracles related in the old testament, and on the fables of the poets (1). His comment has reached our times (2). *John* the grammarian published a book against the *Eutychians*, which has been long since lost (3). He was still alive, according to *Ginnadius*, in 494 (4). *Malus*, or *Males*, by profession a sophist, wrote the history of Zeno and *Basiliscus*; but of that work only some fragments have reached us (5). *Candidus*, by birth an *Isaurian*, comprised in three books a very particular and distinct account of what happened from the election of *Leo* to that of *Anastasius*. A short abstract of his work has been conveyed to us by *Photius* (6). *Evagrius*, in speaking of Zeno, often quotes and highly commends one *Eustathius*, a native of *Philadelpheia*, who wrote an abridgment of the *Roman* history, from *Aeneas* to the twelfth year of Zeno's reign (7). The same historian is mentioned by *Nicephorus* (8). *Photius* speaks of one *Victorinus*, who wrote some orations in commendation of the consuls, and of the emperor Zeno (9). He was a native of *Antioch*, and the son of *Lampadius*. *Photius* commends the elegance, clearness, and propriety of his style (10).

(1) Marc. chron. Giannad. c. 91. Sixtus Senens. l. iv. p. 381. Possessin. p. 469. Sigebert. c. 134. (2) Biblioth. patr. tom. i. p. 495. (3) Trith. p. 40. Marc. chron. ad ann. 486. (4) Giannad. p. 93. (5) Phot. c. 78. p. 172. Zonar. p. 44. Evagr. p. 78. (6) Phot. c. 78. p. 172. (7) Evagr. l. iii. c. 15. p. 308. c. 37. p. 367. & l. v. c. 24. p. 442. Suid. p. 1096. (8) Niceph. l. xiv. c. 57. p. 579. (9) Phot. c. 101. p. 276. (10) Idem ibid.

till

till he had bound himself by a solemn oath to protect the catholic church, and to hold the doctrine of the two councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor, *He marries* than he married *Ariadne*, being then in the sixtieth year of his *Ariadne*. age^c. He was a native of *Duras*, the metropolis of *New Epirus* in *Illyricum*^d. All we know of his family is, that his *His birth,* father was born in the same city; that his mother was a *education,* *Manichee*, and *Clearchus*, her brother, an *Arian*^e. As for *Anastasius* himself, he is by some styled a *Manichee*, by others an *Eutychian*^f. *Magna*, whom some will have to have been the emperor's sister, others to have been wife to his brother, named *Paul*, was a zealous catholic^g. *Anastasius* had not yet attained to the rank of senator, when he was raised to the empire, being at that time one of the great chamberlain's officers, named *Silentiarii*, whose province it was to cause due silence to be observed in the palace^h. He is said to have led, while a private man, a very abstemious life, and to have given signal instances of his integrity, whence, upon his receiving a purple and diadem in the circus, the people, applauding his promotion, cried out with one voice, *Reign, Anastasius, as you have lived*ⁱ. And truly the beginning of his reign was not undeservedly applauded by persons of all ranks; for he immediately remitted whatever to that time was due to the exchequer, and utterly *He abo-* abolished the infamous tax called *chrysargyrum*, which was le- *lishes the* vied every fifth year upon those, even common beggars not ex- *chrysar-* cepted, who sold any thing, of how little value soever, whence *gyrum*. it was called the gold of tribulation. To pay it, parents were often obliged to sell their children, after they had been stripped of every thing else. It was not only raised on all traders, in what kind soever of merchandize they dealt, but on the public prostitutes, who, by paying to the prince a considerable share of what they earned by their infamous profession, seemed to have purchased a right to pursue with impunity their scandalous practices^k. *Alexander Severus* being ashamed, though a pagan, to suffer the money thus raised to be lodged in the exchequer, ordered it to be kept apart, and to be employed in repairing the public edifices^l. *Theodosius* the younger utterly suppressed

^c EVAGR. p. 357. THEOPH. p. 117. ^d EVAGR. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. THEOPH. p. 117. ^e THEODOR. p. 558. THEOPH. ibid. ^f EVAGR. l. iii. c. 37. p. 361. THEOPH. p. 115. ^g NICEPH. chron. p. 305. THEOPH. p. 131. ^h EVAGR. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. PROCOPI. bell. Pers. l. ii. c. 25. p. 138. ⁱ NICEPH. chron. p. 398. CEDREN. p. 357. ^k THEOPH. p. 566. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 39. ZOS. l. ii. p. 691. ^l LAMPRID. in Al. p. 212.

*The nature
of this tax.*

this infamous tribute in 439, but it was soon after revived through the avarice of his successors. *Zosimus* will have the tax to have been first established by *Constantine the Great*^m; which is denied by *Evagrius* as a calumny, without any other foundation but the implacable hatred which that pagan writer bore to the deliverer of the christian religionⁿ. And indeed it is evident from the antient writers, that long before *Constantine's* time a tax was laid on all traders, as well as infamous women; but that *Constantine*, to save charges, caused it to be levied, not annually, as it had been till his reign, but every fourth or, rather fifth year. However that be, *Anastasius*, looking upon it as no less burdensome to the people than shameful in the prince, not only utterly abolished it, with the consent and approbation of the senate, but, to prevent its ever being revived, caused all the papers relating to it to be publicly burnt in the circus^o. This abolition of the *chrysagyrum* is recorded by all the historians, who speak of *Anastasius*, as an action truly great, heroic, and almost divine, worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity, and capable of covering the many faults, which are but too deservedly laid to that prince's charge^p. *Timotheus* of *Gaza* wrote a tragedy on the *chrysagyrum*, which he ascribed to *Anastasius*. *Cedrenus*, who styles that writer a man of universal knowledge, tells us, that the emperor was in great measure induced by the reading of that piece to propose to the senate the suppressing of such an infamous tax^q. The same writer adds, that *Anastasius* abolished two kinds of *chrysagyrum*s, one of which was raised on the poor, on the beggars, slaves, freemen, harlots, and divorced women, who, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, paid every fourth year a certain sum for themselves, and another for their horses, mules, dogs, asses, oxen, &c.^r. At the same time, the new prince drove all informers out of *Constantinople*, and put a stop to the enormous abuse introduced by *Zeno* of exposing to sale all public offices, and bestowing, to the great oppression of the unhappy people, the best governments on the highest bidders^s. *Anastasius* having, by these and several other acts of generosity and good-nature, gained the affections of the people, they all to a man joined him against *Longinus*, the deceased emperor's brother, who in the beginning of the following year 492, when the emperor *Anastasius* and *Rufus* were consuls, raised some disturbances in *Constantinople*, but was immediately seized, deprived

*Informers
driven out
of Con-
stantino-
ple.*

^m Zos. l. ii. p. 691. ⁿ EVAGR. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. ^o EVAGR. l. iv. c. 39. p. 368. Cod. Theod. 2, 5. p. 2, 4. ^p EVAGR. p. 370. CONST. MANASS. p. 63. SUID. p. 913. ^q CEDREN. p. 357. ^r Idem ibid. ^s Idem, p. 358.

of all his employments, and sent back into *Isauria*, his native country, with orders to continue there. With him were driven out of *Constantinople* all the *Isaurians*, who had borne great sway in the late reign. The *Isaurians*, thus banished the city, espoused the cause of *Longinus*, and, openly revolting, kindled a civil war in the bowels of the empire. They were headed by *Longinus*, the late emperor's brother, by another *Longinus*, surnamed *Selinontius*, no doubt from the city of *Selinus* in *Isauria*, the place of his nativity, by *Indus*, *Theodorus*, *Ninilinghus*, and several other *Isaurians* of great distinction, who had been raised by *Zeno* to the first employments in the state. *Connon*, bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, abandoning his flock, joined his countrymen, for he was by birth an *Isaurian*, and became one of the ringleaders of the revolt¹. Under these heads the rebels seized on an immense quantity of arms, and vast sums lodged by *Zeno* in a strong hold of *Isauria*, which enabled them to raise and arm above an hundred and fifty thousand men. The emperor, alarmed at the progress they made, dispatched the flower of his troops against them, under the conduct of two of the most renowned generals of that age, viz. of *John the Scythian*, and *John*, surnamed *Gibbus*, or the hunch-backed, who coming up with the rebels in the neighbourhood of *Cotycea* in *Phrygia*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take refuge amongst the inaccessible mountains of *Isauria*, where they maintained themselves for the space of six years, in spite of the utmost efforts of the best generals of the empire². *Ninilinghus*, one of the chief leaders, was killed in the above-mentioned battle. The following year, when *Eusebius* was consul the second time with *Albinus*, surnamed the younger, the emperor, who, notwithstanding the generosity he affected on his accession to the empire, was naturally of a most avaricious temper, laid a heavy tax on the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, called by *Evagrius* *chysotelia*, which, as it was no-ways expected, incensed them to such a degree, that, rising all on a sudden, they pulled down the emperor's statues, and dragged them through the chief streets of the city with those of the empress *Ariadne*, uttering most injurious invectives both against her and *Anastasius*³. How this tumult ended, we are no-where told. The same year *Theodoric* the *Goth*, having completed the conquest of *Italy*, by the reduction of *Ravenna* after a three years siege, as we shall relate more at length hereafter, caused himself to be proclaimed king of that country, without waiting the return of the em-

Longinus and the Isaurians revolt.

They are defeated, but continue in arms.

A tumult in Constantinople.

¹ EVAGR. l. iii. p. 366. THEOPH. p. 118. ² EVAGR. THEOPH. ibid MARC. chron JORN p 655. ³ MARC. chron. p. 401.

bassadors,

Theodo-
ric ac-
know-
ledged king
of Italy.

The Isau-
rians de-
feated a
second time
by John the
Scythian.

Longinus,
and the
other heads
of the re-
bels, taken
and put to
death.

bassadors, whom he had sent to *Constantinople* for the ensigns of royalty. However, he dispatched *Festus*, or *Faustus*, and *Irenaeus*, two persons of rank, to solicit the emperor's approbation, and excuse the liberty he had taken. *Anastasius* received his excuses, promised not to molest him in the possession of the country he had conquered, and sent him the ensigns of the royal dignity *. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged in some degree, as *Odoacer* had done, the authority of the emperor. Besides, he suffered the *Romans* to receive the consulship from the emperor of the east. 'Tis true he named in 511, one *Felix* to that dignity; but at the same time he wrote to *Anastasius*, begging him to confirm what he had done †. In 494, when *Asterius* and *Præfidius* were consuls, *Diogenes*, one of the emperor's generals, having surpris'd the city of *Claudiopolis* in *Isauria* held by the rebels, he was closely besieged in it by the bishop *Conon*, and reduced to such straits, that he must have soon either perished with hunger, or been cut in pieces with all his men, had not *John*, surnamed *Gibbus*, opening himself a way over mount *Taurus*, and falling unexpectedly upon the rebels, obliged them to retire with great slaughter. The bishop, fighting with great resolution and intrepidity at the head of his men, received a wound, of which he died soon after ‡. The two following years, in the first of which *Viator*, or, as some style him, *Victor*, was consul, and in the other *Paul*, the emperor's brother, some inconsiderable advantages were gained over the *Isaurian* rebels, who were utterly defeated the following year, when the emperor *Anastasius* was consul the second time, by *John the Scythian*. *Longinus*, brother to the late emperor *Zeno*, and *Theodorus*, or *Athenodorus*, being taken prisoners, they were both put to death by that general's orders, and their heads sent to *Constantinople*, where they were exposed to public view in the suburbs called *Sycæ*. The head of *Athenodorus* was afterwards sent to *Tarsus*, and set up on a pole before the gate of that city §. The other ringleaders of the rebellion, namely *Longinus Selinontius* and *Indus*, were taken the following year, when *John the Scythian* was consul with *Paulinus*, and sent loaded with chains to *Constantinople*. *Longinus* was afterwards racked to death at *Nice*. As several cities in *Isauria* were utterly ruined during this war, which had lasted six years, the inhabitants of *Isauria* were removed into *Thrace*, and the annual pension of five thousand pieces of gold, paid to

* AMMIAN. anonym. p. 408. Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181. † PRO-
COP p. 402. CASSIODOR l. ii. ep. 1. ‡ MARC. chron. THEOPH.
p. 119. § EVAGR. l. iii. 35. p. 366. THEOPH. p. 120. VICT.
TUN p. 127.

them

them by *Zeno*, taken away for ever ^b. This year the emperor narrowly escaped being murdered in the circus by the populace, upon his refusing to cause some prisoners to be set at liberty, who had been concerned in a late riot. It was with the utmost difficulty that the guards screened him from the fury of the enraged multitude, and the showers of stones discharged against him. When the multitude found themselves repulsed by the soldiery, they set fire to the hippodrome, which consumed that and several other stately edifices, with a square of *Constantinople*, in which not a single building was left standing ^c. The same year, the *Arabs* and *Saracens*, named *Scenitæ*, broke into *Palestine* *Syria* *Euphratesiana*; but in *Syria* they were defeated by *Eugenius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops there, and in *Palestine* by *Romanus*, governor of that province; who on that occasion recovered to the empire the island of *Jotape* in the *Red Sea*, which the *Arabs* *Scenitæ* had seized, and re-established there the *Roman* merchants trading to *India* ^d.

*A tumult
in Con-
stantino-
ple.*

In 499, when *Joannes Gibbus* and *Asclepius* were consuls, the *Bulgarians* breaking into *Thrace*, *Arisius*, commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, marched against them at the head of fifteen thousand men, engaged them on the banks of the *Zurta* or *Zorta*; but was defeated with the loss of four thousand men, amongst whom were the counts *Nicostratus*, *Innocentius*, and *Aquilinus*, and several other officers of distinction. The barbarians, after having plundered all the open places in *Thrace*, returned of their own accord beyond the *Danube* ^e. The same year, *Neocæsarea* and several other cities in *Pontus* were almost utterly ruined by an earthquake ^f. The year 500, when *Patritius* and *Hypatius* were consuls, is quite barren of events. In the following consulship of *Pompeius* and *Avienus*, the blue and green factions quarrelling in the circus of *Constantinople*, above three thousand of the former were killed ^g. The following year, *Probus* and *Avienus* being consuls, the *Bulgarians* breaking anew into *Thrace*, and the *Saracens* into *Palestine*, committed dreadful ravages in those two provinces ^h. The same year *Cabades*, king of *Persia*, being highly provoked at the emperor's refusing to lend him a certain sum, which he owed to the king of the *Nepthalite* or *Eptthalite* *Hunns*, entered unexpectedly *Armenia* at the head of a numerous army; and having easily reduced the cities of *Theodosiopolis* and *Martyropolis*, laid close siege to *Amida*, which the inhabitants (for there was no garison in the place) defended with such vigour and re-

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated by
the barba-
rians.*

*A tumult
in the cir-
cus at Con-
stantino-
ple.*

*The Persi-
ans break
into the
empire.*

^b CASSIOD. l. i. ep. 23. l. ii. ep. 3. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. MARC chron. ^c Chron. Al. p. 760. ^d THEOPH. p. 21. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 36. p. 366. ^e MARC. chron. ZONAR. p. 47. ^f THEOPH. p. 123. MARC. chron. ^g MARC. chron. ^h Idem ibid. THEOPH. p. 153.

And take
Amida.

The Ro-
mangene-
rals de-
feated and
put to
flight.

Amida re-
stored to the
Romans.

solution, that the king, despairing of being ever able to reduce it, had already ordered his troops to retire; but the inhabitants, especially some women, probably common prostitutes, reviling and rallying him from the walls in a manner not to be expressed by a modest writer, he resolved at all events to pursue the siege; which he did accordingly, and in the end made himself master of the place, after having lain before it eighty days, or, as others write, four monthsⁱ. Most of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the town pillaged. In the mean time, *Anastasius* dispatched a powerful army against the enemy, commanded by *Patritius*, *Hypatius*, and *Areobindus*, who had married *Juliana*, the daughter of the emperor *Olybrius*. Under them commanded *Celer*, *Justin*, afterwards emperor, his son *Vitalianus*, *Patritiolus*, *Romanus*, and several other officers of distinction. But the *Persians* having reduced *Amida* before they reached that place, they divided the army into two bodies, the one, under the command of *Patritius* and *Hypatius*, attempting to make an irruption into the enemy's country on the side of *Amida*, and the other marching, under the command of *Areobindus* to *Nisibis*, with a design to surprise that important place. In the mean time, *Cabades*, having drawn his troops together, went to meet *Areobindus*; who, upon his approach, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost confusion to *Constantina*, after having pressed in vain *Hypatius* and *Patritius* to join him, and with their mutual forces to oppose the enemy, who was far superior in number to either of the parties they commanded. *Areobindus* being thus put to flight, *Cabades*, without loss of time, marched against *Hypatius* and *Patritius*; and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut their whole army in pieces, the two generals having with much-ado escaped by a timely flight the common slaughter. *Cabades*, having now no enemy to oppose him, over-ran *Mesopotamia*, extending his ravages to the very borders of *Syria*, till he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to return into *Persia*^k. The following year, when *Cethegus* was consul, *Celer*, entering the province of *Arzanene*, belonging to the *Persians*, at the head of a considerable army, laid it waste far and near, while the other generals undertook the siege of *Amida*, the *Persians* being diverted by a sudden irruption of the *Hunns*. The place held out till both the *Romans* and *Persians* being quite tired out with the fatigues of a siege in the depth of winter, it was agreed, that the *Persians* should deliver up the city to the *Romans*, upon their paying to the king of *Persia* fifty talents;

ⁱ PROCOP. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 7. p. 20, 21. THEOPH. p. 124, 125. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367. ^k PROCOP. p. 22. THEOPH. p. 125.

which

which was immediately done. Thus the *Romans* recovered the important city of *Amida*, in the consulship of *Sabinianus* and *Theodorus*, after it had been held two years by the *Persians*¹. Upon their entering the place, they found that the enemy had not sufficient provisions to support them seven days longer, tho' they had lived very sparingly during the siege. Not long after, a truce for seven years, which lasted about twenty, was concluded between the two empires, *Cabades* being engaged in a war with the *Caduceans*, *Hunns*, and other barbarians^m. The same year one *Mondon* or *Mondo*, by nation a *Goth*, having settled with some of his countrymen in such places beyond the *Danube* as he found uninhabited, seized on a strong-hold called *Herta*; and thence, by frequent incursions into the *Roman* territories, continued for some time harrassing the subjects of the empire, giving himself the title of king. *Anastasius* dispatched against him *Sabinianus*, the son of the famous general of that name, at the head of ten thousand chosen men, which obliged *Mondon* to have recourse to *Theodoric*, the *Goth*, king of *Italy*, who the year before had re-conquered *Pannonia*, and recovered *Sirmium* out of the hands of the *Gepidæ*. As *Mondon* had entered into an alliance with *Theodoric*, *Pitzia*, one of that prince's generals, marched to his assistance, defeated *Sabinianus* in a pitched battle near *Margus* in *Lower Dacia*, and obliged him to shut himself up in the castle of *Nato*ⁿ. This occasioned a misunderstanding between *Theodoric* and *Anastasius*, as we shall relate in the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*. The next consuls were *Arcobindus* and *Messala*, who were succeeded in 507 by the emperor *Anastasius*, the third time consul, and *Venantius*. This year *Anastasius*, to defend not only the city of *Constantinople*, but the adjacent country, against the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, built the famous wall, called the *Long-wall*, and the wall of *Anastasius*; of which frequent mention is made by the *Byzantine* historians. It was distant from *Constantinople* two hundred and eighty furlongs, extended from sea to sea, being four hundred and twenty furlongs round, and inclosed not only the metropolis, but the city of *Selymbria*, and the neighbouring country; which was a continued garden, with an incredible number of stately villa's and houses of pleasure, richly furnished and adorned. The wall was twenty foot in breadth, and defended by towers at small distances from each other: by which means the inhabitants, upon the shortest warning, had an opportunity of putting

*A truce
with the
Persians*

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated by
Pitzia, the
Ostrogoth.*

*Anastasius
builds the
Long-
wall.*

¹ Idem, p. 127. & 25, 26. ^m PROCOPIUS. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 9. p. 27. THEOPH. p. 127. ⁿ JORN. rer. Goth. p. 599. ENNOD. in panegyri. Theodoric p. 309.

Daras repaired and fortified.

Clovis fixes his residence to Paris.

The Heruli admitted into Thrace.

Great disturbances in Constantinople.

Vitalianus espouses the cause of the Catholics against the Eutychians.

themselves in a posture of defence, and repulsing with great ease the barbarians *. In the following consulship of *Celer* and *Venantius*, styled the younger, *Anastasius* caused the city of *Daras*, a frontier-town towards *Persia*, to be repaired and fortified, in order to prevent the *Persians* from breaking into the empire on that side. *Daras* stood on the *Cardus*, about fifteen miles from *Nisibis*, and three from *Carrhæ* †. The same year *Clovis*, king of the *Franks* in *Gaul*, having gained a complete victory over *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths* in *Languedoc* and *Aquitain*, *Anastasius*, who was at variance with *Theodoric*, whose daughter *Alaric* had married, sent ambassadors to the king of the *Franks*, to congratulate him upon his victory, and to present him with the consular ornaments, and a diadem, which he received in the church of *St. Martin* at *Tours*, taking upon him thenceforth the title of consul, and likewise that of *Augustus*. He removed soon after from *Tours* to *Paris*, where he fixed his residence, declaring that city the metropolis of his kingdom †. Nothing remarkable happened the two following years 509, 510, in the first of which *Importunus* was consul, and in the second the famous *Boëtius*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the history of the kingdom of *Italy*. In 511, when *Secundinus* and *Felix* were consuls, the *Heruli*, after having long roved about from one country to another, passed the *Danube*, and were received the following year, when *Paulus* and *Musichianus* were consuls, into *Thrace*; where lands were allotted to them, upon their promising to serve with fidelity in the *Roman* armies, when required †. In the next consulship of *Probus* and *Clementinus*, the emperor, at the instigation of the *Eutychians*, whom he favoured, drove *Macedonius*, the orthodox patriarch of *Constantinople*, from his see, and preferred one *Timotheus*, an avowed follower of *Eutyches*, in his room; who, by attempting to introduce novelties in the public worship, raised great disturbances in *Constantinople*. Many of the inhabitants, some say ten thousand, were killed in a tumult between the Catholics and *Eutychians*, and several houses burnt, amongst the rest that of the prefect *Martinus*, with its rich furniture, he himself having narrowly escaped being consumed in the flames *. The following year 514, when *Cassiodorus* Senator was consul, *Vitalianus*, one of the emperor's generals, espousing the cause of *Macedonius*, and the other or-

* EVAGR. l. iii. c. 38. p. 367. PROCOP. ædif. l. iv. c. 9. p. 86. GYL. de Constantinop. l. i. c. 21. p. 83. ZONAR. p. 48. † PRO-
COP. ædif. l. ii. c. 2 p. 31. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367. † GREG.
Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 38. p. 291. † PROCOP. bel. Goth. l.
ii. c. 14. p. 42. † SURIUS, p. 173.

thodox bishops, persecuted by *Anastasius*, approached *Constantinople*, at the head of a numerous army, raised in three days time, threatening to depose the emperor, if he did not restore the banished bishops to their sees, and drive out the *Eutychians*. *Anastasius*, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Eutyches*, refusing to comply with his request, he made himself master of *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, took *Cyril*, governor of the latter province, prisoner, defeated *Hypatius*, the emperor's nephew, who likewise fell into his hands; and returning before *Constantinople* with his victorious army, *Anastasius*, who was no-ways in a condition to oppose him, solemnly promised to comply with his demands, viz. to put an end to the persecution, which he had raised against the catholics, to restore *Macedonius*, and the other orthodox bishops, to their sees, and to call an œcumenical council, and stand to the decisions of the prelates of the church. *Anastasius* had no sooner signed these articles, than *Vitalianus* withdrew from the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*; and disbanding his troops, sent *Hypatius*, whom he had taken prisoner, back to his uncle, and retired to his government in *Thrace*. *Anastasius*, thus delivered from his fears, pursued the persecution against the catholics with more cruelty than ever, as the reader will find related at length by the ecclesiastical writers. In 515, when *Anthemius* and *Florentius* were consuls, and 516, when *Petrus* alone bore that dignity, nothing happened which historians have thought worthy of notice. In 517, when *Anastasius* was consul the fourth time with *Agapetus*, the northern barbarians, called by *Marcellinus* *Getæ*, breaking into *Illyricum*, laid waste *Macedon* and *Epirus*, defeated *Pompeius*, the emperor's nephew, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*; and, penetrating as far as *Thessaly*, returned from thence beyond the *Danube* unmolested, with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. The following year, when *Magnus* alone was consul, the emperor *Anastasius* was found dead in his chamber on the ninth of July. Authors vary as to the circumstances of his death: some write, that a violent storm arising, the dread and terror with which he was seized, as being conscious to himself of many cruel and unjust murders, put an end to his life; others suppose him to have been killed by a flash of lightning. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having reigned twenty-seven years, and three months, wanting two or three days. No prince perhaps was ever more beloved in the beginning, nor

The emperor promises to comply with his demands

The Getæ break into Illyricum.

Anastasius dies.

^t MARC. chron. VICT. TUNUNENSIS, p. 132. ^u MARC. chron. JORN. reg. succ. c. 48. p. 655. ^w THEOD. p. 505. MARC. chron. Chron. Al. p. 764. ^x ZONAR. p. 47. CEDREN. p. 362.

more

more hated in the end, of his reign. He gave at first several instances of generosity, good-nature, moderation, and application to public affairs, seeming to have nothing so much at heart as the welfare of his subjects. But he soon abandoned himself to all manner of wickedness, selling the public offices, and sharing with the governors of provinces the spoils of the unhappy people, whom he suffered them to oppress with most enormous exactions. The ecclesiastic writers paint him in the blackest colours imaginable; but as he persecuted the catholics, and countenanced, to the utmost of his power, the *Eutychians*, they were perhaps so far prejudiced against him as to overlook the few good qualities, which other authors allow him, and take notice only of his vices.

Justin
proclaimed
emperor.
His birth,
education,
&c.

Anastasius being dead, *Justin*, then *præfectus prætorio*, was by the soldiers of the household proclaimed emperor in his room. He was descended of an obscure and mean family in *Thrace*, having been in his youth employed in keeping cattle. He afterwards lifted himself among the troops that guarded *Thrace*; and having on several occasions given signal proofs of an extraordinary valour, and address, he was raised from the low station of a common soldier to the post of a tribune, and from that soon after to the office of *præfectus prætorio*, which he held when he was preferred to the empire. *Evagrius* writes, that *Amantius*, the deceased emperor's great chamberlain, having intrusted *Justin* with large sums to purchase the votes of the soldiery in favour of *Theocritus*, his intimate friend, *Justin* distributed the money in his own name; and having by that means secured the army to his interest, he was by them saluted with the title of *Augustus*, as soon as the death of *Anastasius* was known^z. Thus *Evagrius*, whose account does not at all agree with what we read in the letters, said to have been written by *Justin* himself to *Hormisdas* bishop of *Rome*, soon after his promotion; wherein he tells him, that he had been preferred, contrary to his expectation, and against his will, to the imperial dignity*. But by what means soever he attained the purple, he governed with great equity and moderation; and, by his steady adherence to the orthodox faith, and prudent administration, healed in great measure the divisions which had long rent the church, as well as the state, into factions and parties. He was scarce warm in his throne, when *Amantius*, *Theocritus*, and several of the deceased emperor's relations, persons of great interest and authority in the empire, conspired against him; but the conspiracy being discovered

Some con-
spire a-
gainst him,
but are
discovered
and exe-
cuted.

^y EVAGR. l. iv. c. i. p. 381 Chron. Al. p. 764.
l. i. c. 1, 2. * Vide BARON. ad ann. 518.

^z EVAGR.

by some who were privy to it, the chief authors of it, and among the rest *Amantius* and *Theocritus*, were publicly executed, to the great satisfaction of the people; who hated them as the avowed patrons of the *Eutychians*, and the chief promoters of the late persecution against the catholics^a. The following year 519, *Justin* being consul with *Eutharic*, the son-in-law of *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, all the orthodox bishops, who had been banished by *Anastasius*, were by the emperor's orders restored to their sees, and several synods assembled, in which the doctrine of the church was established, and that of *Eutyches* condemned^b. The following year, *Vitalianus*, of whom we have made mention above, was raised to the consulship with *Rusticus*, but was soon after dispatched in the palace by the emperor's orders, upon his attempting to gain over some of the chief officers, with a design to depose *Justin*, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor in his room. He had espoused the catholic cause in the reign of *Anastasius*; but his caballing against *Justin*, a zealous patron of the true faith, and his courting the *Eutychians*, convinced the world, that it was not merely on account of religion he had taken arms against his sovereign^c. The following year, *Justinian*, the emperor's nephew, being consul with *Valerius*, *Cavadēs*, king of *Persia*, sent a solemn embassy to *Justin*, offering to conclude a lasting peace with him; provided he would adopt *Cosroes*, the *Persian* king's youngest son, whom, to the prejudice of his eldest son *Caoses*, he had declared his successor. This he looked upon as the only means of engaging the *Roman* emperor to espouse his cause, and of firmly establishing him in the kingdom. The proposal was received at first with great joy both by *Justin* and his nephew *Justinian*; but *Proclus*, the quæstor, a man of great integrity, and well skilled in the laws, demonstrating, that, in virtue of that adoption, *Cosroes* might claim the *Roman* empire as his inheritance, it was rejected; which so piqued *Cavadēs*, that he immediately entered *Iberia*, with a design to invade from thence the *Roman* territories. *Gurgenes*, king of the *Iberians*, had recourse to *Justin*; who dispatched a body of troops to his assistance, under the conduct of *Sittas* and the famous *Belisarius*, who was then but a youth, and served in the guards of *Justinian*, lately declared commander in chief of all the forces of the empire. *Sittas* and *Belisarius* broke into that part of *Armenia* which belonged to the *Persians*, and laid it waste; but being met by *Narses* and *Aratius*, they were by them put to flight, and obliged to retire into the *Roman* domi-

Vitalianus
put to
death.

The Per-
sian war.

^a JORN. reg. succ. c. 48. p. 132. ^b EVAGR. l. iv. c. 3. ^c Item
ibid.

nions. *Narses* and *Aratius* revolted soon after from the *Persians*, and served under *Belisarius* in *Italy*. The emperor, well pleased with the conduct of *Belisarius*, gave him the command of the forces in *Daras*, on the frontiers of *Persia*^d. These things happened in the third consulship of *Severinus Boëtius*, and the first of *Symmachus*; who were succeeded in 523, by *Maximus* alone in the west, and he by *Justin*, the second time consul, and *Opilio*; during whose consulship we find nothing transacted in the empire that deserves notice. In 525, when *Probinus* or *Probus*, and *Philoxenes*, were consuls, *Justin*, by an edict, deprived the *Arians* of all their churches in his dominions; which occasioned a misunderstanding between him and *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Arius*. But what relates to that prince, we reserve for the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*. The same year the city of *Antioch* was almost utterly overturned by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants buried, with their bishop *Euphrasius*, under the ruins^e. The cities of *Epidamnus*, *Corinth*, and *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, underwent the same fate, but were at a vast expence restored, as well as *Antioch*, to their former condition by the good-natured emperor: who was so affected with their misfortune, that, putting off the purple, and laying aside the diadem, he appeared for several days in sack-cloth^f. In 526, *Olybrius* alone was consul, and succeeded in that dignity by *Mavortius*; during whose consulship, *Justin* on the first of *April*, declared his nephew *Justinian* his partner in the empire. He was the son of *Sabatius*, by *Bigleniza*, the sister of *Justin*, called by the *Romans* *Vigilantia*. He was a native of *Tauresium*, but brought up at *Bederina*, the birth-place of his uncle *Justin*, both cities on the confines of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; whence he is by some styled a *Thracian*, by others an *Illyrian*. He was sent, when yet a youth, by *Justin*, then commander in chief of the *Roman* army, as an hostage to *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*; who, upon the news of his uncle's preferment, suffered him to return to *Constantinople*; where he was immediately honoured with the title of *nobilissimus*, and upon the death of *Vitalianus*, raised to the chief command of the army in his room^g. Some authors write that *Justin*, at the request of the senate, took him for his partner in the empire; whereas others pretend, that the senate were awed by threats and menaces. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Justinian* was this year declared emperor; and upon his entering the circus with the purple, and other ensigns of the imperial dignity, the populace received him

Belisarius
commander
of the
troops in
Daras.

The Arians
deprived of
their
churches.

A great
earth-
quake at
Antioch.

Justin as-
sumes Just-
inian for
his partner
in the em-
pire.

^d PROCOPIUS. bell. Pers. c. 11, 12. ^e EVAGR. 1. iv. c. 5, 6.
^f Idem ibid. c. 8. ^g Vide not. ALAM. in Procop. secret. hist.

with loud acclamations: he was then as *Zonaras* observes, in the forty-fifth year of his age. The emperor *Justin* died about four months after, that is, in the latter end of *September*, or the beginning of *August*, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after having reigned nine years, one month, and some days. His death is generally ascribed to a wound received in battle many years before. He could neither read nor write, having been employed by his parents in keeping cattle, till he lifted himself in the army; but was nevertheless a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon address, in the management of the most difficult affairs, well skilled in the art of war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised.

Justinian, now sole master of the empire, made it his first and chief business to secure the frontiers towards *Persia*. With this view he ordered *Belisarius*, commander of the troops in *Daras*, to build a fort in the neighbourhood of *Mindon*, which might be as a curb upon the *Persians*, and prevent them from breaking into the empire on that side. *Belisarius* had no sooner begun the work, than *Cabades*, who still reigned in *Persia*, after having attempted in vain, by threats and menaces, to divert him from it, dispatched a body of troops against him. On the other hand, *Justinian* ordered the two brothers, *Curtzes* and *Buzes*, who commanded the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of mount *Libanus*, to join *Belisarius*. But notwithstanding this reinforcement the *Romans*, in the battle which ensued, were utterly defeated, and great numbers of them taken prisoners, and among the rest *Curtzes*, to whose rash and imprudent conduct the defeat was chiefly owing. After this victory, the *Persians*, finding the fort abandoned by the *Romans*, levelled it with the ground ^h. War being thus declared, *Justinian* appointed *Belisarius* general of the east, ordering him to make an inroad into *Persia*. *Perozes* the *Persian* general, met him at the head of a very numerous and powerful army in the neighbourhood of *Daras*; whereupon a battle ensuing, the *Persians* were defeated, with the loss of five thousand men. As the *Persians* fled in great confusion, the *Romans* would, in all likelihood, have cut most of them in pieces, had not *Belisarius*, apprehending they might rally, and return to the charge, sounded a retreat ⁱ. The like success attended the *Roman* arms in *Armenia*, where *Mermeroes*, who commanded another army, consisting of *Persarmenians*, *Sunites*, and *Hunns*, was surprised and defeated by *Dorotheus*, the *Roman* governor of *Armenia*, and *Sittas*, general of the forces quar-

Justin dies:

His character.

What gave rise to the Persian war.

The Romans defeated.

And the Persians in their turn by Belisarius. And by Dorotheus in Persarmenia.

^h PROCOPIUS. bell. Pers. c. 13.ⁱ Idem, c. 15.

Narfes
and Ara-
tius revolt
to the
Romans.

The Per-
sians, at-
tempting to
break into
Syria, are
prevented
by Belifa-
rius.

The Ro-
mans en-
gaging
against the
opinion of
Belisarius.
are de-
feated.

tered in that province. *Mermeroes*, being put to flight, the *Romans* made themselves masters of several strong-holds in *Perfarmania*, and among the rest of *Pharangium*, which commanded the royal mines, and was betrayed to them by one *Simeon*. About this time, *Narfes* and *Aratius*, two brothers, who, in the latter end of *Justin's* reign, had commanded the *Persian* army in *Armenia*, and gained some advantages over *Belisarius* and *Sittas*, as we have related above, revolting from the *Persians*, came over to the *Romans*, who are now masters of the greatest part of *Perfarmania*, their native country. *Narfes*, the emperor's quæstor in those parts, who was likewise a *Perfarmanian*, received them with extraordinary marks of kindness and esteem, making them rich presents in the emperor's name : which encouraged their younger brother, by name *Isaac*, to follow their example, after having held a private correspondence with the *Romans*, till he found an opportunity of delivering up to them a strong-hold in the territory of *Theodosiopolis*, named *Bolus* *. *Justinian*, notwithstanding the advantages gained by his troops in *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, dispatched ambassadors to *Cabades*, with proposals for an accommodation ; but the treaty being soon broken off, the *Persians*, early in the spring of 530, invaded the *Roman* territories under the command of *Azarethes*, who was joined by an incredible number of *Saracens*, commanded by *Alamundarus* their king, who, as he was a person of great experience in war, and well acquainted with the country, advised the *Persians* to break into the *Roman* territories, not by the way of *Mesopotamia* and *Osrhoene*, as they usually did, but to march directly into *Syria*, which country they might lay waste, and plunder *Antioch* itself, before the army in *Mesopotamia* could receive the least intelligence of their motions. The *Persian* generals approving the scheme, the army began to march ; but *Belisarius*, apprised of their design, flew with a strong detachment to the frontiers of *Syria*, where the *Persians* finding him, to their great surprise, ready to dispute their passage, they resolved to proceed no farther, but rather to retire, thinking it dangerous to hazard a battle. On the other hand, *Belisarius*, judging it imprudent to provoke a flying enemy, far superior to him in numbers, was for suffering them to retire unmolested. But his men upbraiding him with cowardice, he led them on against the enemy, by whom, after a most obstinate dispute, they were put to the rout, *Belisarius*, with a small body of horse, who were ashamed to forsake him, keeping the field, and by that means preventing the enemy from pursuing the

* Idem, c. 15, 16.

fugitives.

fugitives. The next day the *Persians*, who had lost in the engagement the flower of their army, not thinking it adviseable to venture a second battle, retired in good order, the *Romans*, who were greatly disheartened by their defeat, not daring to attack them¹. The following year 531, *Justinian* being desirous of concluding a peace with the *Persians*, that he might be at leisure to make war upon the *Vandals*, and reunite to the empire the many rich provinces they had seized, dispatched *Hermogenes* to the king of *Persia*, with very reasonable proposals. But *Cabades*, instead of hearkening to them, sent early in the spring a fresh army into *Mesopotamia* under the command of *Chanaranges*, *Aspendes*, and *Mermeroes*; who, after having ravaged the country, putting all to fire and sword, sat down before *Martyropolis*, a city about thirty miles north of *Amida* on the river *Nimphius*, which parted the *Persian* and *Roman* dominions. The place was no-ways in a condition to maintain a siege, being destitute both of soldiers and provisions. The emperor had recalled *Belisarius* to advise with him about a war with the *Vandals*, on which he was chiefly bent; and *Sittas*, who had succeeded him in the command of the troops in the east, had not sufficient strength to attempt the relief of the place. While affairs stood thus, the emperor was informed, that a numerous army of *Massagetes* was marching into *Persia*, with a design to invade from thence the *Roman* dominions. This intelligence *Justinian* turned to his great advantage, by persuading the *Persian* deserter, who brought it, to spread a report in the army before *Martyropolis*, that the *Massagetes* were in the *Roman* pay, and their true design was to fall upon the *Persians*, and raise the siege. This report, with the news that was soon after brought of the death of *Cabades*, inclined the *Persian* generals to hearken to the overtures that were made them by *Sittas* and *Hermogenes*, with whom they first concluded a truce, retiring from before *Martyropolis*, and soon after a peace, upon the following terms: 1. That the *Roman* emperor should pay to *Cosroes*, who had succeeded his father *Cabades*, a thousand pounds weight of gold. 2. That both princes should restore the places they had taken during the war. 3. That the commander of the *Roman* forces in *Mesopotamia* should no longer reside at *Daras*, but at *Constantina*, as he had formerly done. 4. That the *Iberians*, who had sided with the *Romans*, should be at liberty to return to their own country, or stay at *Constantinople*^m. Upon these terms the *Romans* and *Persians*

The Persians besiege Martyropolis.

A perpetual peace concluded between the Romans and Persians.

¹ Idem, c. 18. ^m EVAGR. l. iii. c. 38. AGATH. l. iv. c. 13. NICEPH. l. xvii. c. 10. THEOPH. ad ann. Just. 5, 6. CEDREN. p. 366. Hist. miscell. l. xvi. PROCOP. bell. Pers. ibid.

A great
tumult at
Constanti-
nople.

The manly
courage of
the empress
Theodo-
ra.

The tumult
quelled
with the
death of
30,000
persons.

concluded an eternal peace, as it was styled, in 532, the sixth year of *Justinian's* reign, which, as it was without consuls, as the preceding year had been, is thus marked in the fasti; *The second year after the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes.* About this time happened at *Constantinople* the greatest tumult we find mentioned in history. It began amongst the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion, the multitude, highly dissatisfied with the conduct of *John the præfectus prætorio*, and of *Trebonianus*, then quæstor, forcing *Hypatius*, nephew to the emperor *Anastasius*, to accept the empire, and proclaiming him with great solemnity in the forum. As the two above-mentioned ministers were greatly abhorred by the people, on account of their avarice, the emperor immediately discharged them, hoping by that means to appease the tumult; but the populace growing more outrageous, and most of the senators joining the rebellious multitude, the emperor, alarmed and disheartened, would have abandoned the city, and made his escape by sea, had not the empress *Theodora*, with a manly courage, persuaded him to part with his life, rather than with the empire, by seasonably putting him in mind of the old saying, *How glorious a sepulchre is a kingdom!* *Justinian*, thus encouraged, resolved to continue in the palace, and, with the assistance of the few senators who had not yet abandoned him, defend it to the last. In the mean time the rebels, having attempted in vain to force the gates, carried *Hypatius* in triumph to the circus; where, while he was beholding the sports from the imperial throne, among the shouts and acclamations of the people, *Belisarius*, who had been recalled from *Persia*, entering the city with a considerable body of troops under his command, and apprised of the usurpation of *Hypatius*, marched strait to the circus, fell sword in hand upon the disarmed multitude; and, being seasonably joined by *Mundus*, governor of *Illyricum*, at the head of a band of *Heruli*, cut above thirty thousand of them in pieces, took *Hypatius* the usurper, and *Pompeius*, another of the nephews of *Anastasius*, prisoners, and carried them to the emperor, by whose orders they were both beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Their estates were confiscated, and likewise the estates of such senators as had joined them; but the emperor caused great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards restored, together with their honours and dignities, to their children. *Marcellinus* supposes that this tumult was raised by *Hypatius*, *Pompeius*, and *Probus*, all three nephews to the emperor *Anastasius*, each of them setting up for himself; by which means the city was rent into factions, an incredible number of

* PROCOR. bell. Pers. l. i. p. 265.

citizens was murdered, and many stately buildings laid in ashes*. The tumult being thus appeased, and a peace concluded with the king of *Persia*, the emperor applied his thoughts wholly to the war in *Africa*, which he had been long bent upon. But of the wars that were by the renowned *Belisarius* carried on with amazing success in the reign of *Justinian*, first with the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and afterwards with the *Goths* in *Italy*, we shall speak at length hereafter. These two wars lasted from 533 to 541, a year remarkable for the triumphant return of *Belisarius* to *Constantinople*; and no less on account of its being the last that is marked by consuls, time being thenceforth computed, not by consulships, tho' consuls were still created for some time, but by the years of the emperor's reign. During the war with the *Goths* in *Italy*, the *Hunns*, probably stirred up by them, passed the *Danube*, and entering *Illyricum*, laid waste the whole country, took above thirty-two castles, destroyed *Cassandria*, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty, and an hundred and twenty thousand captives. At the same time the *Armenians*, shaking off the *Roman* yoke, gained some advantages over the emperor's forces in that province; which, with a groundless report spread abroad, that the emperor, grown jealous of *Belisarius*, would no longer trust him with the command of his armies, encouraged *Cosroes* to invade the *Roman* dominions with a very powerful army, in defiance of the treaty solemnly concluded a few years before. *Buzes*, who commanded in the east, instead of assembling his forces, and providing for the defence of the provinces, disappeared all on a sudden, and retired, no one knew whither, leaving the enemy at full liberty to plunder the country at their pleasure. As *Cosroes* met with no opposition, he bent his march to *Syria*; and having taken and plundered *Beræa*, *Hierapolis*, and several other cities, he laid siege to *Antioch* itself, which he soon mastered, and gave up to be plundered by his soldiers, who, without distinction of sex or age, put all they met to the sword. The king himself seized on all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the great church; caused all the valuable statues, pictures, and other pieces of art, to be taken down, and conveyed into *Persia*: and having thus stripped the proud metropolis of the east of all its wealth and ornaments, he ordered his men to set fire to it, and lay it in ashes; which was done accordingly, none of the buildings, even without the walls, being spared by the outrageous and insulting enemy. Thus perished the most wealthy, beautiful, and populous, city of the east. Such of the inhabitants as

The Hunns
commit
great ra-
vages in
Illyricum.

Cosroes
invades
the Roman
dominions.

Antioch
besieged,
taken, and
laid in
ashes.

A peace
concluded
with the
king of
Persia,

Who ne-
vertheless
ravages
Mesopo-
tamia.
The La-
zians re-
volt to the
Persians.

escaped the common slaughter, and afterwards fell into the enemy's hands, were carried into captivity, and sold in *Persia* to the highest bidder *. *Justinian*, upon the first news of the *Persians* entering the *Roman* territories, had dispatched ambassadors to *Cosroes*, to put him in mind of the articles of the treaty concluded a few years before. The king alledged several frivolous pretences for the hostilities he had committed, in order to lay the whole blame on *Justinian*; but after he had wasted *Syria*, and enriched himself and his army with the spoils of that province, and its wealthy metropolis, he began to hearken to an accommodation; and accordingly a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That the *Romans* should, within two months, pay to the *Persian* king five thousand pounds weight of gold, and an annual pension of five hundred. 2. That the *Persians* should relinquish all claim to *Daras*, and maintain a body of troops to guard the *Caspian* gates, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire. 3. That, upon the payment of the above-mentioned sum, *Cosroes* should immediately withdraw his troops out of the *Roman* territories ^p. The treaty being signed, and the stipulated sum paid, *Cosroes* began to march back; but in his retreat plundered, as if the war had still continued, the cities of *Apamea* and *Chalcis*; and crossing the *Euphrates*, laid waste *Mesopotamia*, carrying with him from thence an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. Hereupon *Justinian*, now well apprised, that with *Cosroes* no treaties were binding, resolved to pursue the war with the utmost vigour, and with that design sent for *Belisarius*, then employed against the *Goths* in *Italy*, and, upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, appointed him general against the *Persians*. While that brave commander was making the necessary preparations to take the field early in the spring of the ensuing year 542, the *Lazians*, no longer able to brook the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the commander of the *Roman* troops in that country, revolted to the *Persians*, and delivered up to them all their castles and strong-holds. *Lazica*, formerly part of *Colchis*, lay between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and was governed by its own kings, who were under the protection of the *Roman* emperor, and received at his hands the ensigns of royalty. Their present king's name was *Gubazes*, who had served the *Romans* with great fidelity; and continued attached to their interest, till *Joannes Tzibus*, commander of the *Roman* troops quartered in his dominions to awe the neighbouring *Iberians*, by erecting a sort, as a curb upon the *Lazians*, and exacting exorbitant con-

* PROCOPI. bell. Pers. l. ii. c. 12. EVAGR. AGATH. ibid.
† PROCOPI. l. ii. c. 2.

tributions for the payment of his soldiers, forced, in a manner, both the prince and his subjects, tho' otherwise well-affected to the empire, to have recourse to the king of *Persia*, who, upon the first invitation, entered their country, and, being assisted by the natives, drove out the *Romans*, and placed every where *Persian* garisons in their room ¹. In the mean time *Belisarius*, Belisarius enters Persia, and ravages Assyria. not apprised of the revolt of the *Lazians*, entered *Persia* at the head of a powerful army; and having made himself master of a strong-hold called *Sisibranum*, laid waste *Assyria*; but was obliged, by the violent heats, and the distempers that began to rage in his army, to return before the end of the summer, into the *Roman* dominions. *Cosroes* was no sooner informed of the invasion of *Belisarius*, than, quitting *Lazica*, he hastened into *Assyria*; but being informed on his march, that the *Romans* were retired, he put his army into winter-quarters, and withdrew to *Ctesiphon* ². The spring following, he invaded anew the *Roman* territories, bending his march through *Comagene*, with a design to enter *Palestine*, and enrich himself with the spoils of that fertile and wealthy province. *Belisarius*, who Cosroes attempts to invade Palestine. was returned to *Constantinople*, upon the first news of this invasion, flew to *Europus* on the *Euphrates*, and there drew together what forces he could some time after *Cosroes* had passed that river; which so alarmed the *Persian* king, dreading an enemy at his back, that he thought it adviseable to drop his intended expedition into *Palestine*, and return to his own dominions, before *Belisarius* was in a condition to cut off his retreat. But dreading Belisarius, drops that enterprise. The emperor being soon after obliged to recal *Belisarius*, and send him into *Italy*, where the *Goths* had gained great advantages over the *Romans*, as we shall relate hereafter, *Cosroes* resolved once more to invade the *Roman* territories, notwithstanding the dreadful plague that raged in *Persia*, being encouraged thereunto by the magi, and by a shameful overthrow of thirty thousand *Romans*, who, attempting to break into *Perf-armenia*, had been defeated by four thousand *Persians*. Upon this success he invaded *Mesopotamia*, and sat down before *Edeffa*; but not being able to master the place, after several unsuccessful attempts, he agreed to raise the siege, and soon after concluded a truce for five years, upon the emperor's paying him two thousand pounds weight of gold, and sending him a celebrated physician, by name *Tribunus*, who had formerly cured him of a dangerous distemper ³. Not long after the conclusion of the truce, *Cosroes*, observing the *Lazians* no-ways pleased with their late change, and apprehending they would soon revolt from him to the *Romans*, resolved to prevent a second revolution,

¹ Idem ibid. c. 15, 29. ² Idem ibid. ³ PROCOPIUS. l. iii. c. 12. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 27.

The Lazians revolt to the Romans.

The Romans obliged to raise the siege of Petra.

The Persians put to flight.

by causing *Gubazes* their king to be murdered, by transplanting the natives into *Persia*, and peopling the country, which opened him a passage into the *Euxine* sea, with *Persians*, and other nations well affected to his interest. But his design being discovered to *Gubazes*, by those who were to put it in execution, that prince had recourse, in the most submissive manner imaginable, to *Justinian*; who, forgetting his past conduct, received him anew under his protection, and, without loss of time, dispatched eight thousand men, under the command of *Dagistæus*, to his assistance; who, being joined by a numerous body of *Lazians*, laid siege to *Petra*, one of the strongest places in *Lazica*, defended by a *Persian* garison, and stored with all manner of provisions. *Cosroes*, alarmed at this sudden revolution, sent a powerful army, under the conduct of *Mermeroes*, to the relief of the place. At their approach, *Dagistæus*, who was a young unexperienced officer, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost consternation towards the *Phasis*. Upon his retreat, *Mermeroes* advanced to *Petra*, the garison of which place, consisting at first of fifteen hundred men, was now reduced to three hundred and fifty, of whom an hundred and fifty were quite disabled, and unfit for service. *Mermeroes* repaired with great expedition the breaches in the walls, garisoned the place with three thousand men, and returned with the rest of his army into *Persarmenia*, not thinking it safe to continue in *Lazica*, whither, he was informed, fresh forces were marching, under the conduct of *Recithangus*, by birth a *Thracian*, who had served in the army from his childhood, and was deemed one of the best commanders of his age. At his departure, he left a body of five thousand men encamped on the banks of the *Phasis*, to watch the motions of the *Romans* and *Lazians*. Of these *Gubazes* and *Dagistæus* surpris'd one thousand, as they were straggling about in quest of booty; and having cut them all off to a man, fell unexpectedly in the dead of the night upon the main body, put most of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight. The *Romans* made themselves masters of their camp, in which, besides their ensigns and baggage, they found a great quantity of arms, and a considerable number of mules and horses. They pursued the fugitives to the confines of *Iberia*, intercepted several other parties that were conveying provisions into *Petra*; and having blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, returned with their booty and captives. *Cosroes* was no sooner informed of this overthrow, than he dispatched *Corianes*, with an army of *Aians* as well as *Persians*, into *Lazica*. But *Corianes* was attended with no better success than the other *Persian* generals;

generals ; for being met on the banks of the *Hippus* in *Colchis* by *Gubazes* and *Dagistæus*, his army was, after a most obstinate dispute, utterly defeated, and he himself slain *. These advantages were chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of *Gubazes*, at whose request *Dagistæus*, who had shamefully abandoned the siege of *Petra*, as we have related above, was recalled, and *Bessas*, an officer of great experience, appointed to command in his room. He immediately invested *Petra*, and in the end reduced that important place, tho' defended by the *Persian* garison with such obstinacy, as favoured of madness and despair. *Bessas* ordered *Petra* to be dismantled; and leaving only twelve thousand men in *Lazica*, viz. three thousand in *Archæopolis* the metropolis, and nine thousand encamped on the banks of the *Phasis*, under the command of *Odonachus*, he retired with the rest into *Armenia*, his own government. Upon his retreat, *Mermeroes* entered *Lazica*; and having first obliged *Odonachus* to withdraw into the *Roman* territories, he laid siege to *Archæopolis*, which however he was forced to raise, having, in several assaults, been repulsed with great loss by the garison. Notwithstanding these hostilities, the *Persian* embassadors, who had been sent to *Constantinople* the preceding year, continued still there, and soon after the reduction of *Petra*, concluded a five years truce with the emperor, upon his paying to the *Persian* king an immense sum, which raised great complaints among the people, who were rather for pursuing the war, than submitting to pay a tribute, as they styled it, to the king of *Persia* †. But *Justinian* was glad to come to any agreement with the *Persians* upon any terms, that he might not be diverted from pursuing the advantages he had gained over the *Goths* in *Italy*, of which we shall speak in a more proper place. The truce was no sooner expired, than the *Persians*, invading anew *Lazica*, took by stratagem the strong castle of *Telepsis*; and then falling upon the *Roman* army, which lay encamped at a small distance, put them to flight at the first onset. *Gubazes*, king of *Lazica*, provoked at the cowardice of the *Roman* generals, acquainted the emperor with their shameful behaviour; which incensed them to such a degree, that they agreed to dispatch him: and accordingly, having accused him at court of treachery, as if he privately corresponded with the *Persians*, by wresting the instructions sent them by the emperor, they murdered him, giving out, that he designed to betray them, and deliver all the *Romans* into the hands of the *Persians*. The *Lazicans*, highly incensed against the authors of his death, would have

The Persians utterly defeated.

Petra taken by the Romans.

A truce between the Romans and Persians,

The king of Lazica barbarously murdered by the Romans.

* Idem, l. iv. c. 25, 26. PROCOPIUS. l. ii. c. 10.

† Idem, l. ii.

c. 17, 28, 29.

The Persians defeated.

A peace concluded.

The Hunns break into Thrace.

Are put to flight by Belisarius.

Belisarius disgraced.

revolted from the *Romans*, and joined the *Persians*, had not *Justinian* appeased them, by causing all those who were any-ways accessory to the murder, to be publicly executed, and the deceased king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room. In the mean time the *Persians*, to the number of sixty thousand men, advanced, under the command of *Nachoragan*, into *Lazica*, and laid siege to *Phasis*; but *Justin*, who commanded the *Roman* troops, falling upon him unexpectedly, cut twelve thousand of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest, with their general, to save themselves within the *Persian* dominions. This defeat so disheartened *Cosroes*, that he immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople* to sue for a peace; which was accordingly concluded upon terms equally honourable to both princes^u. The public rejoicings for a peace with *Persia*, after such a long and destructive war, were disturbed by a dreadful earthquake, which continued for several days, and overturned a great many stately edifices, and several churches, in which perished an incredible number of people, who had crowded to them during the public confusion. About the same time the plague, which had raged a few years before with great fury all over the empire, broke out anew at *Constantinople*, and swept off many thousands of people. The same year 558, the *Hunns*, passing the *Danube* in the depth of winter, marched in two bodies directly for *Constantinople*, and laying waste the countries through which they passed, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of the city. But *Belisarius*, though now weakened by old age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword, marching out against them with a handful of men, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them^w. However, the emperor, to prevent them from breaking anew into the *Roman* dominions, agreed to pay them an annual pension, upon their promising to defend the empire against all other barbarians, and to serve, when required, in the *Roman* armies^x. This was the last exploit performed by *Belisarius*, who, upon his return to *Constantinople*, was disgraced, stripped of all his employments, and confined to his house. *Agathias* ascribes his disgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deservedly acquired, and the favour he was in with the people, persuaded the emperor, whose jealousy increased with his years, that *Belisarius* aspired at the sovereignty; that the people, who preferred him to the most

^u Idem ibid. & bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 8, 9. AGATH. l. iii. p. 81—90. ^w AGATH. l. v. p. 155. ^x Idem, p. 156, 157.

renowned heroes of antiquity, were all to a man ready to second him in his ambitious views; that the soldiery were still more attached to him than the people, &c. Upon these malicious and groundless insinuations, the emperor, forgetting the past services of the most deserving of all his subjects, of one who had been the bulwark of the empire, and the restorer of the antient military discipline, recalled him, according to *Agathias*, without so much as suffering him to pursue his late victory over the *Hunns*; and upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, which he deserved to enter in triumph, confined him to his house, after having, with the utmost ingratitude, divested him of all his authority, honours, and employments¹. The more modern writers pretend, that *Justinian* caused his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to such poverty, that he was forced to beg from door to door in the streets of *Constantinople*. But the antient authors assure us, that the year following, the emperor, fully convinced of his innocence, restored him to all his employments, which he enjoyed, without any farther disgrace, to his death. About this time, three of the emperor's chief officers, viz. *Ablavius*, *Marcellus*, and *Sergius*, conspired against him, upon what provocation we know not; but the plot being discovered by some persons, whom *Ablavius* had attempted to draw into it, the conspirators were seized, before they could put their design in execution. *Marcellus*, after having defended himself with great resolution against the officers who were sent to arrest him, stabbed himself with his own sword. *Ablavius* and *Sergius* were publicly executed, and the rest of the conspirators banished². The emperor escaped the conspiracy; but did not long out-live it, being soon after carried off by a natural, but sudden, death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, that is, according to the most probable opinion, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and seven months. His public works, the wars which were, in his reign, carried on with surprising success by his two renowned generals *Belisarius* and *Narses*, and the new form which he gave the *Roman* jurisprudence, have deservedly procured him the surname of *Great*. Of his public buildings, the reader will find a distinct account in *Procopius*, who assures us, that there was scarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect some stately edifice, nor a province, wherein he did not build or repair some city, fort, or castle³. In war he recovered, and reunited to the empire, *Africa* and *Italy*, after they had been long held, the former by the *Vandals*, and the latter by the *Goths*, as we shall relate in the history of these

A conspiracy against Justinian.

Justinian dies.

¹ AGATH. hist. Justin. c. 9. ² PROCOP. hist. secr. 3. 13.
³ Idem, de ædific.

two nations. In peace he signalized his reign by many excellent laws, but chiefly by the famous code, called from him the *Justinian code*. In the very beginning of his reign he published an edict, directed to the senate of *Constantinople*, for the compiling of a new code. For this work he chose the most famous and learned men of his age, at the head of whom was the celebrated civilian *Tribonianus*, who were to collect into one volume all the constitutions contained in the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenian*, and *Theodosian* codes, and join to them such as had been published by *Theodosius* the younger, and the other lawful emperors his successors, down to *Justinian* himself. Whatever in those laws seemed superfluous was to be retrenched, with the prefaces; their sense and meaning was to be rendered more clear, and the names of the princes who published them, the place, the time, and the persons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each constitution. In this form and method was the new code compiled in little more than a year; so that it was published in the beginning of the third year of *Justinian's* reign, with an edict, commanding that code alone to be quoted by pleaders at the bar, and declared all laws that were not contained in it to be of no force or authority. It was divided into twelve books, and contained the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from *Adrian* to *Justinian*; whereas the *Theodosian* code began with *Constantine the Great*. *Justinian*, not satisfied with the code alone, undertook soon after a more noble, and far more difficult, work, which was to collect, and digest into order, the opinions and answers of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the *Roman* laws, especially on the *edictum perpetuum*, their different treatises, &c. in all above two thousand volumes. This hard and crabbed task was completed in the space of three years by *Tribonianus* and sixteen other able civilians, and called by the *Latins* *digesta*, because the opinions of the antient civilians were there digested into order, and by the *Greeks* *pandectæ*, as containing all the antient jurisprudence. When this great work was near completed, *Justinian* ordered *Tribonianus*, *Theophilus*, and *Dorodeus*, to compile, for the benefit of the youth, the *institutes*, or first principles of the law, which were published about a month before the *pandects*^b. As many things were found to be wanting in the code, and *Justinian* himself had, after the publication of it, enacted several laws; in the eighth year of his reign, that is, in 534, he ordered a second code to be made, in which were inserted all the constitutions, about two hundred in number, which he had enacted since the publication of the first,

His *pandects*.

His *institutes*.

^b Vide BALDUIN. in *Justinian*. p. 497. RITTERS. in *jure Justin.* in *proœm.* c. 1. num. 4. EDMUND. MERIL. ad 50 *decis.* Justin.

and several others contained in the former code, either corrected or annulled. This second code, styled *de repetita prælectione*, His code de
repetita
præle-
ctione. was published five years after the first, and at the same time a decree, declaring the first to be of no force, and forbidding any constitutions or laws to be quoted in the courts of justice, that were not contained in the new code *de repetita prælectione* ^c. Thus was the first code, in a manner, abolished, and all authority given to the second, viz. to that which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and seven hundred and seventy-six articles, containing the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from *Adrian* to *Justinian*. After the publication of the *institutes*, *pandects*, and code, *Justinian* enacted several laws, which were joined together in a distinct volume, called the *novellæ constitutiones*. His no-
vellæ. These were published from time to time by *Justinian*, not in the *Latin*, excepting some few, but in the *Greek* tongue, and collected into one volume after his death ^d. *Justinian* is not only commended for his indefatigable care in reforming the *Roman* jurisprudence, but for his piety, prudence, justice, clemency, and every virtue becoming a person in his high station. As for the secret history, filled with most bitter invectives against *Justinian*, and the empress *Theodora*, it is, by the ablest critics, looked upon as not the work of *Procopius*, but as a scandalous libel fathered upon that writer. It is true, he loaded the people with heavy taxes; but the money thus raised was neither hoarded up by him, nor applied to the gratification of any unlawful passion, but employed in paying his numerous forces; in carrying on the many wars in which he was engaged; in repairing the public buildings, and embellishing with stately edifices the cities of the empire. In the latter end of his reign, he seemed to countenance the *Eutychians*, no doubt, at the instigation of the empress *Theodora*, who held their doctrine; which has given occasion to many bitter invectives against her memory. *Justinian* may deservedly be called the last *Roman* emperor; for in his reign the majesty of the empire seemed to revive, but soon vanished again, as we shall see in the sequel of the present history.

^c BALDUIN. RITTERS. *ibid.* ^d CUJAC. l. viii. obs. c. ult.
BALDUIN. *Justin.* p. 573. RITTERS. in *proëm.* c. 4. num. 9.

C H A P. XXXIII.

The Roman history, from the death of Justinian the Great, to the deposing of Irene, and the promotion of Nicephorus.

Justin proclaimed emperor.

JUSTINIAN dying without issue, *Justin*, the son of his sister *Vigilantia*, whom, in his life-time, he had designed for his successor, was by the senate proclaimed emperor, and crowned, with great solemnity, by *John* patriarch of *Constantinople*. As the people were highly displeased with the deceased emperor, for abolishing the office of consul, the only mark they had left of their antient liberty, *Justin* promised to restore it; and accordingly took upon him that title on the first of *January* of the year 566, distributing on that occasion large sums amongst the people, according to the antient custom.

He refuses to pay the annual pension to the Avari.

During his consulship, the *Avari* or *Abari*, a *Scythian* nation, sent ambassadors to demand the pension formerly paid them by *Justinian*; but the *Massagetes*, who at this time began to be called *Turks*, and inhabited the country bordering on the *Tanais* to the east, pressing the emperor not to comply with the demands of the *Avari*, their declared enemies, nor take them under his protection, *Justin* not only refused to pay them the usual pension, but threatened to make war upon them, if they offered to disturb the peace of the empire. The courage and resolution which the emperor exerted on this occasion, gave so great satisfaction to the people, that they began to prefer him even to *Justinian*, who, they said, had, with the spoils of his own subjects, enriched the barbarians, the avowed enemies of the empire. But *Justin* soon forfeited, by his cruelty, and insatiable avarice, the good opinion which the people entertained of him; for the following year, he caused *Justin* his kinsman to be seized in his house, and conveyed to *Alexandria*, where he was, by his orders, inhumanly murdered, for no other crime but because he was beloved by the people. The empress *Sophia*, niece to the late empress *Theodora*, a woman of a cruel, haughty, and suspicious temper, is thought to have put him upon this, and several other bloody executions*. The following year 569, is remarkable

He causes Justin his kinsman to be murdered.

* EVAGR. l. ii. c. 14. PHOT. c. 113.

for the irruption of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, where they found- *The Lom-*
 ed a new kingdom, which continued for the space of two hun- *bards in-*
 dred years, and upwards. But of their wars with *Justin* and *vade Italy.*
 his successors, till the total reduction of *Italy*, and of the kings
 of the *Lombards* who reigned there, from *Alboin* to *Desiderius*,
 taken prisoner by *Charlemagne*, we shall speak at length
 hereafter. *Italy* was anew dismembered from the empire, *The Per-*
 and great part of it lost in the reign of *Justin*; but some farme-
 amends was made for so great a loss by the acquisition of *Per-* *nians re-*
sarmania, the inhabitants, who were cruelly persecuted by the *volt to the*
Persians, on account of the christian religion, which they pro- *Romans.*
 fessed, shaking off the yoke, and recurring to the protection of
 the *Roman* emperor, to whom they submitted, upon certain ar-
 ticles sworn to by both parties. *Cosroes*, informed of their revolt,
 dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to divert the emperor
 from espousing their cause, which, he said, was contrary to the
 treaties subsisting between the two empires. *Justin*, despising
 their menaces, resolutely answered, that the truce was expired,
 and that he could not deny his protection and assistance to a
 brave nation, who, professing the same religion with himself,
 were on that score cruelly persecuted and oppressed. Hereupon *The Per-*
Cosroes, having with incredible expedition raised a powerful *fians in-*
 army, divided it into two bodies, ordering the one to march *vade the*
 directly into *Syria*, under the conduct of *Artabanus*, while he *Roman*
 himself with the other invaded *Mesopotamia*. *Justin* in the *dominions.*
 mean time, utterly neglecting the necessary preparations to op-
 pose so formidable an enemy, wallowed in his usual pleasures,
 till news was brought him, that the *Persians* had already broken
 into his dominions. He then dispatched *Martianus*, captain of
 his guards, into the east, but without men, money or arms;
 so that he was forced to enrol such vagabonds, thieves and rob-
 bers, as offered themselves to him in his way. With these
 however he surprised and put to flight a small body of *Persians*,
 and, elated with that advantage, however inconsiderable, he
 had the confidence to sit down before *Nisibis*, the inhabitants,
 who scorned to shut their gates, rallying him from the walls,
 and asking him, Whether he had been placed there with his
 men to watch sheep, or besiege the town? The emperor ne- *The Ro-*
 vertheless, highly incensed against him for protracting, as he *mans a-*
 said, the siege, deprived him of his command, and sent one *bandon*
Acacius to succeed him; which so displeased the officers, who *the siege of*
 were well acquainted with the haughty and imperious temper *Nisibis.*
 of *Acacius*, that they abandoned the siege, and retired into *Sy-*
ria. In the mean time *Artabanus*, having passed the *Euphra-* *The Per-*
tes, advanced to *Antioch*; but not being able to reduce that *fians :ake*
 metropolis, he sat down before *Heraclea*, which he took by *several*
 assault, places

Justin
seized
with a
kind of
madness.

Tiberius
governs in
his room.

The gene-
rosity of
Cosphoes.

Tiberius
declared
Caesar.

Cosphoes
breaks into
the Roman
dominions.

assault, and laid in ashes. From *Heraclea*, he marched to *Apamea*, which submitted upon terms; but was nevertheless by his orders pillaged and burnt. After the reduction of *Apamea*, he joined the king, who had undertaken the siege of *Daras*, which being now carried on with fresh vigour, the garison was in the end obliged to submit, after having held out with great resolution and intrepidity for the space of five months. The loss of *Daras*, a place of the utmost importance, and the wonderful progress of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, affected the emperor, now convinced of his imprudent conduct, to such a degree, that he was seized with a kind of madness, which rendering him altogether incapable of managing the public affairs, *Tiberius*, by birth a *Thracian*, who had discharged, with great reputation, the first employments in the state, was, by the advice and interest of the empress *Sophia*, with the unanimous consent of the senate, appointed to govern in his room. *Tiberius* immediately dispatched *Trajan*, a person highly esteemed for his wisdom and address, to *Cosphoes*, with a letter from the empress *Sophia*, wherein she acquainted him with the misfortune that had befallen her husband, laid before him the deplorable state of the empire, and conjured him by all that was sacred, to forbear insulting a helpless woman, or invading a weak and defenceless state. She ended her letter by putting him in mind of the humanity formerly shewn him by the emperor *Justinian*, who, upon his being seized with a dangerous malady, sent the best physicians of the empire to attend him. *Cosphoes* was so sensibly affected with this letter, that, looking upon it as highly ungenerous to pursue the war, he immediately consented to a truce for three years^f. The following year 573, the emperor, who continued still indisposed, by the advice of the empress *Sophia*, raised *Tiberius* to the dignity of *Caesar*, resigning to him the whole management of affairs, and reserving for himself the bare name of emperor. *Tiberius*'s first care was to put himself in a condition of making head against the *Persians*, who, he apprehended, would not fail to invade the empire, as soon as the truce was expired. With this view he raised a very numerous and formidable army; but at the same time endeavoured, by means of his ambassadors, to change the truce into a lasting peace, and to establish a good understanding between the two empires. *Cosphoes*, deaf to all proposals, would not so much as admit the ambassadors to his presence, being bent upon recovering *Perfarmeria*; which accordingly he over-ran upon the expiration of the truce, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, and was already marching to *Cappadocia*,

^f EVAGR. I. v. c. 7—13. CEDREN. I. iii. c. 18. MENAND. c. 16.

with a design to besiege *Casarea*, the metropolis of that province; but *Justinian*, the brother of *Justin*, who had been basely murdered at *Alexandria*, as we have related above, meeting him at the head of a numerous army, obliged him to venture an engagement, in which great numbers of his troops were cut in pieces, and the rest forced to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. *Cosrholes* was so grieved for this overthrow, that he fell sick, and died, after a long and glorious reign of forty-eight years. *Justinian* in the mean time, entering *Persia* with his victorious army, continued there, putting all to fire and sword, till the latter end of *June*, when he returned in triumph to the *Roman* territories^z. The following year, the emperor *Justin* died, after having reigned sixteen years, nine months, and some days. He is painted by all the writers of that age as a voluptuous prince, so addicted to his pleasures, as utterly to neglect public affairs; whence the state is said to have suffered no less from his inactivity and indolence, than from the tyranny and cruelty of any of his predecessors^h. Upon his death, *Tiberius*, who, had for some years governed the empire with an absolute sway, was by the senate and people declared emperor. The new prince immediately conferred the title of *Augusta* upon *Anastasia*, whom he owned for his wife, to the extreme disappointment of *Sophia*, who, having greatly contributed to his preferment, upon a presumption that he would marry her, grew his implacable enemy, when she found him married to another, and attempted to raise *Justinian* to the empire. But the plot being seasonably discovered, the emperor caused all her treasures to be seized, which was the only punishment he inflicted upon her; and depriving *Justinian* of the command of the army in the east, sent *Mauritius* to succeed him. *Mauritius* was descended from an antient *Roman* family; but born in *Arebissus*, a city of *Capadocia*, had served in the army from his infancy, and was no less esteemed for his exemplary piety, and attachment to the orthodox faith, than for his courage and experience in war. Upon his arrival in the east, he found *Hormisdas*, who had succeeded *Cosrholes* in the kingdom of *Persia*, obstinately bent upon war, and deaf to the advantageous proposals offered him by the emperor. Hereupon, having drawn together his forces, he marched with incredible expedition to the confines of *Persia*, and falling unexpectedly upon the *Persian* army, commanded by the king in person, gave them a total overthrow, took their camp, with all the royal plate and treasure, which he immediately sent to *Constantinople*, and made an incredible number of prisoners,

*Is defeated
and dies of
grief.*

Justin dies.

*Tiberius
declared
emperor.*

*The em-
press So-
phia con-
spires
against
him.*

*The Persi-
ans de-
feated by
Mauritius.*

^z EVAG. l. v. c. 17. AGATH. l. iv. c. 13. ^h PAUL. DIACON. de gest. Langob. l. iii. c. 11.

He gains
a second
victory,
takes se-
veral
places, &c.

He marries
the empe-
ror's
daughter,
and is
declared
Cæsar.
The Avari
break into
the em-
pire.

Tiberius
dies.

Mauritius
succeeds
him.

who were likewise sent to the emperor, by whose orders they were richly cloathed, and suffered to return to *Persia*, *Tiberius* hoping, by that generous behaviour, to incline the young prince to an accommodation. But *Hormisda*, determined to pursue the war at all events, dispatched his two generals, *Tamochosroes* and *Aduasmenes*, to the borders, at the head of the most numerous army that had been seen for many years in *Persia*. *Mauritius*, however, according to the succinct and confused account which *Evagrius* gives us of this war, gained a complete victory over them, disperfed their numerous forces, took several castles, strong-holds, and towns, enriched his army with an immense booty, and made such numbers of captives, as were sufficient to people the islands and countries that had been long uninhabited, and to form armies against other nations at enmity with the empire¹. Upon his return to court, he was received with the greatest demonstrations imaginable of esteem and affection by *Tiberius*, who soon after gave him in marriage his daughter *Constantia*, and raised him to the dignity of *Cæsar*; which was declaring him his successor^k. In the mean time, *Hormisda*, quite disheartened after the great losses he had sustained, sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which was in the end concluded; but not long observed by that faithless prince, as we shall see anon. The year following the *Avari* or *Abari*, dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, made a sudden irruption into *Pannonia*, under the conduct of their *Chagan*, or king, and made themselves masters of *Sirmium*. *Chagan*, elated with this success, dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople* to demand the annual pension, which the emperor had neglected to pay the year before, and besides, an immense sum by way of interest. But *Tiberius*, highly provoked at the arrogance of the ambassadors, instead of complying with their exorbitant demands, ordered his troops to take the field. The *Avari*, not caring to venture an engagement, retired beyond the *Danube*, watching an opportunity of invading anew the *Roman* territories^l. The year following, that is, according to the most probable opinion, in 586, died the emperor *Tiberius*, after having reigned four years alone, and three years and eleven months with *Justin*. All the antients speak of him as a prince of extraordinary abilities, and one who proved a true father to his people. Some time before his death, he had caused *Mauritius* to be declared emperor, in the presence of *John* the patriarch of *Constantinople*, of all the nobility, and the chief citizens, as a person the best qualified in the whole empire for that high station. *Hormisda*, king of *Persia*, no sooner heard of the death of *Tiberius*, than he

¹ EVAG. l. v. c. 9.

^k ZICEPH. l. xviii. c. 6. EVAG. ibid.

^l MENAND. c. 23. THEOPHYL. Simocat. c. 3.

broke into the empire at the head of a numerous and powerful army, pretending that the peace he had lately concluded with *Tiberius* was no longer binding. Against him the emperor dispatched one *John a Thracian*, who at first gained some small advantages over the enemy; but being soon after defeated, he was recalled, and *Philippicus*, who had married the emperor's sister, sent in his room. The new general was attended with better success; for having engaged the *Persians*, who, encouraged by the predictions of their magi, and confiding in their numbers, advanced to the battle as to a certain triumph, he obliged them to retire with great loss to their camp. The next morning the *Persians* renewed the fight, but were again defeated with a far greater loss than they had sustained the day before. After this victory, *Philippicus* detached *Heraclius*, his lieutenant, with part of his army, ordering them to enter and lay waste the enemy's country. The *Persian* general, named from his office *Cardariga*, being informed by some deserters, that the *Roman* army was divided, rallied his forces; and falling in the dead of the night upon *Philippicus*, put him to flight, and took a great number of prisoners. *Heraclius*, in the mean time, having passed the *Tigris*, laid waste the country far and wide, made himself master of several strong-holds, and then returned loaded with booty to *Philippicus*, who was drawing all his forces together with a design to retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms with some remarkable exploit. But in the mean time, the emperor, being informed of his late misconduct, ordered him to resign the command of the army to *Priscus*, and return to *Constantinople*. *Priscus* was an officer of great courage and experience; but as he was universally abhorred by the soldiery, on account of his severity and imperious temper, a few days after his arrival, they rose up in a general mutiny against him, plundered his tent, and would have cut him in pieces, had he not saved himself by a timely flight, and taken refuge in the neighbouring city of *Edeffa*. Upon his retreat the mutineers obliged *Germanus*, governor of *Phœnicia*, to take upon him the command of the army, which he had not long held, before the emperor, informed of the mutiny, sent *Philippicus* again into the east to bring them back to their duty. *Germanus* was for resigning the command to him; but the mutinous soldiery openly declaring they would obey no other leader, he was forced, both against his own will and the emperor's, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, to continue in the post to which they had raised him. In the mean time, the *Persians*, taking advantage of these disturbances, broke into the empire, destroying every thing with fire and sword. But *Germanus*, marching against them, engaged them, according to *Evagrius*, with

The Persians defeated by Philippicus.

Who is defeated by him in his turn.

A general mutiny in the Roman army.

The Persians defeated by Germanus.

The mutiny appeased by Gregory, bishop of Antioch.

The Persians defeated by Commentiolus.

Hormisdas, king of Persia, deposed, and Cosrhoes, his son, raised to the throne.

such success, that scarce one was left alive to carry the news of their defeat into *Persia*^m. Not long after this victory, the mutiny was at length appeased, after it had lasted a year and upwards, by *Gregory*, bishop of *Antioch*, a person greatly beloved and revered by the soldiery for the sanctity of his life, and the kindness he had on several occasions shewed them. Moved by his tears and eloquence, they submitted in the end to *Philippicus*, who, after having published a general act of oblivion, marched without loss of time against the *Persians*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, in which the general himself, by name *Marazas*, and almost the whole army, were cut in pieces, only two thousand two hundred of so great a multitude having escaped the general slaughterⁿ. The same year, the city of *Antioch* was once more almost utterly destroyed by a dreadful earthquake, in which above thirty thousand persons were either buried under the ruins, or swallowed up by the earth^o. The following year 588, *Sittas*, one of the citizens of *Martyropolis*, having betrayed that important place to the *Persians*, *Philippicus*, early in the spring, laid siege to it; but not being able to reduce it, he was recalled, and *Commentiolus* appointed to command in his room, who falling upon the *Persians* soon after his arrival, gained a complete victory over them, made himself master of a castle called *Ochas*, built on a high rock over-against *Martyropolis*, and from thence so annoyed the garison with his warlike engines, that they were in the end obliged to submit, and deliver up the place. *Hormisdas*, ascribing the bad success of his arms to the cowardice of his general, by name *Barames*, deprived him of his command, sending him at the same time the habit of a woman, as more becoming him than the military attire. *Barames*, to revenge this affront, conspired against *Hormisdas*, who was universally hated on account of his cruelty, and having easily gained over the greater part of the army, and amongst the rest *Ferrochanes*, who had been sent to command in his room, he fell upon the king with the other conspirators, and pulling him down from his throne, tore the diadem from off his head, and conveyed him under a strong guard to the public prison. The next day the nobility, whom he had provoked with his cruelties, ordered his wife, and one of his sons, to be sawed asunder in his presence; and then putting out his eyes, they threw him into a dungeon, where he was treated with great humanity by his eldest son *Cosrhoes*, whom the rebels had raised to the throne. But the deposed king, not able to bear so great a change, instead of acknowledging the kindness shewn

^m EVAGR. *ibid.* THEOPHYLACT. c. 8, 9.

ⁿ EVAGR. *ibid.*

THEOPHYLACT. c. 10, 15.

^o EVAGR. l. iii. c. 10.

him by his son, who dared not release him, trampled under foot whatever was sent him; which provoked *Cosrboes* to such a degree, that in the transport of his passion he caused him to be beaten to death. Though the *Persians* abhorred *Hormisda*, yet the aversion they conceived against *Cosrboes*, on account of this unnatural murder, was so great, that the nobility, people, and soldiery, conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and obliged him to take refuge in the *Roman* dominions. *Mauritius*, touched with compassion, and reflecting on the uncertainty of all human grandeur, received him at *Constantinople* with all possible demonstrations of kindness, entertained him in a manner suitable to his condition, and having presented him with immense sums, sent him back at the head of a powerful army, which, entering *Persia*, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, obliged *Barames*, their ringleader, to take refuge amongst the neighbouring barbarians, and, restoring the banished prince to the throne of his ancestors, returned in triumph to the *Roman* territories ^P. Upon the restoration of *Cosrboes*, a profound peace ensued in the east, so that the emperor was at leisure to pursue the war against the *Avari*, who, passing the *Danube*, had entered *Thrace*, and made themselves masters of several strong-holds in that province. *Mauritius* marched against them in person at the head of the army lately returned from the east; but, after several battles fought with dubious success, he was in the end obliged to purchase a peace; which, however, the king of the *Avari* did not long observe: for entering into an alliance with the *Gepidæ*, the *Sclavi*, and other neighbouring barbarians, he returned the following year, bragging that he would utterly abolish the *Roman* name, and establish a new empire over all people and nations. After he laid waste *Thrace*, he approached *Constantinople* with his numerous army; which struck such terror into the inhabitants, that they were for quitting *Europe*, and retiring with their families and effects to *Chalcedon*, and other places in *Asia*. But the emperor, unmoved at the impending storm, prevailed upon them not to abandon their native country to the fury of the barbarians, assuring them, that heaven would not suffer the peace, which *Chagan* had confirmed with the most solemn oaths, to be thus violated with impunity. The citizens, encouraged by the words and example of the pious prince, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: but at this juncture their preparations proved unnecessary; for a violent plague breaking out in the enemy's camp, swept off daily great numbers of them, and amongst the rest seven of *Chagan's* sons; which so terrified the

Cosrboes,
driven out,
is restored
by Mauri-
tius.

The Avari
invade the
empire.

Obliged by
a plague to
return to
their own
country.

^P NICEPH. l. ii. c. 4. EVAGR. *ibid.*

barbarians,

Mauritius
disobliges
the people
and sol-
diery.

The army
on the Da-
nube de-
clares Pho-
cas empe-
ror.

Mauritius
retires.

Phocas
crowned
emperor at
Constanti-
nople.

barbarians, that they resolved to abandon the *Roman* territories, and return beyond the *Danube*. *Caghan*, when upon the point of departing, offered to set at liberty the *Roman* captives, of whom he had twelve thousand, for a very inconsiderable sum a head. But the emperor refusing to ransom them, because they had been for the most part concerned in the mutiny, which happened in the beginning of his reign, *Chagan*, transported with rage, put them all to the sword. This occasioned a mutiny in the army, and a great tumult at *Constantinople*, where the populace insulted the emperor in a most outrageous manner⁹. The following year, the *Avari*, under the conduct of their warlike king, renewed their ravages, but were in five successive battles overthrown by *Priscus*, with the loss of above thirty thousand men, and obliged to quit the *Roman* dominions. *Priscus* returned to *Constantinople*; but *Peter*, the emperor's brother, who commanded an army on the *Danube*, was ordered to cross that river, and winter in the enemy's country. This order the soldiers, who had conceived an irreconcilable aversion to *Mauritius* ever since he refused to ransom the captives, would by no means comply with, looking upon it as given on purpose to expose them to new hardships. Hereupon a general mutiny ensuing, they declared a centurion, by name *Phocas*, emperor, bestowing upon him, with repeated acclamations, the title of *Augustus*. News of the revolt of the army, and the promotion of *Phocas*, being brought to *Constantinople*, the populace, ever fond of change, rose against *Mauritius*, who finding himself abandoned by his guards, embarked on a small vessel with his wife and children, proposing to retire in disguise to some place of safety; but being driven back by contrary winds, he took refuge in the church of the martyr *Autonomus*, about an hundred and fifty furlongs from *Constantinople*. In the mean time, *Phocas* arriving with his army, entered the city amidst the loud acclamations of the populace, and was solemnly crowned in the church of *St. John Baptist*, with his wife *Leontia*, by the patriarch, after he had promised to maintain the rights of the church, and to defend the faith of the councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. The following days he exhibited public sports, during which warm disputes arising between the two factions, viz. the blue and the green, *Phocas* sent his guards to appease the tumult, who having used roughly a tribune of the blue faction, those of the same party, threatening the emperor, cried out, that *Mauritius*, who would do them justice, was not yet dead. This awakened the jealousy of the tyrant, who

⁹ THEOPHYLACT. l. vii. c. 1—17. & l. viii. c. 2. CEDREN. ann. Maur. 19. ZONAR. p. 137.

thereupon

thereupon immediately ordered *Mauritius* to be dragged from *Mauritius*, his asylum to *Chalcedon*, where, by the tyrant's orders, five of his children were first inhumanly murdered in his presence, and then he himself beheaded. He beheld the death of his children with such firmness and christian resignation, as can hardly be matched in history, frequently repeating the words of the royal prophet, *Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy judgments*; nay, he was so far from uttering any complaints, that the woman, who was charged with the care of his little children, having concealed one of them, and placed her own in his room, the emperor would not suffer this kind fraud to take place, but discovered it to the executioners. The head of the emperor and the young princes were for some days left exposed to public view, and then buried with the bodies near the tomb of St. *Mamas*^r. Such was the end of *Mauritius*, after he had lived sixty years, and reigned sixteen years, three months, and some days^s.

The tyrant, not satisfied with the death of *Mauritius*, caused *Peter* his brother, *Commentiolus*, who had the chief command of the army, *George* the son of *Philippicus*, and *Præsentinus*, and an officer of great distinction, and much attached to the family of the deceased emperor, to be inhumanly massacred. *Theodosius*, the eldest son of *Mauritius*, had been sent by his father in the beginning of the troubles to solicit succours from *Cosroes*, whom he had restored to the throne of his ancestors; but before the young prince reached the confines of the empire, he was seized, and executed at a place called *Leucaëta*, at a small distance from *Nicaa* in *Bithynia*^t.

Phocas, thus proclaimed and acknowledged at *Constantinople*, sent, according to custom, his own image, and that of his wife *Leontia*, to *Rome*, where they were received, in the month of *April* of the present year 603, with loud and joyful acclamations, the people there being highly incensed against *Mauritius*, on account of the cruel exactions of the exarchs, and his other ministers in *Italy*. *Gregory*, surnamed the great, then bishop of *Rome*, caused the images to be lodged in the oratory of the martyr *Cæsarius*, and wrote letters to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his advancement to the throne, which he said was effected by a particular providence to deliver the people from the innumerable calamities, and heavy oppressions, under which they had long groaned. Had we no other character of *Phocas* and *Leontia*, but that which has been conveyed

and five of
his chil-
dren put
to death.

The empe-
ror's bro-
ther, and
several
others,
murdered
by Phocas.

Phocas's
character.

^r THEOPH. l. viii. c. 10. NICEPH. l. xviii. c. 41. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid. l. v. c. 23. ^s NICEPH. ibid. CEDREN. annal. an. PHOC. l. ^t GREG. l. xi. ep. 38.

The calamities of his reign.

He is hated by the people.

Narſes revolts.

And defeats Germanus ſent againſt him.

to us in *Gregory's* letters, we ſhould rank him amongſt the beſt princes mentioned in hiſtory. But all other writers paint him in quite different colours; and his actions, tranſmitted to us by ſeveral hiſtorians, evidently ſpeak him a moſt cruel and blood-thirſty tyrant. He was of middling ſtature, ſays *Cedrenus* ^w, deformed, and of a terrible aſpect: his hair was red, his eye-brows met, and one of his cheeks was marked with a ſcar, which, when he was in a paſſion, grew black and frightful: he was greatly addicted to wine and women, blood-thirſty, inexorable, bold in ſpeech, a ſtranger to compaſſion, in his principles a heretic. His wife *Leontia* was no better than he; in their reign therefore, continues the ſame writer, the unhappy people were overwhelmed with all manner of calamities, both public and private; great numbers of people were ſwept off either by famine or peſtilence; the earth reſuſed her fruits in ſeaſon; the winters were ſo ſevere, that the ſeas were frozen, and the fiſh deſtroyed. He endeavoured in the beginning of his reign to gain the affections of the people by celebrating the circenſian games with extraordinary pomp, and diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the people; but finding that, inſtead of applauding, they reviled him as a drunkard, he ordered his guards to fall upon them, who wounded ſome, killed others, and ſeizing great numbers of them, dragged them to priſon: but the populace riſing, ſet them at liberty, and thenceforth conceived an irreconcilable averſion to the tyrant ^x. The death of *Mauritius* was no ſooner known in the eaſt, than the celebrated *Narſes*, who at that time commanded the troops quartered on the frontiers of *Persia*, revolted; and ſeizing on the city of *Edeſſa*, eaſily perſuaded *Coſrholes* to join him, in order to depoſe the tyrant, and revenge the death of a prince, to whom he was indebted for his crown. *Coſrholes*, upon the firſt invitation, entered the *Roman* territories at the head of a mighty army, and over-ran without oppoſition all *Meſopotamia*. Hereupon *Germanus* was ſent into the eaſt; but *Narſes* meeting him not far from *Edeſſa*, engaged him, and put him to flight. *Germanus* dying a few days after of a wound he received in the engagement, *Leontius*, who was ſent to ſucceed him, having, upon his arrival, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by *Narſes*, was in like manner defeated, and his army diſperſed; which provoked the tyrant to ſuch a degree, that he not only recalled him, but ordered him to be led about in chains, expoſing him thus to the outrages and inſults of the populace. *Phocas*, deſpairing of ſucceſs ſo long as *Narſes* continued in the *Persian* intereſt, left no ſtone unturned to gain him over; but after he had in the end,

^w CEDREN. ad Phoc. ann. 1.

^x Idem ibid.

with



with the most solemn oaths, and repeated assurances of indemnity and favour, persuaded him to return home, he no sooner had him in his power, than, unmindful of his promises and engagements, he caused him to be burnt alive, to the great grief and dissatisfaction of the *Romans*, by whom he was in a manner adored on account of the eminent services he had rendered the empire, and to the no less satisfaction of the *Persians*, who dreaded the very name of *Narfes*, and besides were highly provoked against him for his having lately forsaken them ^v. Though destitute of so renowned a leader, they pursued the war with great vigour, over-ran this year all *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*; and having committed every-where enormous cruelties, returned home with an immense booty, without meeting with the least opposition. *Phocas*, finding himself universally hated by the people on account of his cruelties at home, and the advantages gained by the enemies of the empire abroad, to strengthen and secure his authority by alliances with the nobility, in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 607, married his daughter *Domitia* to *Priscus*, a patrician, and captain of the guards. But in the magnificent shows that were exhibited on occasion of the nuptials, the people having saluted the bride and bridegroom with the title of *Augusti*, the jealous emperor ordered *Theophanes* and *Pamphylus*, who superintended the sports, and had exposed the images of *Priscus* and *Domitia*, without any evil design, to be beheaded in the circus; and would have likewise put *Priscus* to death, had not the people interposed in his behalf ^z. The jealousy of the tyrant being thus awakened, one *Peronia*, who was privy to all the secrets of *Constantina*, the widow of *Mauritius*, informed the emperor, that she maintained a private correspondence with *Germanus*, a man of great authority in the former reign, with a design to raise her son *Theodosius*, whom she believed still living, to the empire. Hereupon *Constantina* was immediately seized, and being put to the rack, confessed, that *Romanus*, by rank a patrician, was privy to the conspiracy. *Romanus* discovered upon the rack several others, and among the rest *Theodorus*, prefect of the east, *Helpidius*, *John*, *Ziza*, and many other persons of great distinction, who were all, by the emperor's orders, put to death, together with *Romanus* and *Germanus*, the tyrant not sparing even the daughter of the latter. As for *Constantina*, she was carried to the place where her husband had been put to death five years before, and there publicly executed with her three daughters ^a. The jealousy of the suspicious tyrant being heightened by these discoveries, incredible

Phocas gains over Narfes, who is by his orders burnt alive.

The emperor's cruelty.

Constantina, with her daughters, and many others, put to death.

^y CEDREN. & misc. hist. ad ann. Phoc. 3. ^z THEOPH. hist. miscel. l. lvii. c. 40. ^a Idem ibid. NICEPH. l. xviii. c. 41.

Syria, Palestine and Phœnicia over-run by the Persians.

Priscus conspires against the emperor.

An insurrection of the Jews at Antioch.

multitudes of persons of all ranks were daily dragged to prison, which by that means was so crowded, that great numbers died daily, suffocated with the stench and noisomeness of the place, till a pious matron, touched with compassion for the unhappy persons detained there, yielded her house adjoining to it to enlarge it ^b. While *Phocas* thus raged at home, *Cosroes* in the east laid waste without opposition *Syria*, *Palestine* and *Phœnicia*, putting all to fire and sword; and the following year having put to flight the troops that were sent against him, he entered *Galatia*, and committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in *Paphlagonia*, advanced as far as *Chalcedon* ^c. In the mean time, *Phocas*, instead of protecting his people against an implacable and insulting enemy, raged with greater fury than *Cosroes* himself; for this year, the sixth of his reign, he not only put to death all those who were any-ways related to *Mauritius*, but caused *Commentiolus*, governor of *Thrace*, and one of the best officers of the empire, with several other persons of great distinction, to be inhumanly murdered. These cruelties alarmed *Priscus*, son-in-law to the tyrant, who, apprehending sooner or later the same fate, resolved by some means or other to provide for his own safety, and to rid the world of so great a plague. Accordingly, being informed that *Heraclius*, governor of *Africa*, was privately carrying on a conspiracy in that province, instead of discovering it to his father-in-law, he drew over the chief men in the senate to the party of the conspirators, and at the same time dispatching persons, in whom he could confide, to *Heraclius*, advised him to send, without loss of time, his son *Heraclius*, and *Nicetas*, the son of *Gregoras*, his lieutenant, with what forces he could spare, to support the people and nobility, who were ready to revolt ^d. *Phocas*, in the mean while, not apprised of the danger that threatened him, dispatched *Bonofus*, whom he had lately appointed count of the east, with a considerable army to make head against the *Persians*; but while he was on his march, he received fresh letters from the emperor, injoining him to hasten to *Antioch*, where the *Jews*, rising against the christians, had massacred great numbers of them, and among the rest *Anastasius*, the celebrated patriarch of that city, whose dead body they had ignominiously dragged through the streets, and insulted in a most outrageous manner. *Bonofus* having attempted in vain to appease the tumult by fair means, fell upon the mutineers sword in hand, cut great numbers of them in pieces,

^b GLIC. annal. in Const. mag. ^c GLIC. in annal. p. 170. THEOPH. hist. misc. l. xvii. CEDREN. in annal. Phocæ. ^d GLIC. THEOPH. CEDR. ibid.

and drove the rest out of the city*. Thus was the tumult suppressed at *Antioch*; but at the same time far greater disorders happened at *Constantinople*, where the people, reviling the emperor at the public shows for his cruelty, drunkenness, and debaucheries, provoked him to such a degree, that, transported with rage, he caused several of them to be seized, who were either beheaded on the spot, or by his orders thrown headlong into the sea; which so enraged the rest, that they set fire to the palace, and the public prison; by which means those who were detained there made their escape. The tyrant's own court growing at length tired of him, a conspiracy was formed against him by those in whom he most confided. The chief authors of it were *Theodorus*, a *Cappadocian*, the *præfectus prætorio*, *Helpidius*, who had the care of the warlike engines, and *Anastasius*, the *comes largitionum*. These, with several others of great authority near his person, agreed to fall upon him in the hippodrome; but the conspiracy being discovered by *Anastasius*, the emperor ordered all those who had been privy to it, *Anastasius* himself not excepted, to be put to death†. *Phocas* escaped this danger; but the following year 610, the eighth of his reign, he was overtaken by the bloody doom he had long deserved. For *Heraclius*, the son of the governor of *Africa*, who bore the same name, taking upon him the title of emperor, and being acknowledged as such by the people of *Africa*, sailed from thence, with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army on board, for *Constantinople*, while *Nicetas* marched thither by the way of *Alexandria* and the *Pentapolis*. *Heraclius* steered his course to *Abydus*, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by several persons of rank, who had been banished by *Phocas*. From *Abydus* he sailed to *Constantinople*, where he engaged and utterly defeated the tyrant's fleet. *Phocas* took refuge in the palace; but one *Photinus*, whose wife he had formerly debauched, pursuing him with a party of soldiers, forced the gates, dragged the cowardly emperor from the throne, and having stripped him of the imperial robes, and cloathed him with a black vest, carried him in chains to *Heraclius*, who commanded first his hands and feet, then his arms and privy parts, and at last his head, to be cut off. The remaining part of his body was delivered up to the soldiers, who burnt it in the forum. We are told, that *Heraclius* having reproached him with his evil administration, he answered with great calmness, *It is incumbent on you to govern better*‡. Such was the deserved end of this cruel and bloody tyrant, after he

A tumult at Constantinople.

A conspiracy against the emperor discovered.

Heraclius proclaimed emperor in Africa.

Phocas, overcome in a sea-fight, is deposed and put to death.

* Hist. miscel. l. xvii. ann. Phoc. 7. CEDREN. an. 7. † Hist. miscel. an. 7. Phoc. ‡ NICEPH. l. xviii. c. 26. Miscel. ann. 7. Phoc.

had reigned seven years and some months. Upon his death, *Heraclius* was with loud acclamations proclaimed emperor; and being crowned by *Sergius*, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, he placed the imperial crown on the head of *Fabia*, thenceforth called *Eudocia*, the daughter of *Rogatus*, an *African*, who had been formerly betrothed to him. *Heraclius* was descended of a noble and opulent family in *Cappadocia*, of a majestic aspect, well skilled in the art of war, courageous, and able to bear the fatigues attending a military life. The people, who had long groaned under the tyrannical yoke of his predecessor, were highly pleased with the change: but their joy was somewhat allayed by dismal tidings from the east, where the *Persians* made themselves masters of *Edeffa* and *Apamea*, and penetrating as far as *Antioch*, cut off almost to a man a body of *Romans*, who attempted to stop them, committing every-where, without controul, most dreadful ravages and unheard-of cruelties. *Heraclius*, to answer the expectation the world had conceived of him, caused new levies to be made throughout the empire, the old corps being so intirely exhausted, that, of the many thousands who had seven years before revolted from *Mauritius*, and declared for *Phocas*, only two soldiers were now living, the rest being cut off, says *Cedrenus*, by the avenging hand of providence, for their treachery to their lawful prince^h. The new-raised troops were sent into *Cappadocia* under the command of *Crispus*, who nevertheless could not prevent the *Persians* from over-running that province the following year, and making themselves masters of *Casarea*, which they sacked, and laying waste both that province and *Armenia*, returned home loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captivesⁱ. On the third of *May* of the same year 611, the empress *Eudocia* was delivered of a son; but she died soon after, and was interred with extraordinary pomp. The son was called *Heraclius*, and afterwards *Constantine the younger*^k. *Heraclius*, not finding himself in a condition to restrain the *Persians* by force of arms, dispatched ambassadors to *Cosroes*, offering to pay him a yearly pension, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms. But *Cosroes*, deaf to all proposals, sent the next year a formidable army into *Syria*, under the conduct of *Rismizus*, who, after having ravaged without opposition that country, broke into *Palestine*, and took the city of *Jerusalem*, where they committed unheard-of cruelties. They are said to have sold ninety thousand christians to the *Jews*, who purchased them not with a design to use them as slaves, but to vent their

The Persians make themselves masters of several cities.

Ravage Cappadocia and Armenia.

Over-run Egypt and Palestine, and take Jerusalem.

^h CEDREN. Heracl. ann. 1. Heracl.

ⁱ THEOPH. hist. miscel. ann. 2.

^k ZONAR. p. 140.

inveterate hatred, and implacable rage against the christians, by racking them with all the torments cruelty itself could invent. *Zacharias*, the patriarch, was carried into *Persia*, with an immense booty, and part of the cross, as was believed, on which our Saviour suffered¹. The same year *Heraclius* married *Martina*, his brother's daughter, and caused her to be crowned with the usual pomp by *Sergius* the patriarch of *Constantinople*^m. To this incestuous marriage *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* ascribe all the calamities that afterwards befel him. The following year the *Persians* over-ran all *Egypt*, took and pillaged the city of *Alexandria*, and advancing from thence, as they met with no opposition, into *Africa*, laid siege to *Carthage*; but not being able to reduce it, they returned unmolested into *Persia*, carrying with them infinite numbers of captives, and the spoils of the several provinces, through which they passedⁿ. *Heraclius*, who continued all this time at *Constantinople*, where he created his son *Constantine Cæsar*, and gave the title of *Augusta* to his daughter, being well apprised, that he had not sufficient strength to make head against so formidable an enemy, sent once more ambassadors to *Cosroes*, putting him in mind of the kindness formerly shewn him by *Mauritius*, and offering to conclude a lasting peace with him upon what terms he himself should judge reasonable. But *Cosroes*, elated with his success, and aiming at nothing less than the utter destruction of the *Roman* name, returned the ambassadors the following blasphemous answer; *Let your master know, that I will hearken to no terms, till he has, with all his subjects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the sun, the great god of the Persians*^o. *Heraclius*, by this impious and insulting answer, awaked as it were from a lethargy, concluded a peace with the *Chagan* or king of the *Avari*; and having, with the consent of the clergy, coined into money the gold and silver vessels belonging to the churches, as the treasury was quite drained, he raised a powerful army, consisting not only of *Romans*, but of *Hunns*, *Avari*, and other barbarous nations. With these forces he resolved to march in person against *Cosroes*; and accordingly having appointed his son to govern in his absence, and under him *Sergius* the patriarch, and the patrician *Bonus*, a person of great wisdom and experience, he set out from *Constantinople* the day after *Easter*, training on his march such of his men as were raw and unexperienced. In the mean time *Sais*, the *Persian* general, who had ravaged all *Cappadocia*, taken by storm the city of *Ancyra*,

Cosroes will hearken to no terms.

Heraclius raises a powerful army.

He marches in person against the Persians.

¹ THEOPH. ad ann. Heracl. 5. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Hist. miscel.

l. iv. CEDREN. ann. Heracl. 6. LEONT. in vit. Joan. Eleemos.

^o Hist. miscel. l. xviii.

The treachery of their general.

Heraclius invades Persia, and gains a great victory.

and penetrated as far as *Chalcedon*, hearing that *Heraclius* was advancing with a mighty army, sent deputies to him to invite him to an interview, which he hoped, said the treacherous *Persian*, would end in a lasting peace, between the two empires. The emperor complied with his request; and believing him in earnest, sent seventy persons of distinction on an embassy to the king of *Persia*. But these the *Persian* general, with the utmost treachery, loaded with chains, and carried them thus bound into *Persia*, where they were thrown into prison, and treated with great inhumanity by *Cosroes*. *Sais* met with the punishment his treachery deserved; for the king, highly provoked against him for having seen the *Roman* emperor, and not brought him away prisoner with the rest, caused him to be flayed alive †. One *Sarbaras* was appointed to command in his room, who, entering *Asia* at the head of a numerous army, made a dreadful havock in that province. *Heraclius*, in the mean time, bent his march to the confines of *Armenia*; and having put to flight a party of *Persians* who guarded the straights leading into that province, he pursued his rout towards *Pontus*. As the year was far spent, the *Persians*, imagining he designed to take up his winter-quarters in *Pontus*, withdrew to theirs; which they had no sooner done, than *Heraclius* broke into their territories, destroying all before him with fire and sword. This sudden irruption obliged the *Persians* to quit *Cilicia*, which they had entered, and hasten to the defence of their own country. *Heraclius*, apprised of their approach, drew together his men dispersed about the country, and offered them battle, which they readily accepted, but were intirely defeated, the *Romans* remaining masters both of their camp and baggage. The emperor being, by the season, that was already far advanced, prevented from pursuing the advantages of this victory, put his forces into winter-quarters, and returned himself to *Constantinople* ^p. The following year *Cosroes* sent early in the spring *Sarnabazas* or *Sarmanazaris* to lay waste the *Roman* provinces, which obliged *Heraclius* to quit *Constantinople*, and hasten into the east. Upon his arrival in *Armenia*, he dispatched ambassadors to *Cosroes* with new proposals for an accommodation; which being by the *Persian* monarch rejected with great pride and arrogance, he invaded *Persia* anew, took several towns, which he levelled with the ground, and ravaged the country without controul. Being informed, that the king lay encamped with forty thousand chosen men near the city of *Gazacum* or *Gazacotis*, he directed his march

† THEOPH. *ibid.* CEDREN. *annal.* ann. 4. P NICEPH. in *Heracl.* c. 5. THEOPH. & CEDREN. *ad ann.* 13.

thither with a design to surprise him. But *Cosroes*, receiving *Puts Cos-* timely notice of his approach, instead of making the necessary *rhoe* to preparations to receive him, betook himself to a precipitous *flight*. flight. Upon his retreat, the emperor entered *Gazacum* with- *Ravages* out opposition, where he is said by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* to *the Persian* have found the immense treasures of *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia*, which *dominions,* he seized; and having secured them, with the many rich orna- *and takes* ments of a celebrated temple of the sun, he set fire to the city, *several* and marching with all possible expedition in pursuit of the king, *places.* he arrived at *Thebatman*, where *Theophanes* places the above-mentioned temple; and laying waste the countries through which he passed, continued his march to the frontiers of *Media*. But the summer being far spent, he thought it adviseable to give over the pursuit. Accordingly having set apart three days to return public thanks for the success of this glorious campaign, and implore the further protection of heaven, he opened the book of the gospels, pursuant to a custom which began to obtain about this time, and imagining he was enjoined there to winter in *Albania*, he directed his march to that province. In his retreat the *Persians*, desirous of recovering the immense booty which he carried with him, fell often upon his rear, but were constantly repulsed with great loss. As the weather proved very severe, and the captives, fifty thousand in number, were more affected with it than the rest, as being accustomed to a warmer climate, the good-natured emperor ordered them all to be released without ransom, giving them leave to return unmolested to their respective countries⁹. The following campaign proved no less successful to the *Romans*, *Heraclius* having defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and cut off great numbers of them, with their general *Sarablacas*, tho' the *Lazians* and other auxiliaries had shamefully abandoned him, and marched home. Encouraged with this success, he took the field next year early in the spring; and crossing the *Euphrates*, made himself master of *Samofata*, and several other places. *Sarabazas*, at the head of a numerous army, attempted to check the progress of his arms, but was utterly defeated on the banks of the *Sanis*. In this last battle the emperor gave signal proofs of his conduct, and personal courage. After this victory, *Heraclius* took up his winter-quarters at *Sebastia*, placing his troops in the neighbouring towns. *Cosroes*, transported with rage on seeing his armies thus shamefully defeated, seized on the wealth of all the churches within his dominions, and, out of hatred to *Heraclius*, raised a cruel persecution against the catholics, sparing none but such as embraced the doctrine of *Nestorius*. At

An instance
of his good-
nature.

He gains
great ad-
vantages
over the
Persians.

Cosroes
sirs up the
barba-

⁹ THEOPH. CEDREN. NICEPH. *ibid.*

the same time, by his ambassadors, he engaged in his cause the *Avari*, the *Hunns*, the *Sclavonians*, and other barbarous nations, who, by invading *Thrace*, and laying siege to *Constantinople*, were to divert the emperor from pursuing the war in *Persia*. *Heraclius*, apprised of these negotiations, tho' carried on with great secrecy, divided his forces into three armies, of which one was appointed to defend the city of *Constantinople*; the second under the conduct of *Theodorus*, the emperor's brother, was to watch the motions of *Sais*, who threatened to invade *Asia*, while the emperor himself led the third into *Lazica*, in order to invade from thence the *Persian* dominions. Pursuant to this plan, *Heraclius* advanced into *Lazica*, and being there joined by forty thousand *Chazari*, or, as *Cedrenus* calls them, eastern *Turks*, he entered *Persia* in the depth of winter; and meeting with no opposition, laid waste several provinces. On the other hand the *chagan*, or king of the *Avari*, and the other barbarous nations in alliance with the king of *Persia*, breaking into *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages there, and in the end laid siege to *Constantinople*; but being in several attacks repulsed by the garison, and having lost the flower of their army, they thought it adviseable to drop the enterprise, and retire. About the same time *Sais*, who had under his command the flower of the *Persian* army, received a dreadful overthrow from *Theodorus*, who lost but a very small number of men. The following year 626, *Heraclius*, invading *Persia* in the depth of winter, advanced as far as *Nineveh*, where he was met by *Razastes*, to whom *Cosroes*, distrusting his other generals, had committed the whole management of the war. Hereupon a battle ensuing, the *Persians*, after an obstinate dispute, were put to flight, and their general himself slain, the *Romans* having lost on that occasion but fifty men; which the ecclesiastic writers ascribe to the miraculous assistance of heaven. In this battle the emperor behaved with his usual bravery, having killed three *Persian* commanders with his own hand^r. *Cosroes*, upon the news of this defeat, fled to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and there shut himself up with his wives, children and treasures, while *Heraclius*, having now no army to oppose him, made a dreadful havock of the most fertile provinces of the *Persian* dominions, destroying all with fire and sword. At *Distagerda* he found the ensigns and standards, which at different times had been taken from the *Romans*, and in other places rescued incredible numbers of *Roman* captives. In the mean time *Sarbarazes*, to divert *Heraclius* from ravaging *Persia*, laid siege to *Chalcedon*;

Who sit
down be-
fore Con-
stantino-
ple, but
are forced
to raise the
siege.

The empe-
ror gains
other vic-
tories.

^r Idem ad ann. Heracl. 17.

but,

but, after he had continued some time before the place, without being able to reduce it, *Cosroes* sent private orders to *Chardarichas*, another officer, to murder the general, and lead the army back into *Persia*. But the king's letter was intercepted, and brought to the emperor's son at *Constantinople*, by whom it was immediately sent to *Sarbarazas*, who thereupon revolted with his whole army. About the same time the king, being taken ill, declared his younger son *Merdaſa* his ſucceſſor; which *Seroes*, his eldeſt ſon, no ſooner underſtood, than he joined *Chardarichas*; and being aſſiſted by the *Roman* captives, whom he ſet at liberty, purſuant to the advice given him by *Heraclius*, he ſeized on his father, and loading him with chains, threw him into a dungeon, where he was inhumanly murdered with *Merdaſa*, and his other children, after he had been, by the orders of his unnatural ſon, moſt outrageouſly inſulted by all the nobility*. *Syroes*, thus raiſed to the throne, concluded a perpetual peace with *Heraclius*, upon terms no leſs honourable than advantageous to the empire; for he reſtored all the provinces that had been ſeized by his predeceſſor, with three hundred enſigns, and the wood which was ſuppoſed to have been part of the croſs on which our Saviour died, and had been carried by *Cosroes* in triumph from *Jeruſalem* into *Persia*. He likewiſe ſet at liberty all the *Roman* captives, and among the reſt *Zacharias* patriarch of *Jeruſalem*†. A peace thus concluded, *Heraclius* returned to *Constantinople*, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at ſome diſtance by his ſon *Conſtantius*, the patriarch, and almoſt all the nobility and people, who attended him to the palace with ſongs of triumph, and repeated acclamations. And truly no prince ever deſerved better of the empire; for in the ſpace of ſix years he recovered the ſeveral provinces which had been diſmembered from it by the *Persians*, fully revenged all the indignities offered to the *Roman* name by that haughty nation, obliged their king, and his numerous armies, to fly before him, and brought the moſt potent and formidable of all the enemies of the empire to ſuch a low ebb, that they were never afterwards capable of attempting any memorable exploit. Theſe things *Heraclius* performed, though, upon his acceſſion to the empire, he found it over-run by ſeveral barbarous nations, the exchequer quite drained, the military diſcipline decayed, and the army conſiſting of raw and unexperienced levies, ſcarce deſerving the

One of the
Perſian
generals
revolts.

Cosroes
depoſed,
and his ſon
Syroes put
in his
room.

Who con-
cludes a
peace with
the Ro-
mans.

* THEOPH. hoc. ann. & CEDREN.

† Idem ibid.

Heraclius
carries
back the
cross to
Jerusalem.

name of soldiers. *Heraclius* having passed the winter at *Constantinople*, in the spring of the following year 628, took a progress to *Jerusalem*, carrying with him that part of the cross which had been taken by the *Persians* fourteen years before. He entered the city in great pomp; and having returned in the chief church solemn thanks to the Almighty for the many signal victories he had been pleased to grant him, and for chusing him to rescue that sacred pledge out of the hands of the enemies of the christian name, he restored it with great solemnity to its former place. Upon this occasion was instituted the festival of *the exaltation of the holy cross*, which is celebrated to this day by the church of *Rome* on the fourteenth of *September* ^u. Of the miracles that are said to have happened on this occasion, the reader will find a particular account in *Cedrenus*, and other ecclesiastic writers. When the ceremony was over, the emperor published an edict banishing all the *Jews* from *Jerusalem*, and forbidding them, under severe penalties, to come within three miles of the holy city. From *Jerusalem*, *Heraclius* took a farther progress into the eastern provinces. Upon his arrival at *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, he received news of the death of *Syroes*, the new king of *Persia*, murdered, according to some, by *Sarbaras*, one of his generals, according to others, by his own son *Adefer*, who succeeded him, but was assassinated in the seventh month of his reign by *Barrazas*, whom the *Persians*, a few months after, deposed and put to death, raising *Barabanes*, the son of *Cosrhoes*, to the throne in his room. *Barabanes*, after a short reign of seven months, was succeeded by *Hormisdas*, the last *Persian* king of the race of *Artaxerxes*; for in his reign the *Saracens* put an end to the *Persian* monarchy, and established the kingdom of the *Arabians* in its room, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. From *Hierapolis* the emperor removed to *Edessa*, where he received ambassadors from the king of *India* in the east, and from *Dagobert*, king of the *Franks*, in the west, sent to congratulate him on his late success against the *Persians*, and to court his friendship and alliance ^w. While the emperor continued at *Edessa*, *Athanasius*, the patriarch of the *Jacobites*, a man of great address, having insinuated himself into his favour, brought him by degrees to acknowledge but one will in *Christ*, which created a dangerous schism in the church, and gave rise to warm disputes, *Heraclius* ever after maintaining it to the utmost of his power, and countenancing the *Monotheletes*, that is, those who acknowledged but one will in *Christ*.

Persia con-
quered by
the Sara-
cens.

Heraclius
embraces
the doc-
trine of
the Mono-
theletes.

^u THEOPH. Cedren. ad ann. Heracl. 19.
22. Heracl. Aimoin. l. iv. c. 21.

^w THEOPH. ann.

This heresy, however, did not prove so prejudicial to the church as the pestilent and impious doctrine of the impostor *Mohammed*, which was first broached in the reign of *Heraclius*, and by him suffered to take so deep a root, that his successors were never able to suppress it. The impostor died this year, the twenty-first of the reign of *Heraclius*, and 630th of the christian æra, after having reduced, with the assistance of the rabble, whom he had seduced, and of the *Saracens*, who had joined him, the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*, and part of *Arabia*, *Heraclius*, in the mean time, neglecting the affairs of the state, to promote and establish the heresy of the *Monothelites*, which he had lately embraced. *Mohammed*, who, by a double usurpation, had declared himself both the king and prophet of the *Saracens*, was succeeded by *Eububezer*, his kinsman, who reduced great part of *Persia*, and breaking into *Palestine* in 632, laid waste the territory of *Gaza*, after having defeated and cut in pieces the governor of that province, with all his troops. The following year *Eububezer* died, and was succeeded by *Haumar*, who made himself master of *Bostra*, and several other cities of *Arabia*, and gained a compleat victory over *Theodorus*, the emperor's brother, sent to oppose him. Hereupon *Heraclius* appointed *Boanes* to command in the room of his brother, and at the same time dispatched *Theodorus Sacellarius* into *Arabia*. The latter was met, near *Edeffa*, by the *Saracens*, under the command of *Haumar*; but he prudently declined an engagement, being informed, that the emperor had enjoined *Boanes*, who lay encamped at *Damascus*, to join him. In the mean time, *Heraclius*, dreading the issue of the war, leaving *Edeffa*, hastened to *Jerusalem*, and repaired from thence to *Constantinople*, carrying with him the cross, and whatever else was of value in the city, which, he feared, would soon fall into the enemy's hands. The following year *Boanes* having engaged the *Saracens*, was by them intirely defeated, heaven itself seeming to espouse their cause; for a violent wind arose in the very beginning of the engagement, which blowing the dust in the faces of the *Romans*, rendered them quite incapable of managing their arms; so that they were driven headlong into the *Jerinochta*, in which river most of them perished. After this victory they made themselves masters of *Damascus*; and advancing from thence into *Phœnicia*, reduced that province without meeting with the least opposition. *Haumar*, encouraged with this success, took the field early next spring; and dividing his numerous army into two bodies, he sent one to invade *Egypt*, and led the other in person against *Jerusalem*. They were met upon the borders of *Egypt* by *Cyrus*, bishop of *Alexandria*, who, by promising in the name of the people to pay them an annual pension of two

Mohammed
preaches
his doctrine.

He reduces
the cities of
Mecca and
Medina.

The Saracens make
themselves
masters of
several
provinces.

They defeat the
Romans,
and take
Damascus.

They re-
duce Egypt
and Syria.

Jerusalem
besieged
and taken
by the Sa-
racens.

Heraclius
dies.

hundred thousand *denarii*, prevailed upon them to spare the country, and retire. This agreement was observed for three years, during which the *Saracens* never offered to molest the *Egyptians*. But in the mean time the emperor being advised to break the agreement, one *Manuel*, by birth an *Armenian*, was appointed governor of *Egypt*, and sent thither with a strong body of troops; so that the commissioners from the *Saracens*, when they came at the year's end to demand the usual pension, were received with contempt and disdain by the governor, who told them, that he was not a priest, but a *Roman* general, at the head of an army, and therefore would not submit to such ignominious conditions. The *Saracens*, provoked at this answer, flew to arms; and invading *Egypt*, put *Manuel* to flight, and made themselves masters of the whole country. The emperor, not having sufficient strength to drive them out, sent *Cyrus* to them, promising to stand to the former agreement, provided they withdrew out of *Egypt*. But the *Saracens* refused to quit upon any terms their new conquest*. The loss of *Egypt*, which had continued subject to the empire ever since the time of *Augustus*, happened in the twenty-fifth year of *Heraclius's* reign, and 634th of the christian æra. *Egypt* being thus reduced, the troops which had been employed in that expedition were by *Haumar* sent into *Syria*; which province they conquered in the space of two years, making themselves masters of all the strong-holds there, and of *Antioch* itself, the metropolis of the east. *Haumar* in the mean time, entering *Palestine*, marched without opposition to *Jerusalem*, which city he took in 636, after a two years siege. Thus were the most wealthy and beautiful provinces of the empire torn from it by the *Saracens*, an upstart nation, hitherto looked upon with a contempt suitable to their original. But of them we shall speak at length in a more proper place. *Heraclius* in the mean time, who wanted neither courage nor abilities to check the progress of this new enemy, was so taken up with unseasonable disputes about religion, with public festivals and entertainments, that he had not time, or perhaps was unwilling, to reflect on the dangers that threatened him. The ecclesiastic writers look upon his supine and unaccountable security, as a punishment inflicted upon him by heaven for countenancing the *Monothelites*, and persecuting the catholics; for, not satisfied with holding the doctrine of those heretics himself, he endeavoured to establish it in all the provinces of the empire, by the famous edict called *ecthefis*, or *exposition*. But, before he could put this wicked design in execution, he died of a dropfy, which was attended with strange and unac-

* THEOPH. ad ann Heracl. 24, 25.

countable symptoms. His death happened in the month of *May*, after he had reigned thirty years, and some months ^y.

Heraclius was succeeded by his son *Constantine*, who died after a short reign of seven months, poisoned, as was supposed, by his step-mother *Martina*, to make room for her own son *Heracleonas*; who was accordingly proclaimed, and crowned with the usual solemnity. But he had not held the empire quite six months, when the senate, revolting, deposed him; and after having cut off his nose, and pulled out *Martina's* tongue, sent them both into banishment. *Pyrrhus*, the heretical patriarch of *Constantinople*, supposed to have been privy to the death of *Constantine*, abandoning his see, fled into *Africa*. The senate, having thus delivered the empire from the usurper *Hera-* Constans
cleonas, advanced *Constans*, the son of *Constantine*, and grand- declared
son of *Heraclius*, to the throne. The first years of this prince's emperor.

reign are almost quite barren of events; for *Theophanes*, and the other *Greek* writers, only tell us, that, in his second year, *Haumar* began to build a temple at *Jerusalem*; that in his third happened an eclipse of the sun, and violent storms in his sixth; which were looked upon as the forerunners of more violent concussions: for the same year the *Saracens*, not satisfied with *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, and *Palestine*, Africa con-
broke, like a torrent, into *Africa*; and having defeated the im- quered by
perial prefect, by name *Gregory*, made themselves masters of the Sara-
that spacious and fruitful country. The following year 648, cens.

Mabias or *Mahuvias*, one of their captains, with a great fleet, fell upon the island of *Cyprus*, which he easily reduced, and And like-
laid in ashes the city of *Constantia*. From *Cyprus* he sailed to wise the
the island of *Aradus*, which he took, together with the city; islands of
and from thence steering his course to *Rhodes*, made himself Cyprus,
master of that island, destroying the famous colossus of the *Sun*, Aradus,
one thousand three hundred and sixty years after it had been set and
up by *Laches* or *Chares*. It had been overturned sixty-six years Rhodes.
after it was erected by a violent earthquake, which shook the whole island; and the *Rhodians*, pretending the prohibition of an oracle, had never attempted to erect it anew; yet looking upon the bras as in a manner sacred, they had never presumed to apply it to any other use; but *Mahuvias* caused it to be broken to pieces, and sold it to a *Jewish* merchant of *Emesa*, who, with the metal, loaded nine hundred camels. While *Mahu-* Armenia
vias was thus employed in the island of *Rhodes*, his country- laid waste.
men, breaking into *Armenia*, laid waste that country far and wide, the emperor in the mean time continuing idle at *Constantinople*, or busying himself only in matters of religion, and pro-

^y THEOPH. ad ann. Heracl. 31.

The emperor's fleet defeated.

A peace with the Saracens.

The emperor murders his brother.

moting, as his grandfather had done, the doctrine of the *Monothelites*, which he had imbibed from his infancy. His supine negligence, and unaccountable indolence, encouraged *Mahuvias* to make an attempt upon *Constantinople* itself. With this view he fitted out a strong fleet at *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded, had he not been prevented by two brothers, both christians, and the sons of a *Grecian* trumpeter, who having found means to break open the public prison, crowded with christian captives, with their assistance killed the *ameras*, as the *Saracens* called him, or the governor of the place, set fire to the fleet, destroyed all the naval preparations, and then escaped, in a ship provided for that purpose, into the *Roman* dominions. *Mahuvias*, having with incredible expedition fitted out another fleet, sailed to *Phœnicia* in *Lycia*, where he engaged and defeated the imperial navy, commanded by *Constans* in person, who with much-ado escaped in disguise to *Constantinople*², whence, to retrieve his reputation, he marched the following year against the *Sclavi* or *Sclavonians*, who had seized on that country, which to this day is called from them *Sclavonia*. The emperor defeated them in several encounters; but not being able to drive them quite out, he returned to *Constantinople*, where he found ambassadors from the *Saracens*, now divided among themselves, come to solicit a peace; which the indolent and unwarlike prince readily granted them, yielding to them the many provinces they had seized, upon their paying to him and his successors, by way of tribute, a thousand nummi a year, with a horse and a slave. The following year 659, the emperor, looking with a jealous eye upon his brother *Theodosius*, who, on account of his virtue and integrity, was the darling of the people, caused him to be ordained deacon, and received the holy cup at his hands; but his fears not being yet quite appeased, he ordered him soon after to be murdered; which he had no sooner done, than he was seized with dread and terror, imagining that he saw his brother constantly standing before him, with a cup of blood in his hand, commanding him to quench his inhuman thirst. Haunted and terrified with this imagination, and the remorse of his conscience, he left *Constantinople*, where the murder had been committed, and repaired to *Sicily*, resolving to transfer the seat of the empire to *Syracuse*; but the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, apprised of his design, kept in that metropolis his wife and children. From this time forward he wandered, like a second *Cain*, from place to place; but his guilt pursuing him whithersoever he went, he became an object of compassion even to his most in-

² Idem ad ann. Const 15—18.

veterate enemies. In the mean time *Mahuvias*, who had caused his competitor *Hali* to be murdered, and now reigned alone, without any regard to the late treaty, sent his son *Izod* to lay waste the *Roman* territories, who advancing as far as *Chalcedon*, *The Sara-* and having made himself master of *Amorium*, a strong city of *cens ra-* *Phrygia*, left a garison in the place, and returned with an im- *vage the* mense booty to his father. *Amorium* however, was soon after *Roman* surprised, and retaken by *Andreas*, one of the emperor's offi- *territories.* cers, who put all the *Saracens* he found in the place to the sword. During the emperor's stay in *Sicily*, a war broke out between the *Franks* and *Lombards*; which he looking upon as a favourable opportunity of driving the latter out of *Italy*, fitted out a mighty fleet, and landing at *Tarentum*, marched di- *The em-* rectly to lay siege to *Beneventum*, taking *Luceria*, and several *peror's un-* other cities belonging to the *Lombards*, in his way. But *Gri-* *successful* *moald*, duke of *Beneventum*, marching, after a signal victory *expedition* over the *Franks*, to the relief of the place, the emperor, raising *against the* the siege in great haste, retired to *Naples*. Not long after, a *Lom-* body of twenty thousand *Romans* was almost entirely cut off, *bards.* with *Saburrus* their general, by *Romoald* the son of *Grimoald* *. After this defeat, the emperor, laying aside all thoughts of dispossessing the *Lombards* of that part of *Italy* which they held, took a progress to *Rome*, which he entered in great pomp, being met six miles from the city by *Vitalianus*, bishop of the place, and his clergy. After he had continued twelve days in *Rome*, and caused the most remarkable rarities he found there to be removed to *Constantinople*, he returned to *Naples*, and from thence to *Syracuse*, where he resided for the space of five years, oppressing his people with most enormous exactions, and even *His avarice.* plundering the churches of their rich ornaments, and sacred vessels. Having thus rendered himself both odious and contemptible to all his subjects, one *Andrew*, the son of *Troilus*, resolved to rid the world of so great a plague; and accordingly dispatched him in the bath of *Daphne* at *Syracuse*, by repeated blows on the head, with the vessel that was made use of to pour *He is murdered.* hot water upon him. Thus perished *Constans II.* in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and 668, of the christian æra. Upon his death, the people of *Syracuse* proclaimed one *Mezizius*, by birth an *Armenian*, who had no other qualifications to recommend him to their favour but the comeliness of his person. The news of his promotion no sooner reached *Constantinople*, than *Constantine*, the son of the deceased emperor, having, with the utmost expedition, equipped a fleet, sailed to *Sicily*; and having defeated, taken, and put to death the usurper, caused himself to be acknowledged emperor in

* PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 6.

His son
Constantine Pogo-
natus made
emperor.

Several
provinces
ravaged
by the Sa-
racens.

They be-
siege Con-
stantino-
ple ;

But drop
that enter-
prise.
Their fleet
shipwreck-
ed, and
their army
defeated.

his room^a. He must have continued some time in the west, settling the provinces that were still subject to the empire there ; for we are told by *Zonaras*, that he was, by the people of *Constantinople*, surnamed *Pogonatus*, because, at his departure from thence, only a little down appeared on his chin ; whereas he returned with a beard. The people of *Constantinople* received him, on his return from *Sicily*, with loud acclamations ; but he had not been long in the city, when some, misled by a strange notion, that as there were three persons in the trinity, so there ought to be three emperors on the throne, pressed him to take his two brothers, *Tiberius* and *Heraclius*, for his partners in the empire. This alarmed the young emperor, who, having got the broachers of this new doctrine into his power, put them to death, and caused the noses of his two brothers to be cut off, that deformity rendering them incapable of the empire^{*}. While these things passed at *Constantinople*, the *Saracens*, entering *Africa*, where the people had insulted some of their garisons, committed unheard-of barbarities, and having ravaged the country returned with eighty thousand captives. The following year they made a descent upon *Sicily*, took and plundered the city of *Syracuse*, and over-ran the whole island, destroying every thing with fire and sword. They laid waste in like manner *Cilicia* ; and having passed the winter at *Smyrna*, they entered *Thrace* in the month of *April* of the following year 672, and laid siege to *Constantinople* itself ; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, who had already, with indefatigable pains, reformed both the court and army, that they thought it adviseable to withdraw in the month of *September* to *Cyzicus*. However, the ensuing spring they renewed the siege, continuing thus to attack the city in the summer, and retire to *Cyzicus* in the winter for the space of seven years, say the *Greek* writers ; though from some of them it appears, that in the fourth year of the siege, a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and *Saracens*, as we shall relate anon. In this long siege, the *Saracens* lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by sea-fire, as it was called, because it burnt under water, being the invention of one *Callinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. The enemy at length despairing of success, abandoned the enterprise ; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the *Scyllæan* promontory. About the same time three of the emperor's lieutenants, viz. *Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, gained a signal victory in *Syria*, over *Suphianus*, who commanded there a numerous body of *Saracens* ; but lost

^a *THEOPH. annal. ad ann. Const. 27. PAUN. DIAC. l. v. prope fin.* * *THEOPH. CEDREN. ad hunc ann.*

in the engagement thirty thousand of his men ^c. These misfortunes encouraged the *Mardaites*, or *Maronites* to seize on mount *Libanus*, where they fortified themselves; and being joined by multitudes of christian captives flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount *Taurus* and *Jerusalem*, made frequent incursions into *Syria*, and so harassed and terrified the *Saracens*, that *Mahmudias*, not thinking himself able to contend with them and the *Romans* at the same time, sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with *Constantine*; which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of thirty years. 2. That the *Saracens* should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. That they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors three thousand pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses. This peace was thought, as affairs then stood, very advantageous and honourable to the empire ^d. It was scarce concluded, when the *Bulgarians*, leaving their native seats on the banks of the *Volga* or *Bulga*, whence some think they took their name, advanced as far as the *Danube*, which they passed without opposition, to the number of one hundred thousand persons; and entering the territories of the empire, ravaged far and wide the countries through which they passed. The emperor sent a numerous army against them; which being put to flight by the barbarians, he chose rather to conclude a peace, by promising to pay them an annual pension, than to pursue an expensive and doubtful war. The emperor, being now diverted by no wars either foreign or domestic, laboured with indefatigable pains to establish in the church that peace and tranquillity which reigned in the state. In order to this, he assembled the sixth general or œcumenical council, which was opened at *Constantinople* on the twenty-second of *November* of the year 680. In this council, the doctrine of the *Monothe-lites* was condemned, and by that means tranquillity, in a great degree, restored to the church, the abettors of that doctrine not daring, under a prince who had so much at heart the purity of the faith, to raise disturbances, as they had done under the preceding emperors. *Constantine* enjoyed the remaining part of his reign in that peace and quiet, which his piety, justice and moderation well deserved, the *Saracens*, religiously observing the treaty between them and the empire, and the *Lombards* being, by their intestine broils, diverted from extending their conquests in *Italy*. In the beginning of the year 685, he was seized with a lingering distemper, of which he died in the

They conclude a peace with the empire.

The Bulgarians break into Thrace.

The sixth œcumenical council.

Constantine dies.

^c Idem ibid. ad ann. Const. 5.

^d Idem ad ann. Const. 9.

month of *September*, after having reigned seventeen years and some months^c.

Justinian
III.

Is put to
fight by
the Bulg-
garians.

Makes
war upon
the Sara-
cens.

He is de-
feated by
them.

HE was succeeded by his son *Justinian*, a youth but sixteen years old. With him *Abdelmelech*, the new prince of the *Saracens*, confirmed the peace made with the empire, and at the same time proposed by his embassadors a new treaty, in virtue of which *Justinian* was to repress the *Maronites*, who, by their frequent excursions from mount *Libanus*, greatly harassed the *Saracens*; and *Abdelmelech* to pay him for this service a thousand nummi a day, a horse, and a slave. To this treaty the young and unwary prince readily agreed, and immediately dispatched *Magistrrianus*, with a chosen body of troops, against the *Maronites*, whom he overcame, and put out of a condition of molesting the *Saracens* for a long time after. In the second year of his reign, he marched in person against the *Bulgarians*, who had been allowed to settle in *Lower Mæsia*, from them afterwards called *Bulgaria*, and without any regard to the treaty concluded with them by his father, ravaged their country, and took several of their strong-holds. But the *Bulgarians*, soon recovering from their consternation, drew together their forces; and falling upon the emperor, drove him out of their country, and obliged him to abandon the places, and restore the captives, he had taken. He was attended with better success against the *Sclavi* or *Sclavonians*, whom he defeated in several battles; which encouraged him to break the treaty he had lately concluded with the *Saracens*, tho' *Abdelmelech* had faithfully performed every thing required of him by that agreement, and did all that lay in his power to prevent a rupture. At length, finding the emperor obstinately bent upon a war, he raised a powerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals named *Mohammed*; who, causing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on the point of a spear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of *Sebastopolis*; but in the engagement that ensued, was obliged to give ground, and retire to his camp, where he must have perished with hunger, or submitted to the conqueror, had he not in the mean time gained over the commander of the *Sclavi* in the emperor's service; whose unexpected desertion, with twenty thousand of his men, caused such a consternation in the *Roman* army, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight, being pursued with great slaughter by the enemy. The emperor with much-ado reached *Leucate*, where, transported with rage, he caused the *Sclavi* or *Sclavini* who had continued with him, to the number of ten thousand, to be cut in pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be

^c CEDREN. ad ann. Const. 17. NICEPH. c. 3.

thrown

thrown into the sea. From *Leucate* he returned to *Constantinople*, where, without betraying the least concern for his late disgrace, or attempting to restrain the victorious *Saracens*, by whom the abandoned provinces were harassed in a most cruel manner, and *Armenia* intirely reduced, he was wholly taken up in embellishing his metropolis with new buildings. Among the rest he erected a magnificent banquetting-house, from him called *Justinianum*, and a theatre near the palace, causing a church, dedicated to the virgin *Mary*, to be pulled down, to make room for it. This unchristian and unpopular action gained him the ill-will of the people, whose aversion to him was heightened by the tyrannical, arbitrary, and cruel, conduct of his two chief ministers *Stephen* and *Theodotus*. The former, by nation a *Persian*, caused several persons of distinction to be put to death, upon suspicions altogether groundless; and in the end came to such a pitch of arrogance, as to threaten in a most disrespectful manner *Anastasia Augusta*, the emperor's mother. *Theodotus* was by profession a monk; but being by the emperor taken out of his cell, and intrusted with great power, he exceeded in cruelty *Stephen* himself, causing, under various pretences such of the nobility, as seemed to despise him, to be put to no less cruel than ignominious deaths. The emperor, dreading the dangerous effects of the hatred, which the people had on several occasions shewn him, and his two favourite ministers, resolved to be before-hand with them, and accordingly ordered *Stephen* the eunuch, and *Rufus* one of his generals, to fall upon the inhabitants of *Constantinople* in the night-time, and massacre them in their houses, beginning with the patriarch *Callinicus*. But this bloody and inhuman massacre was happily prevented in the following manner: *Leontius*, a patrician, and formerly commander of the forces in the east, after he had been by the jealous emperor kept three years in prison, was at this time set at liberty, and appointed governor of *Greece*, with orders to embarque immediately for his government; but while he was waiting for a favourable wind, several of his friends came to visit him, and among the rest two monks, *Gregory* the superior of a monastery, and *Paul*, who, as they were skilled in astronomy, says *Cedrenus*, had foretold him, while he lay in prison, expecting every moment his last doom, that he should attain to the empire before his death. These, upon his expostulating with them for having deceived him with vain promises, encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity to make good their prediction; which, they said, he might easily do, the emperor being universally abhorred, both by the nobility and people, and ready to receive him as their deliverer. *Leontius* hearkened to them; and taking with him his own soldiers, that is, those

He renders
himself
odious to
the people.

The cruelty
of his mi-
nisters.

He orders
a general
massacre.

Justinian
deposed.

who had been appointed to attend him into *Greece*, he broke open the prison, and being joined by many others, who had been long detained there, he led them to the forum, inviting the people, as he went, to meet him in the church of *St. Sophia*; which being soon crowded, the patriarch appearing, cried aloud to the assembled multitude, *This is the day which the Lord hath made*. The people, thus animated by the patriarch, proclaimed *Leontius* emperor, and hastening to the palace, seized on *Justinian*, carried him to the circus, and there, after many other indignities, cut off his nose, and with one voice banished him to *Chersona*. At the same time *Theodotus* and *Stephen* were dragged to the forum, where they were burnt alive^f. This revolution happened in the tenth year of *Justinian's* reign, and 694 of the christian æra.

Leontius.

The Saracens
masters of
Africa.

Leontius
deposed,
and Ap-
simar made
emperor.

200,000
Saracens
cut in
pieces.

THE first year of *Leontius's* reign was not disturbed by any foreign wars, or domestic troubles. In the second, *Sergius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Lazica*, betrayed that province to the *Saracens*, who the following year invaded *Africa*, made themselves masters of *Carthage*, and over-ran the whole country; but they were driven out by *John* the patrician, a man of great valour, and experience in war, whom the emperor had sent against them. The *Saracens*, to repair the great losses they had sustained, equipped another fleet, and returning to *Africa*, obliged *John* to fly to the sea-coast, where he embarked with the troops under his command for *Constantinople*. But the fleet having touched at *Crete*, some of the chief officers, apprehending the emperor would call them to an account for thus abandoning *Africa* to the enemy, prevailed upon the soldiers to revolt, and proclaim *Apfimar*, one of *Leontius's* generals, emperor. *Apfimar*, or, as he was afterwards called, *Tiberius*, readily accepted the imperial dignity, and sailing without loss of time to *Constantinople*, surprised the city, took *Leontius* prisoner, and having caused his nose to be cut off, confined him to a monastery in *Dalmatia*, after he had reigned scarce three years^g. *Tiberius*, thus raised to the empire, sent his brother *Heraclius* into *Cappadocia*, to watch the motions of the *Saracens*. He, taking advantage of some divisions that reigned among them, penetrated into *Syria* as far as *Samofata*, wasting all before him, and returned to *Cappadocia* loaded with booty, after having put to the sword, as we are told, no fewer than two hundred thousand of the enemy^h. Notwithstanding this loss, the *Saracens* broke into the *Roman* territories the

^f THEOPH. CEDREN. ann. JUST. 10. NICEPH. c. 4.
CEDREN. ad ann. LEONT. 3. NICEPH. c. 5.
CEDREN. ad ann. Tib. Apf. 2.

^g THEOPH.
^h THEOPH.

following

following year, and laid siege to *Antaradus* in *Syria*; but not being able to master that place, they sat down before *Mopsuestia* in *Cilicia*, which they reduced and fortified. In the fourth year of *Tiberius's* reign, *Boanes*, surnamed *Heptadamon*, betrayed *Armenia* to the *Saracens*. The same year *Tiberius* banished *Philippicus*, a patrician, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, into *Cephalenia*, for relating a dream, which *Tiberius* interpreted, as portending the empire to him.

Armenia
betrayed to
the *Saracens*.

The following year, the nobility of *Armenia*, taking arms against their new masters, drove them out with great slaughter, and sent to *Tiberius*, demanding his assistance. But in the mean time *Mohammed*, entering *Armenia* with a mighty army, recovered the country; and having got the authors of the revolt into his power, burnt them alive. Encouraged with this success, they invaded *Cilicia* once more, under the conduct of

Azar; but were, to the number of ten thousand, either cut in pieces by *Heraclius*, or taken prisoners, and sent in chains to *Constantinople*¹. In the mean time *Justinian*, the deposed emperor, who had been confined to a monastery at *Chersona*, having betrayed a great desire of recovering his former dignity, the inhabitants of the place, dreading the indignation of *Tiberius*, and the evils attending a civil war, resolved to prevent them, by either killing *Justinian*, or sending him in chains to *Constantinople*; but he, suspecting their design, fled privately to the

Who are
defeated in
Cilicia.

Chagan or king of the *Chazari*, who received him in a manner suitable to his rank, and gave him his sister *Theodora* in marriage. But being soon after gained by the rich presents and large promises of *Tiberius*, he undertook either to deliver up to him the unfortunate prince alive, or to send him his head. The design was revealed by one of the king's domestics to *Theodora*, and by her to her husband, who thereupon fled to *Trebelis* king of the *Bulgarians*, by whom he was received with great demonstrations of kindness. We are told, that being overtaken, on his flight from the country of the *Chazari*, by a violent storm, near the streights of *Danaprium*, *Myaces*, one of his domestics, apprehending the vessel to be in imminent danger, and therefore conjuring him to make a vow, that he would forgive his enemies, if it ever pleased heaven to restore him to his throne, he answered sternly, *Let God drown me this moment, if I spare any of them*². *Trebelis* not only entertained the fugitive prince with

extraordinary magnificence, but, having raised a powerful army, marched with him strait to *Constantinople*, and laid siege to that metropolis, the inhabitants, who looked upon their city as impregnable, rallying and reviling both princes from the walls;

Trebelis,
king of the
Bulgarians, espouse
the cause
of *Justinian*.

¹ Idem ad ann. Tib. Apf. 3, 4, 5.

² NICEPH. c. 5.

but

Who is
restored.

Leontius
and Tiberius
put to
death.

Justinian
defeated by
the Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

but the third day of the siege, some *Romans*, having got into the city through an aqueduct, opened the gates to the rest; which *Tiberius* no sooner knew, than he fled with his treasures to *Apollonius*, leaving *Justinian* once more master of the imperial city and the empire. Being thus restored to his former dignity, he dismissed *Trebelis*, loaded with rich presents, and bestowed upon him part of the *Roman* dominions, called afterwards *Zagoria*. Having, after a diligent search, got into his power *Tiberius*, *Leontius*, by whom he had been driven out, and *Heraclius* the brother of *Tiberius*, he led the two former in triumph through the city, and carrying them to the circus, beheld the shows sitting on the imperial throne, with his feet upon their necks, the inconstant multitude repeating in the mean time that verse of the psalmist, *Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder*, &c. After this insulting pageantry, he caused their heads, and that of *Heraclius*, to be cut off. As for *Callinicus* the patriarch, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then banished him to *Rome*, that he might have the cruel mortification of depending for his subsistence upon the bishop of that city, whose authority he had always opposed to the utmost of his power¹. The emperor, having now got rid of those whom he most dreaded, began to rage with implacable fury against all who had adhered to them, putting to death incredible multitudes of citizens and soldiers, and dispeopling, in the heat of his revenge, whole provinces at once. In the third year of his restoration, unmindful of the obligations which he owed to *Trebelis* king of the *Bulgarians*, he broke the alliance concluded with that prince, and invaded *Thrace*, at the head of a mighty army, with a design to recover the country he had yielded to him. But he was attended with no better success than his ingratitude deserved, his army being utterly defeated, and he himself obliged to make his escape in a light vessel to *Constantinople*. The following year he equipped a mighty fleet, not with a design to oppose the *Bulgarians*, who ravaged the provinces of the empire without controul, but to be revenged on the inhabitants of *Chersona* and the *Bosporans*, who had resolved to dispatch him, or deliver him up to *Tiberius*, while he lived in exile among them. On board this fleet was imbarqued a numerous army, with express orders to put all the inhabitants of those parts to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, of guilty or innocent. These cruel orders were executed with the utmost barbarity; multitudes of that unhappy people were put to the sword; some were by the cruel soldiery roasted alive, others cast into the sea, &c. The children,

¹ THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Tib. Apf. 7. NICEPH. ibid.

however,

however, were spared; which the inhuman emperor no sooner understood, than, transported with rage, he dispatched fresh orders to his officers, commanding them not to leave a child alive in the place. They were accordingly all massacred; but some of the leading men among the *Bosporans* having made their escape and taken refuge in the country of the *Chazari*, with the assistance of that neighbouring nation, they defeated in several encounters the emperor's forces; and, renouncing their allegiance to him, proclaimed *Philippicus*, the son of *Bardanes*, who had been banished by *Tiberius* to *Cephalenia*, as we have related above, but happened to be then at *Chersona*. The troops that were sent against them by *Justinian*, finding they could not reduce the city of *Chersona*, pursuant to his orders, and dreading the implacable humour of the tyrant, resolved to consult their own safety, by acknowledging *Philippicus*; which they did accordingly, joining those against whom they had been sent. *Philippicus*, thus proclaimed and supported by two powerful armies, marched straight to *Constantinople*, which he entered without opposition, the emperor being then at *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia* with a body of *Thracians*, against whom *Philippicus* dispatched *Elias* prince of the *Bosporans*; who, having gained over the *Thracians*, took the emperor prisoner, and cutting off his head, sent it to *Philippicus*, by whose orders it was conveyed to *Rome*. *Tiberius*, the emperor's son by *Theodora*, took sanctuary in a church; but was dragged from the altar, which he grasped, and slain by *Maurus* a patrician, in the presence of *Anastasia* his grandmother^m. Such was the deserved end of *Justinian* II. in the eighth year after his restoration, and 711, of the christian æra.

Philippicus proclaimed emperor.

Justinian killed.

Philippicus had no sooner taken possession of the throne, than, openly espousing the cause of the *Monothelites*, he summoned a council of bishops, who were all infected with that heresy, and consequently easily prevailed upon to condemn and revoke all the acts of the sixth general council. The emperor was induced to summon this council by a *Monothelite* monk, who had foretold him he should one day attain the empire, if *Cedrenus* is to be credited, and now promised him a long and happy reign, provided he abolished the sixth general council, and established the doctrine of the *Monothelites*. But while *Philippicus* was thus busying himself in matters relating to religion, the *Bulgarians*, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Constantinople*; and having laid waste the country, and put to the sword an incredible multitude of people, returned, without meeting with the least opposition, *Thrace*.

The Bulgarians break into

^m THEOPH. ad ann. Just. 8. NICEPH. c. 6.

Philippicus deposed.
Anastasius succeeds.

The seamen, mutiny, kill their admiral, and declare Theodosius emperor.

loaded with booty. At the same time, the *Saracens*, invading the *Roman* territories, committed dreadful ravages, took the city of *Medæa* and several other places, and returned likewise unmolested, carrying with them great numbers of captives. These calamities rendering *Philippicus* odious to the people, one *Rufus*, at the instigation of two patricians, viz. *Theodorus*, and *Georgius* commander of the troops in *Thrace*, entering the palace with a company of *Thracians*, while the emperor was reposing after dinner, put out his eyes, and withdrew undiscovered ⁿ. *Nicephorus* writes, that *Rufus*, seizing the emperor, dragged him to the hippodrome, and there caused his eyes to be plucked out ^o. Be that as it will, the next day, being *Whit-sunday*, the people, assembling in the great church, proclaimed *Artemius*, chief secretary to *Philippicus*, emperor; who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch ^p. *Artemius*, or, as he was afterwards called, *Anastasius*, was a man of great learning, and had been from his youth employed with uncommon success in the management of public affairs. As he was a zealous catholic, he made it his chief study to heal the divisions of the church, without neglecting the affairs of the state; for in the very beginning of his reign, he appointed *Leo*, an *Isaurian*, a person of great experience in war, commander in chief of all his forces, and sent him with a powerful army to the frontiers of *Syria*, to protect *Asia Minor* against the inroads of the *Saracens*. Being informed, that the *Saracens* designed to lay siege to *Constantinople*, he caused a great number of light ships to be built, the walls to be repaired, and having filled the public granaries, ordered such of the citizens as had not laid up provisions for three years to depart the city. But news being brought in the mean time, that the enemy's fleet was sailed to *Phœnicia*, he ordered his to assemble from the different ports of the empire at *Rhodes*, appointing *John*, deacon of the great church, his admiral. The fleet met accordingly; but the admiral punishing with more severity than prudence some refractory seamen, the rest mutinied and killed him; and being well apprised they could by no other means avoid the punishment due to their crime, but by openly revolting, they declared *Anastasius* unworthy of the empire, and obliged one *Theodosius*, a person of a mean extraction, and then receiver of the revenue at *Adramyttium*, to accept of the purple. *Anastasius*, upon the first notice of the revolt, fled to *Nice* in *Bithynia*, leaving a strong garison in *Constantinople*; which city *Theodosius* immediately besieged by sea and land, and reduced, after having continued six months before it. He had no sooner entered the city, than he dispatched

ⁿ THEOPH. ad ann. PHIL. 2. ^o NICEPH. c. 7. ^p Idem ibid.

the magistrates and the patriarch to acquaint *Anastasius* with what had happened, who, upon promise of his life, renounced all claim to the empire, and, taking the habit of a monk, delivered himself up to the new prince, by whom he was banished to *Thessalonica*, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor about two years⁹. But *Leo*, whom *Anastasius* had appointed commander in chief of all his forces, refusing to acknowledge *Theodosius*, drew together all the forces in the east, with a design, as he gave out, to restore the deposed emperor; but being persuaded by *Masalmias*, prince of the *Saracens*, to assume the purple, and powerfully assisted by *Atavasdes*, an *Armenian*, a man of great interest in that country, he marched, at the head of a considerable army, to *Nicomedia*, where he met, defeated, and took prisoner, the son of *Theodosius*, who had been sent against him. From *Nicomedia* he pursued his march to *Constantinople*, being acknowledged emperor in all the places through which he passed. Hereupon *Theodosius*, finding it was in vain to contend with so powerful a rival, dispatched to him *Germanus* the patriarch, and some of the chief men in the senate, offering to resign the purple, on condition his life was spared. To this *Leo* readily agreed; and *Theodosius*, divesting himself of the purple, entered, with his son, into orders, after having reigned one year. Thus *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*^r. But *Nicephorus* writes, that the officers of the army, finding *Theodosius* unequal to the high station to which he had been raised, persuaded him to abdicate, and chose *Leo* in his room^s. Be that as it will, *Leo* was received with loud acclamations at *Constantinople*, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of *March* of the present year 716, by the patriarch *Germanus*, after he had bound himself by a solemn oath to preserve, and, to the utmost of his power, defend, the orthodox faith. He was a native of *Isauria*, of a mean extraction, and had served some time in the low station of a common soldier, from which he was raised by *Justinian II.* and admitted on account of the tallness of his stature, and comeliness of his person, amongst the *spatarii*, that is, the emperor's guards. *Anastasius* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, which post he held when he assumed the purple. He is distinguished from the other emperors bearing the name of *Leo* by the surname of *Iconomachus*, which was given him on account of his combating the worship of images. In the first year of his reign, *Masalmias*, prince of the *Saracens*, at whose instigation he had assumed the purple, took by surprise the city of *Pergamus*; which is looked upon by the historians, as a punishment justly inflicted cens.

⁹ Idem, c. 8. THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Anast. 2. ^r THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. LEON. 1. ^s NICEPH. c. 9.

Who be-
sieve Con-
stantino-
ple; but
are forced
to abandon
the enter-
prize.

They per-
secute the
christians.

Sergius re-
volts in Si-
cily; but is
cut off.

Constan-
tine Co-
pron-
ymus born.

by heaven upon the wicked and barbarous inhabitants, who, hearing the *Saracens* were preparing to invade *Asia*, had ripped up the belly of a woman big with child, and boiling the infant in a kettle, had dipped their right hands in the water, being persuaded by a magician, that they would by that means become invincible, and defend their city against all the attempts of the enemy^t. In the second year of *Leo's* reign, *Solyman*, one of the generals of the *Saracens*, broke into *Thrace*; but he dying, *Haumar* was appointed to command in his room, who lost most of his men by the severity of the winter. However, in the following spring he approached *Constantinople*, and invested it by land, while *Suphiam* and *Izeth*, arriving with two mighty fleets, the one from *Egypt* and the other from *Africa*, blocked it up by sea; but most of their ships being destroyed, either by the artificial fire, of which we have spoken above, or by storms, they thought it adviseable to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after having lain before the city thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years. The calamities, which the inhabitants suffered during the siege, can hardly be expressed; thirty thousand of them are said to have perished with hunger, and the like number to have been swept off by the plague^u. *Haumar*, prince of the *Saracens*, highly provoked at the disappointment of his armies and fleets before *Constantinople*, began to rage with great fury against the christians in his dominions, forbidding them at first to exercise their religion, and soon after commanding them, on pain of death, to renounce it, and embrace the abominable sect of *Mohammed*. Many, to avoid death, made an outward profession of the religion, if we may so call it, of their insulting master, while some few, notwithstanding the ignorance and depravity of that age, maintained, with unshaken constancy, the true religion, at the expence of their lives^w. The same year, *Sergius*, governor of *Sicily*, revolting, declared one *Basilus*, the son of *Onomagulus*, emperor, changing his name into that of *Tiberius*; but *Paul*, an officer of the household, who was sent against the usurper, having got him into his power and caused his head to be struck off, restored the island to its former tranquillity. *Sergius*, the chief author of the revolt, took refuge amongst the *Lombards* in *Italy*^x. The same year, the empress *Maria* was, to the unspeakable joy of the emperor and the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, delivered of a son, named *Constantine*, and commonly nicknamed *Copronymus*, from his

^t Idem ibid. THEOPH. CEDREN. ubi supra.

^u CEDREN.

ann. LEON. 2. BEDA de sex. stat. PAUL. DIACON. l. vi. c. 47.

^w THEOPH. ad ann. LEON. 3.

^x NICEPH. c. 10. THEOPH.

CEDREN. ibid.

having

having defiled the sacred font at his baptism. *Theophanes*, the true author of the history intitled *miscella*, which is falsely ascribed to *Paulus Diaconus*, tells us, that *Germanus* the patriarch foretold from that accident, that the infant would one day prove a great plague to the church^y. The joy for the birth of the young prince was somewhat allayed by the approach of a numerous army of *Bulgarians*, headed by the late emperor *Anastasius*, who, weary of a private life, had prevailed upon those barbarians to acknowledge him for emperor, and support his claim to the crown. They laid siege to *Constantinople*, hoping, by means of the partizans of *Anastasius*, among whom were several persons of great distinction, to make themselves soon masters of the city; but meeting, contrary to their expectation; with a vigorous opposition, they seized on the unfortunate *Anastasius*, and delivered him up to the emperor, who put him to death, with all his accomplices, among whom was the bishop of *Theffalonica*^z. *Leo*, having happily weathered this storm, caused his son *Constantine* to be solemnly crowned emperor, in order to secure the empire to his posterity. The ceremony was performed by the patriarch *Germanus*, on *Easter-day* in 720, the fifth of *Leo's* reign^a. In the mean time the *Saracens*, under the conduct of their new prince *Ized*, who had succeeded *Hau-mar*, having equipped a mighty fleet, ravaged the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*; and landing in *Sardinia*, raged there with unspeakable fury, destroying all with fire and sword; but being soon after diverted from molesting the empire by the intestine divisions that arose amongst them, another *Ized*, surnamed *Mualabis*, having set up for himself in *Persia*, the emperor was more at leisure to reform several abuses, that had crept into the court and state under the former emperors. In the tenth year of his reign, and 725, of the christian æra, he published the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed out of the churches, and forbidding any kind of worship to be paid to them. This edict was, with great vigour, opposed in the east by *Germanus*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Johannes Damascenus*; but *Leo*, having deposed *Germanus*, and raised *Anastasius* to the see of *Constantinople* in his room, caused his edict to be put in execution at *Constantinople*, and the images to be pulled down and destroyed by his officers throughout the city, without sparing the statue of our Saviour, which had been placed above the gate of the imperial palace by *Constantine the Great*. The people, struck with horror in seeing the images of our Saviour and his saints thus insulted, and either torn in pieces, or

Anastasius attempts to resume the empire.

Constantine crowned emperor.

Leo's edict against images.

^y Hist. miscel. p. 74.

^z NICEPH. C. 10.

^a Idem, c. 11.

THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leon. 5.

*A tumult
at Con-
stantino-
ple.*

*The people
revolt in
Italy.*

*Gregory
the second
opposes the
emperor's
edict.*

*Leo at-
tempts up-
on his life.*

*The ex-
arch ex-
communi-
cated.*

burnt, by the emperor's officers, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and having first vented their rage upon *Leo's* statues and images, flew to the palace; but being repulsed and pursued with great slaughter by the emperor's guards, they were forced to disperse, and suffer the edict to take place. But in the west, especially in *Italy*, it was had in such abhorrence, that the people openly revolted; which gave *Luitprand*, king of the *Lombards*, an opportunity of seizing on *Ravenna* and several other cities of the exarchate. He was, however, soon after driven out by the *Venetians*, who, at that time, made no small figure in *Italy*. *Gregory II.* then pope, or bishop, of *Rome*, jealous of the growing power of the *Lombards*, had, by a letter to *Orfus* duke of *Venice*, prevailed upon him to espouse the interest of the emperor, and lead his forces against *Ravenna*; which city he surprised, before *Luitprand*, who was then at *Pavia*, had the least notice or suspicion of his design. *Gregory* had, from the very beginning, opposed with great warmth the emperor's edict forbidding the worshipping of images; and now, presuming upon the eminent service he had rendered the empire, he wrote a long letter to *Leo*, earnestly intreating him to revoke it. But the emperor, well apprised, that *Gregory* had been prompted by his own interest, and not by that of the empire, to prevent the *Lombards* from making new conquests in *Italy*, was exasperated to such a degree against him, for continuing still to oppose his edict, that he sent private orders to his officers in *Italy*, especially to *Paul*, exarch of *Ravenna*, and to *Mauritius*, governor, or, as he was then styled, duke, of *Rome*, injoining them to get *Gregory*, by some means or other, into their power, and send him dead or alive to *Constantinople*. But the people of *Rome*, who had a great veneration for their bishop, discovering the plot, guarded him so carefully, that the emperor's officers could never find an opportunity of putting their orders in execution. Three assassins undertook to murder him; but two of them were apprehended, and put to death, which the third escaped, by taking sanctuary in a monastery, and there embracing a religious life. *Gregory*, finding himself thus supported by the people of *Rome*, solemnly excommunicated the exarch, for publishing, and attempting to put in execution, the emperor's edict, writing at the same time letters to the *Venetians*, to king *Luitprand*, to the *Lombard* dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the catholic faith, and oppose, with all their might, the execution of the impious, as he styled it, and heretical edict. These letters made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that the inhabitants of *Italy*, though of different interests and often at war with each other, viz. the people of *Rome*, the *Venetians*,

Venetians, and the *Lombards*, entering into an alliance, resolved to act in concert, and prevent, to the utmost of their power, the execution of the imperial edict. The people of *Rome*, and those of the *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d' Ancona*, did not stop here; but pulling every-where down the emperor's statues, openly revolted, and refusing to acknowledge an iconoclast, that is, a breaker of images, for emperor, they chose magistrates of their own; nay, they had some thoughts of electing a new emperor, and conducting him with a strong army to *Constantinople*: but this scheme was opposed by the pope as impracticable. In *Ravenna* the people rose in defence of the images against *Paul* the exarch; and having killed him and all the iconoclasts in the city, submitted to *Luitprand* king of the *Lombards*, a cunning prince, who took care to improve to his advantage the general discontent that reigned among the subjects of the empire. In *Naples* the people took arms against *Exhilaratus* their duke (for *Naples* was then governed by dukes sent from *Constantinople*) and murdered him, with his son *Adrian*, and one of his chief officers, for pressing the inhabitants to receive the edict, and conform to the religion of their prince. However, as they hated the *Lombards*, with whom they had been almost constantly at war, they continued firm and constant in their obedience to *Leo*, and received *Peter*, who was appointed duke of *Naples*, in the room of *Exhilaratus*. The people of *Rome*, finding the emperor inflexible in his design against the worship of images and the life of the pope, whom he looked upon as the chief author of all the disturbances, resolved at length to renounce their allegiance to *Leo*, and to continue united under the pope as their head, binding themselves by a solemn oath to defend him against all the attempts both of the emperor and the *Lombards*, whom they had but too much reason to mistrust^b. *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, and other Greek writers, tell us, that the Romans, withdrawing their obedience to *Leo*, chose pope *Gregory* for their prince, taking an oath of allegiance to him. They add, that the pope accepted of the principality, forbidding the Romans to pay thenceforth tribute to the emperor; that he publicly excommunicated *Leo* as an heretic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him, and solemnly declared him fallen from the empire. Hence, say they, had the temporal and independent dominion of the pope over *Rome* its rise, which was afterwards enlarged by *Pepin* and *Charles the Great*, and extended to the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and *Pentapolis*, and several

The people of Italy revolt.

Ravenna submits to the Lombards.

The inhabitants of Naples kill their duke or governor.

The Romans revolt.

And choose the pope for their head.

The rise of the temporal dominion of the pope.

^b ANAST. in Greg. II. PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. SIGON. ad ann. 725, 726. Epist. 1. & 2. Greg. ad Leon.

ral other cities of *Italy*. But it appears from *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, *Joannes Damascenus*, who all flourished nearer those times, and in the places where the things they relate happened, nay, and from the letters of *Gregory* himself to *Leo*, that he acknowledged him for his lawful sovereign as long as he lived, as did likewise *Gregory III.* his successor ^c. The *Latin* writers take no notice of *Gregory's* excommunicating and deposing the emperor, or absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance; but only tell us, that when *Leo* deposed the patriarch *Germanus*, and appointed *Anastasius* in his room, *Gregory* excommunicated the latter; and rebuking the emperor by letters, earnestly intreated him not to abuse the power with which he had been trusted, to introduce innovations in the church ^d. However, the authority of the *Greek* historians has been preferred to that of the *Latins*, by all the protestant, and most of the *Roman* catholic, writers; but with very different views. The protestants followed them, that they might thence take occasion to make a comparison between our Saviour and the pope. When the multitude, say they, offered to make our Saviour king, he rejected their offers, saying, *My kingdom is not of this world*: when the *Romans* offered the principality to *Gregory*, he readily accepted it, and, from the servant of servants became the lord and master. Our Saviour expressly commanded tribute to be paid to *Cæsar*: the pope would suffer no more tribute to be paid to *Leo* his lawful sovereign, &c. ^e. On the other hand, the *Roman* catholics, by standing to what the *Greeks* write, think they can defend the pope from all usurpation, and establish his temporal power and jurisdiction upon a better and more plausible foundation, viz. the unanimous consent of the people, conferring upon him, freely and without constraint, the principality ^f; not reflecting, that those, who thus chose him for their prince, had revolted from their lawful sovereign; and consequently that *Gregory*, by accepting the principality, became guilty both of rebellion and usurpation. But from what we shall relate in the history of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, it will plainly appear, that the pope did not acquire the sovereignty of *Rome* at this time, but many years after; nay, that his temporal dominion had not its rise in *Rome*, but in the exarchate of *Ravenna* and the *Pentapolis*, which were taken by the celebrated *Pepin* from *Astulphus* king of the *Lombards*, and given to pope *Stephen*,

^c ANAST. BIBL. in Greg. II. GREG. II. in epist. I. ad Leon. & GREG. III. epist. 3. ad Bonifac. ^d Vide ANASTAS. ad ann.

658. ^e Vide SPANH. contra Maimburg. in histor. imag. p. 52.

^f GIANNETAS, hist. Neap. l. v. p. 94.

whom

whom some call the second, others the third, of that name. As for the sovereignty of *Rome*, the popes did not enjoy it, as we shall demonstrate in a more proper place, till the year 876, when it was yielded to the apostolic see, as it began then to be called, by *Charles* surnamed the *Bald*. But to return to *Leo*: He was wholly taken up, during the remaining part of his long reign, in suppressing the worship of images throughout his dominions, and raging with great cruelty against those who refused to comply with his edict; while the *Saracens*, breaking into the eastern provinces, laid them waste without controul, carrying yearly back with them an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. In the seventeenth year of his reign, and 732, of the christian æra, he married his son *Constantine* to the daughter of the king of the *Chazari*, after she had been instructed in the principles of the christian religion, and received at her baptism the name of *Irene*, a word signifying in the *Greek* tongue *peace*. The same year, the emperor caused a mighty fleet to be equipped, with a design to chastize and bring back to their duty the *Romans* and other people of *Italy*, who had revolted on occasion of the edict against images; but, the fleet being shipwrecked in the *Adriatic* sea, *Leo* could by no other means be revenged on the pope, who continued to oppose the execution of his edict, than by causing the revenues of the *Roman* see in *Calabria* and *Sicily* to be confiscated *. In the last year of *Leo's* reign, a dreadful earthquake happened at *Constantinople*, which overturned many churches, monasteries, and private houses, burying great numbers of people under the ruins. Not long after *Leo* died, having reigned twenty-five years, two months, and twenty days, and was succeeded by his son *Constantine*, who no sooner saw himself sole master of the empire, than he led an army against the *Saracens*, who had made an irruption into *Asia*. In his absence *Artabazdus*, who had married his sister, gave out, that he was dead; and being thereupon acknowledged by the people and proclaimed emperor, he caused the sons of *Constantine* to be secured; but as he was well apprised, that the report he had industriously spread of *Constantine's* death would be soon contradicted, he began to consult with the patriarch *Anastasius*, by what other means he might keep the people steady in their allegiance to him. *Anastasius* had been a zealous iconoclast in the late reign; but to curry favour with *Artabazdus*, who had a great veneration for images, and to estrange the minds of the people from *Constantine*, he assembled them in the great church, and holding in his hand the wood of the holy cross, he took the following oath: *By him who*

Constantine married to Irene.

Leo's fleet shipwrecked.

Leo dies, and is succeeded by Constantine Capronymus. Artabazdus revolts;

* THEOPH. ad ann. Leon. 17.

died upon this wood, I swear, that Constantine one day addressed me with these words; I do not believe him to be the son of God, who was born of Mary, and is called Christ, but a mere man; for Mary was delivered of him after the same manner, as Mary my mother was delivered of me. This deposition of the patriarch, whether true or false we cannot take upon us to determine, made such an impression on the minds of the multitude, that they immediately deposed Constantine with one consent, and, with repeated acclamations, saluted Artabazdus again emperor, who took Nicephorus his eldest son for his partner in the empire ^h. This gave rise to a civil war, the greatest, says Cedrenus, perhaps not without some exaggeration, that had happened since the beginning of the world. But all we know of

But is defeated, and Constanti-
nople taken by
Constantine.

it is, that Artabazdus, and his son Nicephorus, being defeated by Constantine in several encounters, were in the end besieged in Constantinople; which city held out, till the inhabitants were forced by famine to submit. Artabazdus and his two sons were taken and delivered up to the emperor, who caused their eyes to be pulled out, gave the city up to be plundered by his soldiers, and either banished, maimed, or put to death, all those who had been any-ways concerned in the revolt. Anastasius the patriarch was, by the emperor's orders, publicly beaten with rods, and then carried in an ignominious manner through the most frequented streets of the city on an ass, with his face to the tail. However, the time-serving prelate was continued in his see, because the emperor could not find a worse, says Theophanes, to prefer to it in his room ⁱ. Constantine, having thus got rid of his enemies at home, resolved to march once more against the Saracens, who were at war among themselves. Accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he entered Syria; and having overthrown the enemy in several encounters, made himself master of Germanicia and some other strong-holds, which had been long in their hands. The Saracens, notwithstanding their domestic quarrels, to divert the emperor from pursuing his conquests in Syria, assembled a mighty fleet, which steered its course to the island of Cyprus, where it was to be joined by other ships of war, and a great number of transports with land-forces on board. But the Roman fleet coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were riding at anchor in one of the ports of that island, destroyed the whole navy, except three ships, which they suffered to escape with the news of so great a calamity ^k. However, the emperor was diverted from pursuing the advantages, that might have thence accrued to the empire,

Constantine recovers several places from the Saracens. Destroys their fleet.

^h Idem ad ann. Const. 1.
 CEPH in Const. c. 13.

ⁱ Idem ad ann. Const. 3.

^k NI-

by the frequent earthquakes that happened about this time, and *Dreadful* were by far the most destructive that had been known in any *earth-* age. In *Syria* and *Palestine* several cities were swallowed up, *quakes.*

others intirely ruined, and some, if we may give credit to *Nicephorus*, removed, without any considerable damage, six miles and upwards from their former seats. At the same time happened an extraordinary darkness, which lasted from the fourth of *August* to the first of *October*, there being little or no distinction, during that time, between day and night ¹. This calamity

was followed by another still more terrible, viz. a plague, *A violent* which, breaking out in *Calabria*, soon spread all over *Sicily*, *plague.*

Greece, the islands in the *Ægean* sea, and at length reached *Constantinople*, where it raged for three years together with such fury, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead ^m.

The plague no sooner ceased, than *Constantine*, having caused his son *Leo*, then scarce a year old, to be proclaimed emperor, marched with what forces he could draw together into *Armenia*, and, taking advantage of the divisions that still reigned among the *Saracens*, made himself master of *Mitylene*, *Theodosiopolis*, and several other places. But he was diverted from pursuing his conquests in the east by a sudden irruption of the *Bulgarians*, who, provoked at the emperor's causing some forts to be built on the frontiers of *Thrace*, broke into that province, and, advancing as far as the long wall, laid waste the whole country.

Constantine, having recalled his forces out of the east, marched against them in person; but being surprised by the enemy in a narrow passage called *Beragaba*, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to save himself by flight to *Constantinople* ⁿ. Soon after his return to that metropolis, he renewed the edict published by his father against images, forbidding at the same time any worship to be paid to the saints, or their relics, and commanding their images to be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. Such of the bishops as opposed the execution of this edict were driven from their sees; and the monks, who preached against either, sent into banishment, or sentenced to death. At the same time, an edict was published in *Constantinople*, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding, under the severest penalties, any one to embrace a monastic life; nay, at *Constantinople* most of the religious houses were suppressed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the streets. But of this persecution the reader will find a more particular and distinct account, in the ecclesiastic writers, than it may be proper for us to give in this place ^o.

Constantine

tine de-

feated by

the Bulga-

rians.

He perse-

cutes the

worship-

pers of

images.

¹ Idem ibid. THEOPH. ad ann. Const. 6. CEDREN. ibid. ^m NICEPH. THEOPH. CEDREN. ibid. ⁿ THEOPH. ad ann. Const. 19.

^o Vide THEOPH. CEDREN. &c. ad ann. Const. 19—23.

*A surpris-
ing frost.*

*Several
prodigies.*

*Constantine de-
feats the
Bulgari-
ans.*

*Is deluded
by their
king.*

The twenty-third year of *Constantine's* reign and 763 of the christian æra, is remarkable for an extraordinary frost, which began on the first of *October*, and lasted till the latter end of *February*. At *Constantinople* both seas were frozen for an hundred miles from the shore, the ice being so thick as to bear the heaviest carriages, and covered with snow twenty cubits deep. When the frost broke, mountains of ice and frozen snow, being driven by the winds through the straits, did a great deal of damage to the walls and the castle of *Constantinople*. The reader will find a surprising account of this frost in *Theophanes*, who, with thirty others, passed the streights upon one of these floating islands, as he styles it ^p. The month following several prodigies appeared, or were thought to appear, in the air. At the same time, a comet, which the *Greeks* called *docites*, because it resembled a beam, was seen for ten days in the east, whence it moved to the west, and shone there for one and twenty days more, the people being struck with terror and amazement at the sight of these prodigies, and apprehending the last day to be at hand. *Constantine*, in the mean time, continued to persecute with great severity those who appeared most zealous and forward in the worship of images, till he was diverted by a new irruption of the *Bulgarians*; who, breaking into the territories of the empire, committed every-where unheard-of cruelties. But *Constantine*, marching in person against them, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. This the emperor styled his *noble war*, because not one christian perished in it. However, he owed the victory, it seems, to the treachery of some *Bulgarians*, whom *Elerich* their king discovered by the following device: He wrote to *Constantine*, pretending a desire to resign the crown, and lead a private life at *Constantinople*; for which purpose he begged the emperor to send him a safe conduct, and at the same time to acquaint him what friends he had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with them to *Constantinople*, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Hereupon *Constantine*, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of the names of those who held intelligence with him; which the crafty prince no sooner received, than he caused them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himself thus deluded, resolved at all events to be revenged on the treacherous prince; and accordingly, having spent the winter in warlike preparations, he marched early in the spring against *Elerich*; but being seized on his march with a violent fever, he returned to *Archadiopolis*, whence he was conveyed to *Selymbria*, and from thence by sea to *Strongy-*

^p Vide THEOPH. ad ann. Const. 23, 24.

lum, where he died on the fourteenth of *September* of the year 775, after he had reigned twenty-four years, two months, and twenty-six days ¹. As *Constantine* was a most zealous iconoclast, and did all that lay in his power to suppress the worship of the saints, their images, and relics, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and the other writers of those times, paint him in the blackest colours, biased in some measure, as we may reasonably suppose, by passion, interest, and prejudice. However, standing even to the accounts of his declared enemies, we must allow him to have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, well skilled in war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised. As for the great severity which he exerted against such as continued, in defiance of his decree, to worship images, it was, no doubt, owing to his zeal for the purity of the christian religion. After all, his severity against the worshippers of images did not exceed that of other emperors, highly commended by all christian writers, against the worshippers of idols. He defended the empire with equal bravery and success against the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*; but was not in a condition to prevent the loss of the far greater part of his dominions in *Italy*, *Astolphus*, king of the *Lombards*, having reduced it in 751, the city and exarchate of *Ravenna* with the *Pentapolis*, which were soon after wrested from him by *Pepin* king of *France*, and given to pope *Stephen III.* and hence sprung the temporal dominion of the pope in *Italy*, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. The exarchate of *Ravenna* comprehended *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Cesena*, *Bobbio*, *Ferrara*, *Commachio*, *Adria*, *Geavia*, and *Secchia*; the *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d'Ancona*, comprised *Rimini*, *Pesaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Sinogaglia*, *Ancona*, *Osimo*, *Umana*, *Jesi*, *Fossombrone*, *Montefeltro*, *Urbino*, *Cagli*, *Luceoli*, and *Eugubio*, as appears from the grant of *Lewis the Pious*, confirming the donation of *Pepin*. The pope, thus enriched with large territories and dominions, would no longer be deemed a subject of the empire; but adding the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the sceptre to the keys, he created a new principality in *Italy* on the ruins of the eastern empire, to which nothing now remained in that country, except the provinces of *Calabria* and *Brutium*, with the dukedoms of *Naples*, *Amalfi*, and *Gaeta*. But of the state of *Italy* at this time, and the great revolutions that happened there, we shall speak at length in the history of the *Lombards*.

Constantine was succeeded in the empire by his son *Leo*, who, soon after his accession, took his son *Constantine*, whom he had

He marches against them; but dies.

His character.

The exarchate and Pentapolis given to the pope.

¹ THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Const. 25.

Elerich,
king of the
Bulgari-
ans, em-
braces the
christian
religion.

Leo an
enemy to
images.

Constan-
tine Por-
phyroge-
nitus and
Irene.

by *Irene*, for his partner in the empire, causing him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch in the hippodrome, and bestowing at the same time the title of *nobilissimi* on his two brothers *Anthemius* and *Eudoxius*, *Nicephorus*, his second brother, having received that honour in his father's life-time¹. *Constantine* was crowned in the latter end of *April* of the year 776, and the following month *Nicephorus*, *Leo's* brother, formed a conspiracy against the emperor and his son; but the plot being discovered, he was apprehended, and banished with his accomplices to *Chersona*. The same year *Elerich*, king of the *Bulgarians*, who had done great mischief to the empire in the preceding reign, moved with an earnest desire of embracing the christian religion, resigned his crown and repaired to *Constantinople*, where he was received by *Leo* with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and, after he had received the sacrament of baptism, created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empress *Irene*². In the third year of *Leo's* reign, some advantages were gained by the emperor's forces over the *Saracens*, who, by way of revenge, began to persecute the christians in a most cruel manner, causing all their churches in *Syria* to be pulled down and levelled with the ground. The following year, *Leo*, who had hitherto dissembled his real sentiments concerning the worship of images, openly declared against that superstitious, as he styled it, and idolatrous, practice, reviving the edicts of his father and grandfather, and punishing, with the utmost severity, such as presumed to pay any kind of worship to the saints, the virgin *Mary*, or their images. Having found two images in the closet of the empress *Irene*, he never after admitted her to his bed, and caused those who had conveyed them to her to be racked to death³. He did not long out-live them, being soon after seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the sixteenth of *September* 780, after having reigned five years and ten days. *Theophanes* writes, that *Leo*, having taken out of the great church a crown, which had been deposited there by the emperor *Heraclius*, and was enriched with carbuncles of an inestimable value, while he was one day wearing it, a carbuncle broke out on his head, and he was at the same time seized with a fever, which, by a just judgment, soon put an end to his life⁴.

Leo was succeeded by his son *Constantine*, surnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, because he was born while his father was emperor; but, as he was then only ten years old, his mother *Irene* took upon her the administration. The young prince had scarce reigned

¹ THEOPH. ad ann. Leon. 1. ad ann. 5. CELESTIN. in comp. annal.

² Idem ad ann. 2.

³ Idem

⁴ THEOPH. ibid.

forty days, when some of the senators and great officers conspired against him, with a design to prefer his uncle *Nicephorus* to the imperial dignity; but *Irene*, having seasonably discovered the plot, caused the chief authors of it to be seized, and confined to different islands, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. Awakened by this danger, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, she obliged all the late emperor's brothers to take holy orders, and administer the sacrament to the people on *Christmas-day*, when she and her son restored to the church the crown of *Heraclius*, which *Leo* had seized. The same year 780, the *Saracens*, upon the news of *Leo's* death, broke into the eastern provinces; but were driven back with great loss by the troops which *Irene* had, upon the first notice of their motions, dispatched against them^m. The following year, the empress, to procure a strong alliance by the marriage of her son, sent embassadors into *France*, to propose a match between him and the daughter of *Charles* king of that country, who was afterwards surnamed the *Great*, and crowned emperor of the west. The proposal being well received by *Charles*, an eunuch, by name *Eliseus*, was left at his court to teach his daughter, named *Rotrudris*, the *Greek* tongue, and instruct her in the manners and customs of the *Greeks*ⁿ. The same year, *Helpidius* governor of *Sicily* revolted; but was driven out of the island by *Theodorus* a patrician, whom *Irene* had sent with a powerful fleet against him, and obliged to take refuge among the *Saracens* in *Africa*, who, acknowledging him for emperor in opposition to *Constantine*, fell with such fury upon the eastern provinces, that *Irene* was glad to avert the danger that threatened the empire, by obliging herself to pay them an annual pension^o. The peace with the *Saracens* was scarce concluded, when the *Sclavi* or *Sclavini*, breaking into *Greece* and *Peloponnesus*, seized on those countries. Against them the empress dispatched *Saturacius* a patrician, who overcame them in several battles; but suffered them to continue in the countries they had seized, upon their promising to acknowledge the authority of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute. In 788, the match between *Constantine* and *Rotrudris*, which had been approved of by both parties, was broken off by *Irene*, who obliged her son, much against his inclination, to marry a woman of a mean descent, named *Mary*, by birth an *Armenian* or *Paphlagonian*, and the niece or daughter of one *Philaretus*, remarkable for his good-nature and charitable disposition. Some ascribe the breaking off of the match with *Rotrudris* to the ambition of *Irene*, apprehending, that *Constantine* would no

A conspiracy discovered, and the conspirators punished.

Helpidius revolts.

An annual pension paid to the Saracens.

^m Idem ad ann. Conf. 1.

ⁿ Idem ad ann. 2.

^o Idem ibid.

longer

*A misun-
derstand-
ing be-
tween
Constantine and
Irene.*

*Irene ob-
liges the
senate and
soldiery to
take an
oath of al-
legiance
to her.*

*Constantine de-
prives her
of the ad-
ministrati-
on.*

longer be governed by her, but by his father-in-law. Others tell us, that the empress was provoked against *Charles*, on account of his invading the dukedom of *Benevento* in *Italy*, which she had taken under her protection. Be that as it will, the conduct of the empress on that occasion disobliged her son to such a degree, that he was never after truly reconciled to her. The young prince's courtiers, apprised of the misunderstanding that passed between him and his mother, and desirous of getting the power into their own hands, took care to put him in mind, that he was no longer a minor, but of an age to govern without the directions or counsels of a woman. *Constantine* hearkening to their insinuations, they resolved to seize on *Saturacius*, who governed with an absolute sway, as *Irene's* first minister, and, after having banished him, to oblige the empress to resign the administration. But *Saturacius*, having notice of their design as soon as it was concerted, immediately imparted it to *Irene*, who caused all those who had been privy to it to be beaten with rods and sent into banishment. As for her son, she chastised him with her own hands, and, having confined him to his apartment, obliged the senate and soldiery to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to acknowledge *Constantine*, but her alone, for their sovereign, so long as she lived. This oath was taken by all the forces quartered in the different provinces, except some legions in *Armenia*, who resolutely declared they would adhere to *Constantine*, pursuant to the oath which they had already taken. The resolution of the *Armenian* legions encouraged the rest, notwithstanding their late oath, to proclaim *Constantine* anew, and demand, with unanimous consent, that he might be forthwith vested with the whole power and authority. *Irene*, dreading the fury of the incensed multitude, immediately released her son from his confinement, who, being received with the repeated acclamations of the citizens and soldiery, took the reins of the empire into his own hands. *Constantine*, now at liberty to act without controul, recalled and advanced to the first employments such as had been banished on his account, sending into exile *Saturacius* and his mother's other favourites, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. As for *Irene*, he led her with great respect out of the palace, and attended her in person to a house built by herself, in which she had laid up an immense treasure ^p. The same year 790, a dreadful fire happened at *Constantinople*, which consumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's palace, in which were the comments of *St. Chrysostom* on the scripture, written with his own hand. The following year the city was alarmed with a violent earthquake,

^p Idem, & CEDREN. ad ann. Const. 10.

which

which obliged the inhabitants to quit their habitations, and retire to the open fields¹. The same year the emperor marched at the head of a considerable army against the *Bulgarians*, who had broken into the empire, and engaged them in *Thrace*; but with what success is uncertain: for *Cedrenus* writes, that he gained a great victory; but *Zonaras* will have the two armies to have parted upon equal terms. Upon his return to *Constantinople*, the friends of *Irene*, what by extolling her wisdom, prudence, and experience in public affairs, what by intreaties and arguments drawn from filial duty, prevailed upon him to recal Irene re- his mother to court, and restore her to her former authority; called. which, however, the *Armenian* legions could never be induced to acknowledge². Being thus reconciled to his mother, he The em- marched anew against the *Bulgarians*, encouraged thereunto by peror de- some mathematicians, who promised him certain victory; but seated by while, depending upon their vain predictions, he neglected the the Bulga- proper means to obtain it, the *Bulgarians*, taking advantage of rians. his ill-grounded security, gave him a dreadful overthrow. Besides a great number of common soldiers, the best officers of the army and the most considerable men in the empire lost their lives in the battle, with *Pancratius* the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occasion to the overthrow³. The emperor growing jealous and distrustful upon this defeat, some malicious and designing courtiers took care to improve that disposition, by insinuating to him, that the soldiers quartered in *Constantinople* had formed a design of preferring *Nicephorus* to the empire; which heightened his jealousy to such a degree, as he was conscious to himself of his evil conduct, that His cruel- he not only caused his eyes to be put out, but those likewise of ty. his other uncles, *Nicetas*, *Anthemius*, and *Eudoxius*, though nothing had been alledged against them. *Alexius Mosoles*, whom the *Armenian* legions had demanded for their leader, when they refused to consent to the restoration of *Irene*, was, at her instigation, treated with the like severity; which so provoked those legions, that they refused to obey *Camilianus*, appointed by the emperor to command them. Hereupon *Constantianus*, *Artaseras*, and *Chrysochires* were sent against them at the head of a strong party; but the mutinous legions, having defeated and taken them prisoners, caused, by way of retaliation, their eyes to be pulled out; which so provoked *Constantine*, that he marched against them in person; and having defeated them in a pitched battle, put all their The Arme- officers to death, causing the common soldiers to be led in nian legi- chains to *Constantinople*, and conveyed from thence into dis- ons broken and dis- persed.

¹ Idem ad ann. 10, 11.² Idem ad ann. Const. 2.³ Idem ibid.

Constantine divorces Mary, and marries Theodota.

He puts the Bulgarians to flight.

He is murdered.

ferent islands ¹. The *Armenian* legions, who had always suspected and been ready to oppose the ambitious designs of *Irene*, being thus broken and dispersed, she began to put the emperor, now destitute of that support, upon such measures, as she thought, would render him odious to the people. As he had no great affection for the empress *Mary*, whom she had forced him to marry, contrary to his inclination, she advised him to divorce her, and marry *Theodota* or *Theodecta*, one of the maids of her chamber; who was accordingly crowned empress at *Constantinople*, where the nuptials were solemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence for three days together. This marriage occasioned great contests among the clergy concerning the lawfulness of it, in which *Irene* artfully sided with those who opposed her son, encouraging them underhand to estrange the minds of the people from him. However, the success which attended his arms against the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians* prevented the people from revolting, tho' privately stirred up, by *Irene* and her emissaries, to depose him. The *Saracens* had broken into *Cilicia*; but were driven back with great loss by the troops which *Constantine* seasonably dispatched against them. As for the *Bulgarians*, *Cardames* their king having sent ambassadors to demand a tribute, threatening to come as far as the golden gate of *Constantinople*, and there take it by force, if it was refused him, *Constantine* replied, that since he was stricken in years, he would save him the trouble of so long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched against him at the head of a considerable army; upon the sight of which, the barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost consternation. Upon his return to *Constantinople*, he attended his mother from thence to the baths of *Prusa* in *Bithynia*, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the empress *Theodota* was delivered of a son; at which he was so overjoyed, that he returned in great haste to *Constantinople*. *Irene*, taking advantage of his absence, gained over the chief officers of the army, who promised to depose *Constantine*, and commit the government to her alone. Pursuant to this promise, some of them, returning to *Constantinople*, seized on the unhappy prince, and carrying him to the palace of *Porphyra*, where he was born, pulled out his eyes in such a cruel and barbarous manner, that he died a few days after in the utmost agony, having reigned seven years alone, and ten with his mother ². Our historian observes, that five years before his uncles lost their eyes by his orders, on the same day of the same month, and in

¹ Idem ad ann. 3.

² Idem ad ann. 7. Const. fol.

the same chamber ^w. *Nicephorus* and *Christopher*, her husband's brothers, hearing of the death of *Constantine*, took sanctuary in the great church; but were dragged from thence and banished to *Athens*, where they are said to have been killed by the inhabitants, upon their attempting to raise disturbances in the empire. In them ended the family of *Leo Isauricus*; so that no one was now left to dispute with *Irene* her title to the empire. She no sooner received intelligence of the death of her son, than leaving *Prusa*, she repaired to *Constantinople*; which she entered in a Irene pro-gilded chariot, drawn by four horses, being attended by several claimed patricians, who waited as her slaves on either side, while she empress. threw money among the people, as was usual at the solemnity of a coronation ^x. In the mean time, the *Saracens*, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eastern provinces; and having defeated the forces *Irene* sent against them, entered *Thrace*, made their excursions to the very gates of *Constantinople*, destroying all with fire and sword, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty and an incredible number of captives. In 798, the second of *Irene's* reign, her great favourite, *Saturacius*, prompted by his boundless ambition, conspired against her, with a design to deprive her of the crown, and to place it upon his own head; but his Saturacius conspires against her. design being discovered before it was ripe for execution, *Irene*, after upbraiding him with treachery and ingratitude, contented herself, in consideration of his former services, with forbidding any one to keep him company. The partiality which the empress shewed him, joined to a lively sense of his ingratitude to her, made such a deep impression upon his mind, that he died of grief soon after ^y. *Irene*, finding she could not depend even upon those whom she thought she had most reason to confide in, made it her chief study to gain the hearts of her people. With this view she remitted an annual tribute, which had been long paid by the citizens of *Constantinople*, encouraged commerce, She studies to gain the affections of the people. and, what most of all obliged the people, promoted, to the utmost of her power, the worship of images, causing them to be set up anew in the churches, and annulling the edicts enacted against them by former emperors ^z. In 802, *Charles*, surnamed *the Great*, who had been crowned emperor of the west, by pope *Leo III.* on *Christmas-day* of the year 800, sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople*, with proposals of a firm and lasting peace between him and *Irene*. To these ambassadors were joined legates from the pope, who were received with ex-

^w Idem ibid. ^x Idem ad ann. Iren. 1. ^y Idem ad ann. Iren. 2.

^z Idem ad ann. 4.

A match
proposed
between
Irene, and
Charles
the Great.

Which is
opposed by
Aetius.

The nobi-
lity revolt,
and set up
Nicepho-
rus.

Irene de-
posed, and
Nicepho-
rus created
emperor.

traordinary pomp at *Constantinople*. The embassadors of *Charles*, among their other instructions, were ordered to propose a match between him and *Irene*, that the two empires might be once more happily united in their persons. *Irene* readily entered into the negotiation; but *Aetius* an eunuch, who bore the chief sway at court, by daily starting new difficulties, put off from time to time the conclusion of the treaty. As he was excluded from the empire himself, on account of his condition, he had been long labouring under-hand to prefer to it his brother, by name *Leo*, at that time governor of *Thrace* and *Macedon*; but being well apprised, that his design would be unavoidably defeated, should the treaty between *Irene* and so powerful and warlike a prince take place, he left no stone unturned to divert the empress from it, at least to get the conclusion of it suspended, till a favourable opportunity offered of putting in execution his private design. In the mean time, the nobility, who hated *Aetius*, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, suspecting his design, and apprehending the empress, over whom he had gained a great ascendant, might by him in the end be prevailed upon to take *Leo* for her partner in the empire, resolved to set up *Nicephorus*, a patrician of great wealth and interest among the people. Accordingly, having first disposed the minds of the citizens to a revolt, by giving out, that *Irene* not only designed to marry *Charles*, but to transfer the seat of the empire to the west, by which means the eastern empire would soon become a province to the new empire of the west, they assembled one night, and went in a large body to the palace, where they seized on *Irene* without opposition; and confining her under a strong guard to her chamber, conducted *Nicephorus*, their new emperor, with the usual solemnity, to the great church, where he was crowned in a tumultuous manner, the populace, whom *Irene* had obliged by several acts of generosity and good nature, uttering reproaches and curses against him. *Nicephorus* treated *Irene* with great civility and respect, till he had, by his obliging behaviour, prevailed upon her to discover to him the place where her treasures lay concealed; which she had no sooner done, than, contrary to his solemn promise, he confined her to a monastery, which she herself had built in an island; but soon after removed her from thence to the island of *Lesbos*, where she died of grief^a. She is greatly extolled, notwithstanding her unnatural conduct towards her son, by all the writers of those times, no doubt, on account of her zeal for the worship of images, and the great pains she took utterly to suppress the heresy, as it was then cal-

^a THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 1.

led, of the iconoclasts. She built a great many monasteries and hospitals for the relief of the poor and aged, and, by many other acts of piety, gained, if the writers of those times are to be credited, both the esteem and affections of her subjects. Her great attachment to the see of *Rome*, and the indefatigable pains she took to get the doctrine of the iconoclasts condemned in the second council of *Nice*, by her assembled for that purpose, have so far biaised some writers of that party, that they have not been ashamed to vindicate, even by texts of holy scripture, her unnatural and barbarous conduct towards her son, who perhaps well deserved such treatment, but not at the hands of his mother. *Irene* was thus deposed in 802, after having reigned ten years with her son, and five alone.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The Roman history, from the promotion of Nicephorus, to the death of Basilus II.

Nicephorus.

Concludes
a treaty
with
Charles
the Great.

Bardanes
revolts;

But sub-
mits.

THE ambassadors who had been sent, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, by *Charles the Great* to propose a marriage between him and the empress *Irene*, in order to unite by that means once more the two empires, were, no doubt, greatly concerned at the unexpected revolution, which happened during their stay at *Constantinople*, and utterly disconcerted the ambitious views of their master. However, as they were enjoined to conclude a firm and lasting peace with the eastern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince, who being well apprised of the advantages that might accrue to him from the friendship of *Charles*, received his ambassadors in a very obliging manner, and the year following concluded a treaty with him, in virtue of which *Charles* was acknowledged emperor of the west, and all *Italy*, to the rivers of *Vulturnus* and *Aufidus*, yielded to him. *Nicephorus*, in the third year of his reign, caused *Nicetas Tryphillius*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, to be taken off with poison, for no other crime but because he was beloved by the army. He gave several other instances of a most cruel, suspicious, and covetous temper, which, as they rendered him odious to the people, encouraged *Bardanes*, governor of one of the eastern provinces, to revolt, and assume the title of emperor. *Michael* and *Leo*, two officers of great reputation in the army, joined him at first; but soon after, finding him unequal to so great a charge, they abandoned him and went over to *Nicephorus*, who raised them to the first posts in the army. *Bardanes*, thus forsaken by his friends, sent a submissive message to *Nicephorus*, and, upon his promising to pardon him, retired to a monastery, and there embraced a religious life. The emperor, pretending to be intirely reconciled to him, invited him in a friendly manner to *Constantinople*; but on his way to that city, his eyes were plucked out by persons sent for that purpose. The emperor, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, and secure the crown to his family, took his son *Saturacius* for his partner in the empire, and caused him to be crowned with the usual solemnity. Having thus settled his affairs at home, he marched against the *Saracens*,
who

who had broke into the eastern provinces; but his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to save himself by a shameful flight, having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. The following year, the *Saracens*, to the number of three hundred thousand men, invaded the empire anew; and advancing without opposition as far as *Tyana*, the metropolis of *Cappadocia Minor*, made themselves masters of that city and several other fortified places, extending their ravages to the very gates of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*. *Nicephorus* marched against them with what forces he could raise; but not daring to venture an engagement, he dispatched ambassadors with rich presents to *Aaron* their kaliff, who, with much-ado, was prevailed to grant a peace upon the following terms: That the emperor should pay to the *Saracens* a yearly tribute of thirty thousand pieces of gold, besides three thousand for his own head, and as many for that of his son; and that he should not presume to repair such forts as had been dismantled. *Nicephorus* agreed to these terms; but the enemy was no sooner retired, than, with an open breach of the treaty, he rebuilt the forts that had been demolished; which so provoked the *Saracens*, that they returned the same year, and raged with more fury than ever, putting all to fire and sword, both on the continent and in the island of *Cyprus*, where they demolished the churches, and put an incredible number of the inhabitants to the sword. The following year they made a descent upon the island of *Rhodes*, and took a great number of prisoners; but their fleet suffered much by a violent storm, which overtook them as they were returning home*. The same year *Nicephorus* married his son *Saturacius* to *Theophania*, a near relation of the late empress *Irene*, though she had been some time before contracted to another, which gave occasion to great complaints, and encouraged some to conspire against him: but they were all detected and punished with the utmost severity: nay, many persons of great distinction, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, were, upon bare suspicions, dragged to prison, and there either put to death, or racked with the greatest cruelty. In the seventh year of his reign, the *Bulgarians* making an irruption into the empire, under the conduct of *Grumus*, their king, surprised *Sardica*, a city of *Mæsia*, and put the whole garison, consisting of six thousand men, to the sword. *Nicephorus* marched against them with a considerable army; but the enemy retiring with their booty at his approach, instead of pursuing them, he returned to *Constantinople*, and imposed a new tribute upon the city for the repairing of *Sardica*; which incensed them to such a degree, that they rose in a tumultuous manner, and attacked

Nicephorus defeated by the Saracens.

Nicephorus concludes a dishonourable peace with them.

They invade the empire anew.

The Bulgarians take Sardica.

A tumult at Constantinople.

* THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 2—6. CEDREN. ibid.

Nicephorus ravages with great cruelty the country of the Bulgarians.

He is defeated and slain.

Saturacius.

Michael proclaimed emperor.

the palace, but were repulsed by the emperor's guards with great slaughter. In the ninth year of his reign, he raised a powerful army, and, marching at the head of it, entered the country of the *Bulgarians*, destroying all with fire and sword. *Crumus*, their king, alarmed at his approach, sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, rejecting them with indignation, pursued his ravages, wasting the country, destroying the cities, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. *Crumus*, sensibly affected with the calamities of his subjects, sent the emperor a second submissive message, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would quit his country. But *Nicephorus* dismissing the ambassadors with scorn, *Crumus*, pushed on by despair, attacked unexpectedly the emperor's camp; and having forced it, in spite of all opposition, cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor himself, a great number of patricians, and most of the chief officers. *Saturacius* received a dangerous wound in the neck, but escaped in a litter to *Adrianople*. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands; and the body of *Nicephorus* being found among the slain, *Crumus* caused his head to be cut off; and after having kept it for some time exposed to the view of the soldiery, he inclosed the scull in silver, and made use of it instead of a cup^y. Such was the end of *Nicephorus*, after having reigned eight years, as many months, and twenty-six days. He is said to have been strongly inclined to the execrable doctrine of the *Manichees*, to have denied providence, and to have exceeded all the princes who reigned before him, in lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all manner of debaucheries^z.

Saturacius fled, as we observed above, to *Adrianople*, where he was acknowledged emperor by some of the officers, who had escaped the general slaughter. But as he was not in a condition, on account of his wound, to appear in public, and at the same time knew himself to be universally hated both by the nobility and people, he resolved to confer the empire on his wife *Theophania*. But, in the mean time, the senate caused *Michael*, who had married *Procopia*, sister to *Saturacius*, to be proclaimed emperor in the circus; which *Saturacius* no sooner understood, than he retired with his wife to a monastery, where he embraced a religious life, and died soon after, having reigned two months and ten days. *Michael*, mindful of

^y THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 9.
Niceph. THEOPH. ibid.

^z CEDREN. ZONAR. in

the oath he had taken to *Nicephorus* and his son, declined at first the imperial dignity; but being afterwards informed that *Saturacius*, the better to secure the crown to his wife, had resolved to deprive him of his sight, he accepted the offer, and was crowned in the great church by *Nicephorus* the patriarch, after he had by a solemn promise under his own hand obliged himself to maintain the privileges of the church, and to abstain from shedding christian blood ^a. The new emperor a few days after caused his wife *Procopia* to be likewise crowned by the patriarch with his son *Theophylact*, whom he took for his partner in the empire. He was scarce warm in his throne, when the *Saracens* broke into the empire on one side, and the *Bulgarians* on the other. The former were defeated and driven back by *Leo*, who governed the eastern provinces, with the loss of two thousand men. Against the *Bulgarians* *Michael* marched in person; but having, after several slight skirmishes, ventured an engagement, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fly back with shame and disgrace to *Constantinople*. The emperor was affected with this misfortune to such a degree, that he resolved to quit the purple, which required a person of a more warlike and active genius, and retire to a cloyster. Accordingly he earnestly pressed *Leo* to accept of the empire, who, as he was free from all ambition, inviolably attached to *Michael*, and at the same time sensible of the dangerous state of affairs, was with much ado prevailed upon to comply with his request, though backed by the intreaties of the magistrates, the soldiery, and the patriarch. *Michael* no sooner understood, that *Leo* had in the end suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, than he retired, with his wife *Procopia* and his children, to the monastery of *Pharus*, where he took the monastic habit on the eleventh of July 813, after having reigned one year, nine months, and as many days ^b. Thus *Theophanes*, who lived at this time, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote. But *Cedrenus* gives us a very different account of the promotion of *Leo*. According to that writer, *Michael* had the advantage in the engagement with the *Bulgarians*, till *Leo*, who aspired to the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which so disheartened the *Romans*, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight, leaving the *Bulgarians* masters of the field. The emperor, with much ado, escaped to *Adrianople*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, attended by a small body of horse. In his absence, *Leo*, by exclaiming against him as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince, prevailed upon the army to revolt from *Michael*, and offer the empire to himself; which, how-

Takes his
son for his
colleague.

Is defeated
by the Bul-
garians,
and resigns
the empire.

Leo raised
to the em-
pire.

^a THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 9.

^b Idem ad ann. Mic. 2.

ever, he pretended to decline, till *Michael Traulus* or *Balbus*, one of the chief officers of the army, drawing his sword, as it had been agreed on beforehand, threatened him with present death, if he did not immediately comply with the earnest intreaties of the whole army, who, he said, placed their safety and that of the empire in him alone. When news was brought to *Constantinople* of the revolt of the army and the usurpation of *Leo*, some of the emperor's friends advised him to maintain his title, and prepare for a vigorous defence. But the good-natured emperor sharply reprimanded them, declaring, he had rather lose his life, than involve the state in a civil war, which would be inevitably attended with the effusion of much christian blood. Accordingly he sent to *Leo* the diadem, the purple robes, and the scarlet shoes, the ensigns of sovereignty, requiring him to come, without the least apprehension of danger, to *Constantinople*, and take possession of the imperial palace. Thus *Cedrenus*^c, to whose authority we should, without the least hesitation, prefer that of *Theophanes*, were we sure that the latter part of the history, which goes under his name, was done by him; but as some able critics pretend, that he concluded it with the reign of *Nicephorus*, and that the remaining part was added by some other writer, who, favouring *Leo*, concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the empire, we will not take upon us to decide whether *Leo* usurped the sovereignty, or was raised to it by the voluntary abdication of *Michael*. The new emperor, upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, took care to have *Michael* and his wife, who had retired to the same monastery, separated; and therefore confined him to a monastery on the island *Prota*, and banished *Procopia*, with her children, to another place, having first caused *Theophylact*, their eldest son, to be cruelly maimed, that he might have no issue^d. He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when the *Bulgarians*, elated with their late success, entered *Thrace*, destroying all with fire and sword. *Leo* having drawn together what forces he could, marched out against them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, great multitudes were slain on both sides, but at length the *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were put to the rout. As they were pursued by the enemy in great disorder, *Leo*, who beheld all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unexpectedly upon the barbarians with a reserve of chosen men, who attended him, renewed the fight, and in the end obtained an intire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were slain, and more taken prisoners. Some reckon the king himself, by name *Crumus*, among the former; but others will have

He gains a
complete
victory
over the
Bulga-
rians.

^c CEDREN. in Leon.

^d ZONAR. CEDREN. in Mich.

him

him to have been only wounded. However that be, the *Bulgarians* were so disheartened by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after ^c. The emperor, having now nothing to fear either from the *Bulgarians* or the *Saracens*, who were at variance among themselves, applied himself wholly to the suppressing of the worship that was paid to images. In order to this, he enforced the observance of the council held at *Constantinople* in 754, under *Constantinus Copronymus*, and published an edict forbidding any worship to be paid to images, and commanding them to be removed out of the churches. *Nicephorus* the patriarch, *Nicetas* a patrician, and one of the empress *Irene's* relations, *Theodorus* a monk in great reputation, *Theophanes* the historian, and many others, were banished for refusing to comply with the emperor's edict. But while the emperor was wholly intent upon redressing the abuses both in the church and state, *Michael*, surnamed *Balbus*, or the stammerer, whom he had preferred to the first employments, conspired against him, with a design to deprive him of the crown, and place it upon his own head. But the plot being discovered, *Michael* was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be burnt alive. But as the officers were leading him, on *Christmas-eve*, to the place of execution, the empress *Theodora*, by upbraiding her husband with cruelty and irreligion for not respecting that holy time, when he was to partake of the holy sacrament, prevailed upon him to respite the execution. However, that the criminal might not in the mean time make his escape, the emperor ordered him to be loaded with irons, of which he kept the keys himself. But *Michael* having, by means of some religious persons, who had been admitted to him, with the emperor's permission, acquainted his accomplices, that he was determined to discover them to *Leo*, unless they speedily procured his release, alarmed them to such a degree, that they resolved, without loss of time, to put their design in execution. Accordingly, mixing themselves with those who performed divine service in the emperor's chapel, they were admitted early in the morning into the palace, and lay concealed in a corner of the chapel, till the emperor came to his devotions, when, upon a signal agreed on beforehand, they started up; but by mistake, as it was not yet day-light, fell upon the person who presided over the clerks, or, as we may call him, the dean of the chapel. *Leo*, in the mean time, well apprised of their design, retired to the altar, where he was attacked by the conspirators, now sensible of their mistake; but defended himself with the chain of the incensory, or, as some write, with the cross, till one of his

He opposes
the wor-
ship of
images.

Michael
Balbus
conspires
against
him.
But is
seized and
condemned.

^c Idem ibid.

Leo murdered.

His character.

Michael Balbus proclaimed emperor.

He is an enemy to images.

hands being cut off, he fell to the ground, when the conspirators, rushing upon him, dispatched him with many wounds, and in the end struck off his head^f. Such was the end of *Leo IV.* after he had reigned seven years, five months, and fourteen days. He is allowed, even by such as were his avowed enemies, on account of his zeal in suppressing the worship of images, to have been a vigilant and active prince, and to have reformed many abuses, that had long prevailed in the state. In conferring employments, he had regard to merit alone, was quite free from avarice, and endowed with many princely qualities; whence the patriarch *Nicephorus*, who had been banished by him, in hearing the news of his death, could not help owning him to have been a great, though a wicked, prince. The body of the unhappy emperor was dragged to the circus, and there exposed for some time to public view. After this the conspirators, having seized on the empress *Theodora*, confined her to a monastery, and banished her four sons, viz. *Sabbatius*, called also *Constantine*, *Basil*, *Gregory*, and *Theodosius*, to the island of *Prota*, where they were afterwards made eunuchs by *Michael's* order, in which cruel operation *Theodosius* died. *Michael*, in the mean time, being set at liberty, and conducted by the conspirators from the prison to the palace, placed himself upon the imperial throne, loaded, as he still was, with his irons, the keys being no-where to be found: at length the bolts being knocked off with a hammer, he repaired to the great church, where he was crowned by the patriarch.

Michael, thus raised to the empire, was a native of *Amorium*, a city of *Phrygia*, inhabited chiefly by *Jews*, and such christians as had been driven from their own countries on account of their heretical opinions. *Michael* himself observed the *Jewish* sabbath, denied the resurrection of the dead, and held several other tenets condemned by the catholic church^g. In the first year of his reign he recalled a great number of bishops, monks, and others, who had been banished by *Leo* for not complying with his edict forbidding the worship of images, but at the same time summoned them to dispute in a council at *Constantinople* the point in question. With this summons they refused to comply, alledging, that as the worshipping of images had been already approved of and established by a general council, it could admit of no dispute. This answer greatly provoked the emperor, who nevertheless was so far from proceeding with rigor against them, that he indulged them in the use of images without the city. In the second year of his reign, and 823d of

^f INAT. in Taras. THEODOR. studitz. ep. lxi. LEO. GRAMMAT. in Leon. ^g CEDREN. in Mich.

the christian æra, a civil war broke out in the east, which involved the empire in endless calamities. It was raised by one *Thomas*, concerning whom authors are greatly divided in their accounts. According to some, he was meanly born, and at first a menial servant to a senator at *Constantinople*, whose wife he debauched, and then, to avoid the punishment due to his crime, fled to the *Saracens*, among whom, after he had continued for the space of twenty-five years, professing their religion, he obtained of their kaliff a considerable body of troops, boasting, that he could easily subdue the whole *Roman* empire. The better to intice the *Romans* over to his interest, he gave out, that he was *Constantine*, the son of *Irene*. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the east, and inviolably attached to *Leo*, whose death he resolved to revenge, and with that view took arms. However that be, he was a man of a grave aspect, of extraordinary strength and courage, and acceptable to the soldiery on account of his affable and engaging behaviour. Being well received in the eastern provinces by the inhabitants, who hated *Michael*, he soon raised a very numerous army, and over-ran, without controul, all *Asia*, seizing every-where on the public revenues, and plundering such cities as refused to submit to him. And now being master of all *Asia* and *Syria*, he assumed the purple and diadem, and caused himself to be acknowledged as emperor by the patriarch of *Antioch*. *Michael*, in the mean time, dispatched all the troops he could assemble against him; but *Thomas*, meeting them in *Asia*, gave them a total overthrow; and having with incredible expedition fitted out a strong fleet, he engaged and defeated that of the emperor; and then crossing over into *Thrace* appeared unexpectedly before *Constantinople*, not doubting, but the inhabitants would open their gates to him at his first approach. But to his great surprise, they received him with most opprobrious language, repulsed him in two successive attacks, and in several sallies killed great numbers of his men. *Thomas* made the necessary preparations for a third assault, being resolved to make an utmost effort, and attack the city at the same time by sea and land. But a most violent storm arising, when he was upon the point of giving the signal, his fleet was dispersed, and his battering engines overturned and rendered quite useless. This disappointment, and some successful sallies of the besieged, obliged him, as the season was already far advanced, to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters, but with a resolution to return before the city early in the spring; which he did accordingly: but *Michael* having in the mean time equipped a fleet and raised a land-army, he met with far greater opposition at his return than he had done before. His army was routed with great slaughter in

Thomas
revolts in
the east.

Makes
himself
master of
Asia and
Syria.

Besieges
Constanti-
nople.

a fally, and his fleet driven ashore by that of the emperor. The usurper had in his army a commander of great valour, and experience, named *Gregory*, who, having been banished by *Michael* to the island of *Scirus*, because he was a near relation of *Leo*, the late emperor, had in the beginning of the war declared for the usurper, and been entrusted by him with the command of twelve thousand men; but now observing, that fortune, which had hitherto attended *Thomas* in all his undertakings, began to forsake him, he resolved to make his peace with *Michael*, the rather because his wife and children were in his hands. This negotiation was not carried on so privately, but *Thomas* had timely notice of it, who thereupon leaving a sufficient number of troops before *Constantinople* to carry on the siege, led the rest against *Gregory*; and coming up with him, while he was marching away with the forces under his command to join the emperor, defeated his whole party, took him alive, but put him immediately to death, and then returned in triumph to pursue the siege. But in the mean time, *Mortagon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, hearing the emperor was besieged in his metropolis, and either pitying his condition, or desirous of gaining his friendship, marched at the head of a numerous army to his assistance. *Thomas*, when informed of his approach, was some time in suspense, whether he should continue the siege, or march with all his forces against the barbarians, but at length resolved on the latter; and accordingly breaking up the siege, he met and engaged the *Bulgarians* at a place called *Cedoetus*, but was by them put to flight with great slaughter. Upon the news of his defeat, his fleet before *Constantinople* revolted to the emperor; which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of pursuing the siege, and to retire to *Diabesis*, a place distant a few furlongs from the city; whence by his parties he laid waste all the neighbouring country. While he lay encamped there, the emperor ordered all his troops to march out against him, under the command of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, whom he received with great bravery, but was overthrown by the treachery of his own men, most of whom went over to the emperor in the heat of the engagement. *Thomas*, with much ado, escaped to *Adrianople*, where he was immediately besieged by the emperor's forces, and at length delivered up to *Michael* by his own people, no longer able to endure the famine and the unspeakable hardships, to which they were reduced. The emperor, having caused his hands and feet to be cut off, ordered him, thus maimed, to be carried upon an ass round the camp. He died soon after in the utmost agony. *Anastasius*, his adopted son, who for that honour had forsaken the monastic life, which he professed before, being delivered up to the emperor by the inhabitants of *Byria*, met with the same treatment

He defeats
and puts to
death
Gregory,
who de-
signed to
betray him.

He is de-
feated by
the Bulga-
rians,

He is
delivered up to
the empe-
ror, and put
to death.

treatment as his father had done. *Pavium* and *Heraclea*, two maritime cities of *Thrace* which *Thomas* had seized, refused to submit, not so much out of affection to him, as out of hatred to the emperor, on account of his opposing the worship of images. But the walls of the former city were overturned by an earthquake, and the latter was taken by storm. Some other cities and castles continued to hold out for some time, but they were all in the end reduced, and the civil war intirely extinguished ^h.

In the mean time, the *Saracens*, who had settled in *Spain* and were grown too numerous for that country, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, having equipped several ships, dispatched them in quest of some fruitful island, in which they might plant a colony. *Apocephsus*, who commanded this squadron, having ravaged most of the islands in the *Mediterranean* without opposition, all the ships and garisons being gone to the assistance of *Thomas*, touched in the end at *Crete*; and being greatly taken with the fertility and pleasantness of that island, described it to his countrymen upon his return as a place, to use his expression, *flowing with milk and honey*. Hereupon the *Saracens*, having equipped, during the winter, a fleet consisting of forty ships well armed and manned, put to sea early in the spring; and landing in the island, encamped on the promon-
The Sara-
tory *Charax*, whence *Apocephsus* sent spies to discover the coun-
cens land
try, who upon their return informed him, that the island was in *Crete*.
quite destitute of soldiers, and that he would no-where meet
with the least opposition. Hereupon he ordered the fleet to be
set on fire, that his men, laying aside all thoughts of returning
home, might look upon that island as their native country. The
emperor, upon the first notice of this descent, dispatched *Dami-*
anus with a considerable body of troops to drive the *Saracens* out
of the island. *Damianus*, being joined by *Photinus*, advanced,
as soon as he had landed his forces, against the enemy, who kil-
led him at the first onset, and put his whole army to flight, *Pho-*
tinus having with much ado made his escape in a light vessel, and
carried the news of the overthrow to the emperor. The *Saracens*,
having now no enemy to oppose them, built and fortified a city
in a very convenient place, called *Chandax*, pointed out to them
by a monk. From thence they made frequent excursions, and
in a short time reduced the whole island, which by its new
masters was thence-forth called *Chandax*, and by others *Can-*
dia, from the above-mentioned city ⁱ. This happened in the
second year of the reign of *Michael Balbus* and the 822d of
the christian æra. *Michael*, thinking it would reflect eternal
ignominy, if he suffered the *Saracens* to settle in *Crete*, as

^h Idem ibid.ⁱ CEDREN. ibid.

The emperor's forces
defeated,
and cut in
pieces.

Several
public ca-
lamities.

soon as he had put an end to the civil war dispatched *Craterus*, with a powerful fleet and a numerous army, to recover the island. *Craterus*, having landed his men without opposition, fell upon the enemy with great resolution, who received him with equal intrepidity. The fight continued from day-break to noon, the victory inclining to neither side; but soon after the *Saracens*, great numbers of them being slain and more taken prisoners, began to give ground, and towards the evening fled in great confusion. Had the *Romans* pursued them, they might have easily, in that consternation, cut them all off to a man, and made themselves masters of their city. But, instead of following the fugitives, and assaulting, without loss of time, the place whither they had all retired, they spent the night in riot and drunkenness, as if the war had been already concluded, without so much as placing a guard or centry to prevent their being surpris'd. The enemy, apprised of their security, resolved, however fatigued with the duty of the preceding day, not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of being revenged on their conquerors. Accordingly sallying out in the dead of the night, they fell upon them while they were partly intoxicated with wine and partly asleep, and cut them off almost to a man. *Craterus*, their general, with great difficulty, escaped on board a small vessel to the island of *Cos*. But the prince of the *Saracens*, not finding his body among the slain, dispatched some vessels with troops after him, who landing on the island, surpris'd him, and nail'd him to a cross. After this defeat, the emperor, despairing of being able to recover the island of *Crete*, contented himself with defending the other islands, and restraining the piracies of the *Cretan Saracens* *. Besides the loss of the pleasant and fruitful island of *Crete*, several other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor's reign, viz. great conflagrations, destructive earthquakes, which overturned whole cities, inundations, strange phenomena in the heavens, general dearth and scarcity of provisions, violent storms, &c. which are all ascribed by *Cedrenus* to the contempt of images. But these calamities did not reclaim him from the loose and dissolute life which he led, without any regard to religion, or the laws. In the sixth year of his reign, his wife being dead, he forced *Euphrosyne*, the daughter of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, out of a monastery, where she had led from her infancy a recluse life, and married her. Soon after, *Euphemius*, an officer of great interest and authority in the army, falling in love with another sacred virgin, and encouraged by the example of the prince, took her by force out of

* Idem ibid.

the monastery and debauched her. Of this outrage her brothers made loud complaints to the emperor, who thereupon ordered the governor of *Sicily*, where the fact was committed, to examine into the matter; and if he found what was alledged against *Euphemius* to be true, to cut off his nose. To avoid this punishment, *Euphemius* drew several other officers of the army into a conspiracy; repulsed the governor, when he came to execute his orders; and then flying to the *Saracens* in *Africa*, promised to betray *Sicily* into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the *Romans*. To this the *Saracen* governor of *Africa* readily consented; and, having acknowledged him emperor, sent him back with a sufficient number of troops to make good his title. He landed in *Sicily* without opposition; and advancing to *Syracuse*, endeavoured, by a flattering speech, to persuade the inhabitants, who stood on the walls, to open their gates to him, and own him for emperor. Among the rest he observed two brothers, who were men of great interest in the city, to pay him greater respect, and hear him with more attention than the rest; which encouraged him to call them to him. But as he advanced from the rest of his company to meet and salute them, one of them, taking hold of him by the hair, held him till the other cut off his head. The *Saracens*, however, did not quit the advantage which he had put into their hands; but, being thus introduced by him, made themselves by degrees masters of the whole island; and, passing over into *Italy*, landed at *Taranto*; whence they drove the *Romans*, and got possession of *Calabria* and the adjoining provinces¹. The emperor died soon after of a flux, having reigned eight years, nine months, and seven days; and was buried in the church of the apostles. His death happened on the first of *October* 829.

Euphemius acknowledged emperor by the Saracens.

He is killed.

The Saracens reduce Sicily.

Michael dies.

HE was succeeded by his son *Theophylus*, who, in the beginning of his reign, to gain the affections of the people and prevent conspiracies, pretended to be a strict observer of justice, and a severe assertor of the laws of the empire. Though his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of *Leo*, yet he resolved to punish all those who had been any-ways accessory to it, in order to deter others from attempts of the like nature. With this view he summoned the chief of the nobility, and the great officers of the empire, to attend him in the palace *Magnaura*, or, as it was called from the five towers, *Pentapyrgium*. When they were assembled, he told them, that his father had in his life-time resolved to reward the eminent services of those, who had been instrumental in his promotion; but

Theophylus.

¹ CEDREN. in Mich. ann. 8. ZONAR. p. 173.

He punishes
the mur-
derers of
Leo.

He mar-
ries his
daughter
to Alexius
Moseles.

Who em-
braces a
monastic
life.

since death had prevented him, he thought it incumbent upon himself, as the executor of his father, to pay that debt. He therefore desired them to withdraw from the rest into a particular room, where he would examine the merit of each person, and reward him accordingly. Hereupon those, who had been accessory to the murder of *Leo*, readily discovered themselves, in expectation of some great reward. But the emperor having thus got them, convicted by their own confession, into his power, he ordered one of his officers to put the laws against murder in execution, and to punish, according to their deserts, those who had not only shed innocent blood, but had inhumanly massacred the anointed of the Lord within his temple. He then dismissed the assembly, and the officer, pursuant to his orders, punished all those who had conspired against *Leo* as murderers^m. After this he sent *Euphrosyne* back to the monastery, from whence his father had taken her, and applied himself with great diligence to public affairs, hearing once a week all complaints that were brought against his ministers, administering justice with the utmost impartiality, and frequently visiting in person the markets, in order to settle the prices of the necessary provisions. In the third year of his reign, he married his favourite daughter, by name *Mary*, to *Alexius Moseles*, an *Armenian* by birth, a person of comely and majestic aspect, then in the flower of his age, and endowed with many excellent qualities. As he reposed in him an intire confidence, he conferred upon him the dignity of patrician, raised him to the proconsulship, and at last, as he had yet no issue-male of his own, created him *Cæsar*, and sent him at the head of a numerous army to restrain the *Saracens*, who committed dreadful devastations in *Italy*. Being attended there with uncommon success, his rivals at court, jealous of the esteem he was in with the emperor, and the reputation he had acquired, represented him as one who aspired at the empire, strengthening their malicious suggestions with an old prediction, that *A should one day drive out Th*. This *Alexius* no sooner understood, than he desired leave of *Theophylus* to retire, and embrace a monastic life. The emperor, who gave no ear to these insinuations, denied his request, and commanded him to keep his rank and power. However, *Theophylus* having a son soon after, and his daughter, who was married to *Alexius*, dying about the same time, he was at length prevailed upon, by the repeated importunities of his son-in-law, to comply with his request and suffer him to retireⁿ. Besides *Alexius*, the emperor had two other eminent commanders, viz. *Manuel* and *Theophobus*. The former had been raised, by *Leo* and the late

^m *JOANN. CUIOPUL.* in *Theophyl.*

ⁿ *Idem* *ibid.*

emperor

emperor *Michael*, to the first posts in the army. The latter was the natural son of a *Persian* ambassador, descended from the blood royal of that nation, who, dying soon after the birth of his son, left him at *Constantinople*, where he was educated after the *Roman* manner. All those of the royal family of *Persia* being either destroyed or driven out by the *Saracens*, who had made themselves masters of their country, the few *Persians*, who had outlived the general slaughter of their nation, hearing of *Theophobus*, sent to the emperor, desiring him for their king. But *Theophylus* chose rather to raise him to the rank of a patrician, and give him one of his sisters in marriage, giving at the same time, by a law enacted for that purpose, all his subjects leave to intermarry with the *Persians*; which brought great numbers of that nation over to the *Romans*, who formed them into one body, called the *Persian* legion, from which the emperor promised himself no small service in the expedition, which he was about to undertake against the *Saracens*, who had invaded the *Roman* territories. Against them the emperor, attended by *Manuel* and *Theophobus*, marched in person; but in the battle which ensued, the *Romans*, after a most bloody and obstinate contest, gave ground, and fled in the utmost confusion. The emperor, with his guard, two thousand *Persians*, and *Theophobus*, gained a neighbouring hill, where he was immediately surrounded by the enemy, who exerted their utmost efforts to take him prisoner, his own men striving with equal resolution and intrepidity to defend him. The day being thus spent, when night came on, the *Romans*, by the advice of *Theophobus*, filled all on a sudden the air with loud acclamations, sounding at the same time their trumpets and other warlike instruments. The *Saracens*, deceived by this stratagem, and concluding they had received some reinforcement, retired in great haste, lest they should be surrounded; and gave the emperor an opportunity of making his escape to the rest of the army. The *Persians* were so taken with the conduct of *Theophobus* on this occasion, that they addressed the emperor, begging he would suffer them to serve under him in a separate body, which was readily granted. The following year, he was attended with better success; for having engaged the *Saracens*, he gained a complete victory, killed great numbers of them, and took above twenty thousand prisoners, whom he carried in triumph to *Constantinople*. This encouraged him to make another attempt the next spring; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himself in great danger of being taken prisoner, while he advanced too far into the enemy's ranks. *Manuel*, apprised of the danger he was in, broke through to him with a body of chosen men, in order to bring

The Romans defeated by the Saracens.

The emperor in great danger.

He defeats the Saracens.

His ingratitude to Manuel.

Who flies to the Saracens.

But returns to the Romans.

him off. But he refusing to retire, lest by his retreat he should discourage his army, *Manuel* presenting his sword to his breast, and telling him, that the state would suffer more by his captivity than by his death, threatened to kill him, unless he retreated with him to the rest of the army. The emperor then complied, *Manuel* and his chosen band opening him a way through the midst of the enemy. *Theophylus* had, at first, a just sense of this eminent piece of service, styling *Manuel* his deliverer; but afterwards, envying him the reputation he had thereby acquired, and ashamed of being indebted to one of his subjects for his safety, he readily gave ear to the malicious insinuations of some courtiers, accusing him of ambitious views, and privately resolved to deprive him of his sight; of which *Manuel* being seasonably informed by the emperor's cup-bearer, he fled to the *Saracens*, and upon condition he should not be obliged to change his religion, entered into their service, and was soon raised to the highest honours, and trusted with the command of their armies against the *Cermata*, a neighbouring nation, whom he overcame in several battles. The fame of his great exploits reaching *Constantinople*, the emperor, grieved for the loss of so brave and faithful a commander, resolved to bring him back by any means. Accordingly he wrote a letter to him with his own hand, inviting him home, and promising to reinstate him in all his honours and employments. This letter being privately conveyed to *Manuel* by a monk, he received it with unspeakable joy, and waited only a favourable opportunity of complying with the emperor's kind invitation. He had hitherto declined fighting against the *Romans*; but now, pretending a desire of being revenged on those by whom he had been unjustly accused to the emperor, he desired leave of *Ishmael*, prince of the *Saracens*, to make war upon the *Romans* in *Cappadocia*. *Ishmael*, highly pleased with this demand, not only gave him the command of a powerful army, but, as he had already given signal proofs of his fidelity, appointed the young prince his son to serve under him. Being arrived in *Cappadocia*, while the army lay encamped at a convenient place for the execution of his design, he went out with the young prince, under pretence of hunting; and being met, as had been agreed on before-hand between him and the governor of the province, by some *Roman* troops, he acquainted the prince with his design, desiring him to return to the army, and acquaint them with it. From *Cappadocia* he immediately repaired to *Constantinople*, where he was received with great solemnity by the emperor in the church of *Belchernæ*, raised to the highest post in the army, and chosen to stand as godfather to

to his son *Michael*, whom he soon after took for his partner in the empire. The following year, the *Saracens* invaded *Capadocia* under a general of their own nation, and the emperor marched against them in person; but both armies, seized, while they were already within sight of each other, with a panic fear, betook themselves to flight, and returned home, without coming to an engagement. The following year 837, *Theophylus* invaded *Syria*, ravaged the country far and wide, and having made himself master of several strong-holds, returned in triumph to *Constantinople*, leaving *Theophobus* to command the army. In his absence the *Persians*, now increased to thirty thousand, depending upon their strength and numbers, seized on *Theophobus* at *Sinople*; and, notwithstanding all his intreaties, protestations, and arguments, declared him emperor. *Theophobus* gave the emperor private notice of what had passed; assured him of his loyalty; though he had, in appearance, accepted of the imperial dignity, and laid hold of the first opportunity that offered to make his escape to *Constantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with the greatest demonstrations of kindness; and continued in his former honours and employments. The rebellious *Persians* were, at his request; pardoned and received into favour; but dispersed into several provincesⁿ. *Theophylus*, in ravaging *Syria*, had, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the prince of the *Saracens*, destroyed *Sözopetra*, the place of his nativity; which provoked him to such a degree; that, breathing nothing but revenge; he raised a mighty army, ordering every soldier to engrave upon his shield the word *Amorium*, the birth-place of *Theophylus* and capital of *Cilicia*, which he was resolved, at all events, to destroy. The emperor, informed of these mighty preparations; raised what forces he could, and marched with them to *Dorylaum*, distant about three days journey from *Amorium*. There, in a council of war, several officers advised him to decline an engagement with the *Saracens*, whose army was far more numerous than that of the *Romans*, and to remove the inhabitants of *Amorium* to some other place; but the emperor, imagining such a proceeding would reflect no small disgrace upon him, resolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly sent thither a strong detachment, under the command of *Aetius*, general of the east, *Theodorus*, *Ctaterus*, *Theophilus Bubutzicus*, and other experienced generals. In the mean time, the prince of the *Saracens* dispatched his son, with ten thousand *Turks* and a strong party of *Armenians*, to try the strength of the emperor's forces.

The Persians mutiny.

The fidelity of Theophobus.

The Saracens invaded the empire.

ⁿ JOANN. CUROPAL. in Theoph. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

Defeat the
Romans.

The two armies met at a place called *Dazymenum*; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the *Saracens* were at first put to the rout; but the *Romans*, in pursuing the fugitives, were so galled by the arrows of the *Turks*, that they not only gave over the pursuit, but betook themselves to a disorderly flight. The *Persians*, however, though abandoned by the rest of the army, stood their ground, and surrounding the emperor, made head against the enemy, till night coming on gave them an opportunity of retiring. The prince of the *Saracens*, informed of his son's success, marched directly to *Amorium*, and being there joined by the young prince, laid close siege to the place, which, after a long and obstinate resistance, was in the end betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, named *Badiates*, who, upon some discontent, had abjured the christian religion. The *Saracens*, enraged at the resolute opposition they had met with, put most of the men to the sword, carried all the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. The emperor was so affected with the destruction of the place, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he abstained from all nourishment, drinking nothing but snow-water, which threw him into a dysentery. Being apprised that his end approached, he caused himself to be carried to *Magnaure*; and having summoned the senate and chief officers of the empire to meet him there, he exhorted them in a pathetic speech to continue faithful to his wife and son, and protect them from all treachery. After this, sinking under the affliction of his mind and distemper of his body, he fainted away and expired, having reigned twelve years, three months, and twenty days. *Joannes Curopalates*, whom we have followed in the history of this prince's reign, as the nearest to those times, tells us, that, when he was at the point of death, he commanded the head of *Theophobus*, who had been arrested upon some groundless suspicions, to be cut off and brought to him; and that touching it with his hand, he expired, uttering these words, *Neither shall I be henceforth Theophylus, nor thou Theophobus*°. But *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* write, that he was put to death by one of the emperor's officers, without his knowledge^p. He professed a greater enmity to images, and persecuted with greater severity, than any of his predecessors had done, those who worshipped them. Hence he is painted by the writers of those times in the blackest colours; but his actions, even as they are related by his sworn enemies, speak him a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, an exact observer of justice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy

Amorium
taken and
destroyed.

Theophy-
lus dies.

His cha-
racter.

° JOAN. CUROPAL. *ibid.*

^p CEDREN. ZONAR. *ibid.*

to covetousness. Of the latter *Cedrenus* gives us the following instance: having one day observed from his palace a ship of great burden fraught with merchandise entering the harbour of *Constantinople*, he asked the mariners, To whom the cargo belonged? They answering, To the empress; he replied with great indignation, *God has made me a prince, and my wife a merchant! Was ever any emperor before married to a merchant?* Having thus spoken, he commanded the mariners to come ashore, and fire to be set to the vessel, saying, *If princes apply themselves to trade, their subjects must starve*¹. He beautified the city of *Constantinople* with many stately edifices, and fortified it with new walls, which could not, on account of their height, by any art be scaled. He banished all loose and scandalous women out of the city, being a great enemy to all manner of dissoluteness, and a pattern of the antient *Roman* temperance, which he endeavoured to revive by several wholesome laws².

Theophylus was succeeded by his son *Michael*; but, as he was then only six years old, his mother *Theodora* took upon her the administration; which she began by exerting her zeal for the worship of images, recalling all those who had been banished on that account in the late reign, and banishing such as differed in opinion from her. She drove from his see *John* the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and placed *Methodius*, a monk and zealous patron of images, in his room, ordering the second council of *Nice*, in which the worship of images was approved of and established, to be observed throughout the empire. Having thus, in a few years, utterly suppressed the iconoclasts, whose doctrine had prevailed in *Constantinople* and most cities of the east, for the space of one hundred and twenty years, she fell in the next place upon the *Manichees*, of whom no fewer than an hundred thousand are said to have been destroyed; which drove the rest to despair and rebellion, having one *Carbeas* of that sect for their leader; who, hearing that his father had been crucified on account of his persuasion, fled with four thousand of the same sect to the *Saracens*, and opened them a passage into the *Roman* territories, where they ravaged and unpeopled whole provinces. In the mean time, the emperor, having attained the twentieth year of his age, began to think of governing by himself, being instigated thereunto by *Bardas*, brother to *Theodora*, who promised himself mighty advantages from a change of affairs; but despairing of being able to succeed in his designs, so long as *Manuel* and *Theoctistus*, whom the late emperor had appointed tutors to his son, continued near his person, he resolved,

Michael
III. *Theodora* re-
gent.

She perse-
cutes the
iconoclasts
and *Mani-
chees*.

¹ CEDREN. in *Theoph.*

² CEDREN. ZONAR. *ibid.*

Defeat the Romans. The two armies met at a place called *Dazymenum*; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the *Saracens* were at first put to the rout; but the *Romans*, in pursuing the fugitives, were so galled by the arrows of the *Turks*, that they not only gave over the pursuit, but betook themselves to a disorderly flight. The *Persians*, however, though abandoned by the rest of the army, stood their ground, and surrounding the emperor, made head against the enemy, till night coming on gave them an opportunity of retiring. The prince of the *Saracens*, informed of his son's success, marched directly to *Amorium*, and being there joined by the young prince, laid close siege to the place, which, after a long and obstinate resistance, was in the end betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, named *Badiates*, who, upon some discontent, had abjured the christian religion. The *Saracens*, enraged at the resolute opposition they had met with, put most of the men to the sword, carried all the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. The emperor was so affected with the destruction of the place, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he abstained from all nourishment, drinking nothing but snow-water, which threw him into a dysentery. Being apprised that his end approached, he caused himself to be carried to *Magnaaura*; and having summoned the senate and chief officers of the empire to meet him there, he exhorted them in a pathetic speech to continue faithful to his wife and son, and protect them from all treachery. After this, sinking under the affliction of his mind and distemper of his body, he fainted away and expired, having reigned twelve years, three months, and twenty days. *Joannes Curopalates*, whom we have followed in the history of this prince's reign, as the nearest to those times, tells us, that, when he was at the point of death, he commanded the head of *Theophobus*, who had been arrested upon some groundless suspicions, to be cut off and brought to him; and that touching it with his hand, he expired, uttering these words, *Neither shall I be henceforth Theophylus, nor thou Theophobus*°. But *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* write, that he was put to death by one of the emperor's officers, without his knowledge^p. He professed a greater enmity to images, and persecuted with greater severity, than any of his predecessors had done, those who worshipped them. Hence he is painted by the writers of those times in the blackest colours; but his actions, even as they are related by his sworn enemies, speak him a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, an exact observer of justice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy

Amorium taken and destroyed.

Theophylus dies.

His character.

° JOAN. CUROPAL. *ibid.*

^p CEDREN. ZONAR. *ibid.*

to covetousness. Of the latter *Cedrenus* gives us the following instance: having one day observed from his palace a ship of great burden fraught with merchandise entering the harbour of *Constantinople*, he asked the mariners, To whom the cargo belonged? They answering, To the empress; he replied with great indignation, *God has made me a prince, and my wife a merchant! Was ever any emperor before married to a merchant?* Having thus spoken, he commanded the mariners to come ashore, and fire to be set to the vessel, saying, *If princes apply themselves to trade, their subjects must starve*^a. He beautified the city of *Constantinople* with many stately edifices, and fortified it with new walls, which could not, on account of their height, by any art be scaled. He banished all loose and scandalous women out of the city, being a great enemy to all manner of dissoluteness, and a pattern of the antient *Roman* temperance, which he endeavoured to revive by several wholesome laws^r.

Theophylus was succeeded by his son *Michael*; but, as he was then only six years old, his mother *Theodora* took upon her the administration; which she began by exerting her zeal for the worship of images, recalling all those who had been banished on that account in the late reign, and banishing such as differed in opinion from her. She drove from his see *John* the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and placed *Methodius*, a monk and zealous patron of images, in his room, ordering the second council of *Nice*, in which the worship of images was approved of and established, to be observed throughout the empire. Having thus, in a few years, utterly suppressed the iconoclasts, whose doctrine had prevailed in *Constantinople* and most cities of the east, for the space of one hundred and twenty years, she fell in the next place upon the *Manichees*, of whom no fewer than an hundred thousand are said to have been destroyed; which drove the rest to despair and rebellion, having one *Carbeas* of that sect for their leader; who, hearing that his father had been crucified on account of his persuasion, fled with four thousand of the same sect to the *Saracens*, and opened them a passage into the *Roman* territories, where they ravaged and unpeopled whole provinces. In the mean time, the emperor, having attained the twentieth year of his age, began to think of governing by himself, being instigated thereunto by *Bardas*, brother to *Theodora*, who promised himself mighty advantages from a change of affairs; but despairing of being able to succeed in his designs, so long as *Manuel* and *Theoctistus*, whom the late emperor had appointed tutors to his son, continued near his person, he resolved,

Michael
III. *Theodora* regent.

She persecutes the iconoclasts and Manichees.

^a CEDREN. in Theoph.

^r CEDREN. ZONAR. *ibid.*

Manuel
retires
from court.

Theodis-
tus mur-
dered.

The em-
press The-
odora re-
signs.

Michael
a wicked
and impi-
ous prince.

in the first place, to remove them by some means or other. He had scarce taken this resolution, when a misunderstanding arose between those two faithful ministers; which *Bardas* improved with such art, that *Manuel*, quitting the court, retired to a private life. He being removed, *Bardas* easily persuaded the emperor, that *Theodistus*, having nothing less in view than the empire, designed to marry either the empress, or one of her daughters, and to render him incapable of governing, by depriving him of his sight. Upon these malicious, and altogether groundless, insinuations, *Theodistus* was, by the young prince's orders, apprehended, dragged to prison, and there most inhumanly murdered. *Michael* and *Bardas* resolved to finish what they had begun, by removing the empress, who, well apprised of their design, to spare them the crime of shedding more blood, determined to retire of her own accord. Accordingly, having summoned the senate, she laid before them the present condition of the treasury, to obviate; by that means, the extravagant expences of her son, and at the same time to shew them how careful and frugal she had been during her administration; for she had, by a commendable oeconomy, not only spared the immense treasure left by her husband, but greatly improved it. After this, she resigned her power, and quitted the court, to the great satisfaction of her brother and son, now at liberty to act without restraint or controul. However, lest she should attempt to resume the power she had so readily quitted, *Michael* ordered her and her three daughters to be shut up in a monastery, where she died soon after of grief*. This happened in 855, after *Theodora* had governed the state for the space of fourteen years. *Michael*, thus free from all restraint, abandoned himself to the most infamous debaucheries, taking pride in imitating *Nero*, whom he proposed to himself for his pattern, and even seemed to exceed in all manner of wickedness. He, in a short time, squandered away the immense treasure left him by his mother, being always attended by a crew of most extravagant, debauched, and profligate wretches, whom, to expose to ridicule the most sacred things, he often caused to appear in copes and other vestments, in which priests used to officiate, and in that apparel to imitate the most holy functions and ceremonies. One *Gryllus*, the most profligate of the crew, he styled patriarch; others he called metropolitans; and took to himself the title of one of the chief bishops. Thus attended, he used to walk in broad day-light, as in procession, through the streets, imitating and deriding the patriarch and his clergy. Having once caused the infamous *Gryllus* to be apparelled like the patriarch, he sent for his

* JOANN. CUROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid.

mother in the name of *Ignatius*, who then held that see. The empress came immediately; but as she fell down upon her knees to crave his blessing, *Gryllus*, discovering himself, derided the piety of the good empress with indecent gestures, applauded with a loud laugh of the whole assembly^t. The dissolute prince, *His prodigality*, having in a short time wasted all his treasures, was reduced to the necessity of melting down and coining certain trees of gold, which had been made in the late reign by a bishop named *Leo*, the greatest man of his age, and were the admiration of all who beheld them; for among the boughs were dispersed several golden birds, which, by the help of an engine, sung melodiously, while the spectators were at the same time no less agreeably surprised and frightened by the roaring of a golden lion, effected by the same artifice. The prodigal emperor had likewise disposed of the imperial robes, and other curiosities, for which the palace was famous, had he not been prevented by death. In the year 854, he undertook an expedition against the *Saracens*, and laid siege to a city of theirs on the *Euphrates*; but the besieged sallied out upon the *Romans*, while they were at their devotions on a *Sunday*, put the whole army to flight, and made themselves masters of their camp and all their baggage, the emperor himself having with much-ado made his escape. *Is routed by the Saracens.* Two years after, the *Saracens*, entering with an army of thirty thousand men the *Roman* dominions, put the emperor to flight, though at the head of forty thousand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. The loss of this battle, however, was soon repaired by the good fortune of *Petroneas*, the emperor's brother, who falling unexpectedly upon the *Saracens* in the neighbourhood of *Ephesus*, cut off the kaliff himself and his whole army, took his son prisoner, and returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. In 860, *Bardas* he raised his uncle *Bardas*, who had hitherto governed with an absolute sway, to the dignity of *Cæsar*, in which high station he acted in a most arbitrary manner, without the least regard to the laws and customs of the empire. He divorced his wife, without being able to lay any thing to her charge, and married his own niece. Hereupon the holy patriarch *Ignatius* refused to communicate with him on the feast of the epiphany; which provoked him to such a degree, that having assembled a synod at *Constantinople*, he suborned several false witnesses, who accused *Ignatius* of having murdered his predecessor *Methodius*; upon which he was deposed and thrown in prison, *Photius* being raised to the patriarchal see in his room; which occasioned great disturbances at *Constantinople*. In 867, the emperor, at the persuasion of *Bardas*, who ruled with an absolute sway,

^t Idem ibid.

undertook

undertook an expedition against the *Saracens*, who had settled in *Crete*, whence they were continually infesting the coasts of the empire, and made this year a descent upon *Thrace*, penetrating far into the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor marched in person, attended by *Bardas*; and arriving at a place called *Chorus*, ordered his army to encamp there. The servants of *Bardas*, whether on purpose or unadvisedly is uncertain, pitched their master's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion placed in the plain. This the emperor seemed to resent; and the enemies of *Bardas* at court, laying hold of that opportunity to convince the prince how much reason he had to be jealous of so insolent and ambitious a favourite, incensed him to such a degree, that he gave them private orders to dispatch him; which they did accordingly on the first of *April* of the present year. The soldiers, upon the news of his death, began to mutiny, and would have revenged it upon the emperor himself, had he not privately retired from the army, and returned to *Constantinople* ¹. The ruin of *Bardas* made room for *Basilus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, and the chief author and promoter of the late murder; for the emperor, who had an utter aversion to all manner of business and application, immediately committed to him the whole management of public affairs, and soon after, that is, on the twenty-sixth of *May* of the same year, declared him his partner in the empire. *Basilus* was born in *Macedon*, but an *Armenian* by descent, and, according to *Cedrenus*, descended from the royal family of the *Arfacidæ*; but others affirm, he was come of mean and obscure parents. At the sacking of *Adrianople* by *Crumus* king of the *Bulgarians*, being then a child, he was carried into captivity with his parents; but set at liberty upon the conclusion of the peace. As he was tall in stature, of a comely aspect, and well-shaped, *Theophilizes*, a nobleman of great distinction, took him into his family, and appointed him his *protostator*, that is, his gentleman of the horse. Having soon after tamed an unruly horse belonging to the emperor, he was, by the interest of *Bardas*, taken into the emperor's service, and raised to the post of master of the horse; which giving him an opportunity of conversing often with the prince, he gained, by degrees, a great ascendant over him, and was advanced to the high office of great chamberlain. Hereupon *Bardas*, jealous of the credit he was in with the emperor, and looking upon him no longer as his creature, but his rival, resolved on his destruction. But *Basilus*, apprised of his design, was before-hand with him, as we have related above. *Basi-*

He is murdered.

Michael takes Basilus for his partner in the empire.

¹ Idem ibid. CEDREN. ZONAR. in Mich.

lius,

lius, being upon the death of *Bardas* advanced to the imperial dignity, did all that lay in his power to redress the many abuses that had crept into the state, and to reclaim *Michael* from his vicious courses; but the dissolute prince was so far from following his wholesome counsels, that he resolved to rid himself of so troublesome a censor; which hastened on his own ruin: for *Basilius*, finding he could by no other means save himself, but by destroying his colleague, entered one night his room, while he was drunk and asleep; and, with the assistance of some others privy to his design, first cut off both his hands as he held them up, and then dispatched him with many wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years three months alone ^{w.} *Michael murdered.*

Basilius, now sole master of the empire, governed with great justice and moderation, preferring such only as were persons of known probity, and allowing all his subjects free access to him; which greatly endeared him to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. However, in the very beginning of his reign, a conspiracy was formed against him by *George* and *Symbatius*, two patricians; but, it being seasonably discovered, their eyes were put out, and their accomplices banished. To obviate any future attempts of the same nature, in the second year of his reign he raised his eldest son *Constantine* to the imperial dignity, and in the third he created *Leo* and *Alexander*, his second and third sons, *Cæsars*. As for his fourth son, by name *Stephen*, he caused him to take orders, with a design to raise him to the patriarchal see. His four daughters took the religious habit in the monastery of *St. Euphemia*, where they led exemplary lives. Having thus settled his domestic affairs, he resolved to make war upon the *Manichees*. We have observed above, that in the late reign one *Carbeas*, a *Manichee*, fled with five thousand of the same sect to the *Saracens*, with a design to revenge the death of his father, who had been crucified on account of his persuasion. Great numbers of the persecuted *Manichees* flocking to him for shelter, he made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories from three strongholds in *Armenia*, viz. *Arganum*, *Armera*, and *Tephrica*, which had been yielded to them by the *Saracens*. Against these *Manichees* *Basilius* marched in person, laid waste their country, took or killed their best commanders, and returned with an immense booty to *Constantinople*; which city he entered in triumph. The following year, the *Manichees*, resolved to revenge the losses they had sustained, broke unexpectedly into the empire, under the command of *Chrysocair*; but being met by the imperial troops, they were almost to a man cut off, with their leader, whose head

*Basilius.**He breaks the power of the Manichees.*^w CUROPALAT. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

He is murdered.

Michael takes Basilus for his partner in the empire.

undertook an expedition against the *Saracens*, who had settled in *Crete*, whence they were continually infesting the coasts of the empire, and made this year a descent upon *Thrace*, penetrating far into the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor marched in person, attended by *Bardas*; and arriving at a place called *Chorus*, ordered his army to encamp there. The servants of *Bardas*, whether on purpose or unadvisedly is uncertain, pitched their master's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion placed in the plain. This the emperor seemed to resent; and the enemies of *Bardas* at court, laying hold of that opportunity to convince the prince how much reason he had to be jealous of so insolent and ambitious a favourite, incensed him to such a degree, that he gave them private orders to dispatch him; which they did accordingly on the first of *April* of the present year. The soldiers, upon the news of his death, began to mutiny, and would have revenged it upon the emperor himself, had he not privately retired from the army, and returned to *Constantinople* ^u. The ruin of *Bardas* made room for *Basilus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, and the chief author and promoter of the late murder; for the emperor, who had an utter aversion to all manner of business and application, immediately committed to him the whole management of public affairs, and soon after, that is, on the twenty-sixth of *May* of the same year, declared him his partner in the empire. *Basilus* was born in *Macedon*, but an *Armenian* by descent, and, according to *Cedrenus*, descended from the royal family of the *Arfacidæ*; but others affirm, he was come of mean and obscure parents. At the sacking of *Adrianople* by *Crumus* king of the *Bulgarians*, being then a child, he was carried into captivity with his parents; but set at liberty upon the conclusion of the peace. As he was tall in stature, of a comely aspect, and well-shaped, *Theophilizes*, a nobleman of great distinction, took him into his family, and appointed him his *protosfrator*, that is, his gentleman of the horse. Having soon after tamed an unruly horse belonging to the emperor, he was, by the interest of *Bardas*, taken into the emperor's service, and raised to the post of master of the horse; which giving him an opportunity of conversing often with the prince, he gained, by degrees, a great ascendant over him, and was advanced to the high office of great chamberlain. Hereupon *Bardas*, jealous of the credit he was in with the emperor, and looking upon him no longer as his creature, but his rival, resolved on his destruction. But *Basilus*, apprised of his design, was before-hand with him, as we have related above. *Basi-*

^u Idem ibid. CEDREN. ZONAR. in Mich.

lius, being upon the death of *Bardas* advanced to the imperial dignity, did all that lay in his power to redress the many abuses that had crept into the state, and to reclaim *Michael* from his vicious courses; but the dissolute prince was so far from following his wholesome counsels, that he resolved to rid himself of so troublesome a censor; which hastened on his own ruin: for *Basilus*, finding he could by no other means save himself, but by destroying his colleague, entered one night his room, while he was drunk and asleep; and, with the assistance of some others privy to his design, first cut off both his hands as he held them up, and then dispatched him with many wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years three months alone ^v.

Michael
murdered.

Basilus, now sole master of the empire, governed with great justice and moderation, preferring such only as were persons of known probity, and allowing all his subjects free access to him; which greatly endeared him to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. However, in the very beginning of his reign, a conspiracy was formed against him by *George* and *Symbatius*, two patricians; but, it being seasonably discovered, their eyes were put out, and their accomplices banished. To obviate any future attempts of the same nature, in the second year of his reign he raised his eldest son *Constantine* to the imperial dignity, and in the third he created *Leo* and *Alexander*, his second and third sons, *Cæsars*. As for his fourth son, by name *Stephen*, he caused him to take orders, with a design to raise him to the patriarchal see. His four daughters took the religious habit in the monastery of *St. Euphemia*, where they led exemplary lives. Having thus settled his domestic affairs, he resolved to make war upon the *Manichees*. We have observed above, that in the late reign one *Carbeas*, a *Manichee*, fled with five thousand of the same sect to the *Saracens*, with a design to revenge the death of his father, who had been crucified on account of his persuasion. Great numbers of the persecuted *Manichees* flocking to him for shelter, he made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories from three strongholds in *Armenia*, viz. *Arganum*, *Armera*, and *Tephrica*, which had been yielded to them by the *Saracens*. Against these *Manichees* *Basilus* marched in person, laid waste their country, took or killed their best commanders, and returned with an immense booty to *Constantinople*; which city he entered in triumph. The following year, the *Manichees*, resolved to revenge the losses they had sustained, broke unexpectedly into the empire, under the command of *Chrysocair*; but being met by the imperial troops, they were almost to a man cut off, with their leader, whose head

Basilus.

*He breaks
the power
of the Ma-
nichæes.*

^v CUROPALAT. ZONAR. CEDREN. *ibid.*

His suc-
cess against
the Sara-
cens.

Syracuse
taken by
the Sara-
cens, and
destroyed.

The trea-
chery of a
monk.

was sent to *Constantinople*. By this defeat the strength of the *Saracens* was so broken, that they were never afterwards in a condition of molesting the empire, as they had done for several years together. Encouraged with his success against the *Manichees*, he entered *Syria* the following year 880, attended by his eldest son *Constantine*, recovered several strong-holds out of the hands of the *Saracens*, and took an incredible number of prisoners. On his return he made himself master of *Cæsarea*, the metropolis of *Cappadocia*, and of several other strong-holds, which he levelled with the ground. The prisoners he took in this expedition were so numerous, that not being able to spare sufficient forces to guard them, he commanded multitudes of them to be put to the sword; which struck such terror into the *Saracens*, that some of their governors not only submitted, but joined the emperor against their own nation. The *African Saracens* and those of *Crete*, attempting to invade the empire, were likewise defeated with great slaughter, and the fleet of the former utterly destroyed by *Nazar* the *Roman* admiral. These extraordinary advantages were, in some degree, counterbalanced by the loss of *Syracuse*, which the *Saracens* of *Carthage* took and destroyed. *Adrian*, a patrician, who had been sent to relieve it, arriving too late, the emperor, upon his return to *Constantinople*, caused him to be dragged from the great church, where he had taken sanctuary, and sent him into exile*. *Basilius*, at such times as he was not engaged in wars, busied himself in building and repairing churches, of which *Cedrenus* mentions a great number. *Zonaras* blames him for erecting and dedicating so many churches to the honour of *St. Michael*, as if he had designed thereby to expiate the murder of the emperor *Michael*. His eldest son, *Constantine* being dead, he raised his second son *Leo* to the imperial dignity, who being offended at the great sway which *Theodorus Santabarenius*, by profession a monk, but commonly reputed a magician, bore at court, endeavoured to remove him from the emperor's presence. Of this the jealous monk was soon apprised, and therefore resolved to destroy him. With this view, pretending to have private intelligence of a conspiracy against *Basilius*, which was to be put in execution while he was hunting, he first persuaded the young prince privately to arm himself and some of his attendants, that he might be ready to oppose any attempt upon the life of his father; and then hastening to the emperor, told him in great consternation, that his son designed to murder him; that his design was to be put in execution the first time he went out to hunt; and that, if he caused him to be searched, he would find him armed accordingly. The emperor, giving ear to the wicked

* CUROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR, ibid.

and malicious insinuations of the monk, ordered his son to be searched; and a dagger being found under his garments, committed him to close prison in an apartment of the palace, where his eyes had been put out at the instigation of the monk, had not the patriarch and the senate interposed in his behalf. However he was long kept under close confinement; but at length released, at the earnest and repeated intreaties of the senate, and restored to his former dignity. *Curopolates* tells us, that the emperor having forbidden the senate to mention to him the young prince's name, or make any further application in his favour, while he was one day entertaining several of the nobility, a parrot, which hung up in a cage in the room, in imitation of some, who used to lament there the unfortunate prince's condition, cried out all on a sudden, *Alas, unhappy Leo!* His friends laying hold of that opportunity, as if the bird reproached them with their neglect, notwithstanding the emperor's prohibition, renewed their former applications; to which *Basilus* at length yielded. *Basilus* not long after died, having reigned eighteen years, ten months, and seven days. *Cedrenus* writes, that he was carried off by a diarrhœa; but *Zonaras* tells us, that while he was hunting, a stag thrusting his horns under his girdle, and lifting him up from the ground, shook him with such violence, that he died soon after. The same writer adds, that one of the emperor's attendants having disengaged him from the stag, by cutting his girdle, he, instead of rewarding him, caused his head to be cut off, for drawing his sword in the presence of his sovereign. But of this no mention is made either by *Cedrenus* or *Curopolates*. Some pretend, that before he died, he embraced a monastic life, but without divesting himself either of his power, or the ensigns of majesty. It is certain, that, towards the latter end of his reign, he addicted himself intirely to the conversation of monks, and to works of piety. To his son *Leo*, whom he appointed his successor, he left, with the empire, some excellent rules or maxims of government, comprised in sixty-six chapters, the initial letters of which form the following sentence; *Basilus, emperor of the Romans in Christ, to Leo, his dear son and colleague in the empire.* The maxims contained therein are truly worthy of a great prince and a christian philosopher. *Basilus* made a new collection of the laws, known by the name of *basilicæ*, that is, royal or imperial laws; for they did not take their name, as some have imagined, from the emperor *Basilus*, by whose orders they were compiled. They were written in the Greek tongue, the *Latin*, in which the laws of *Justinian* were compiled, being at this time scarce understood in the eastern empire.

Leo imprisoned.

And released.

Basilus dies.

His instructions to his son Leo.

Basilus is, by all the antient writers, deservedly ranked among the best emperors.

Leo.

He honours
the memo-
ry of Mi-
chael.

His army
defeated by
the Bulga-
rians.

Basilus was succeeded by his son *Leo*, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire, upon the death of his eldest son *Constantine*. The new prince was a great lover of learning, and so well versed in all the branches of literature, that he deservedly acquired, as *Antoninus* had done, the surname of *Philosophus*. His first care was to punish *Theodorus Santabareus* the monk, whom he ordered to be whipt in an ignominious manner, and then banished him to *Athens*, where his eyes were put out. *Photius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, had favoured *Theodorus*, and conspired with him to raise a kinsman of his own to the throne; he had besides raised great disturbances in the church: for which crimes he was, by *Leo's* orders, deposed, and banished into *Armenia*, *Stephen*, the emperor's brother, being raised to the patriarchal see in his room. To shew his gratitude to the emperor *Michael*, who had first preferred his father, and had been murdered by him, he caused his body to be conveyed with extraordinary pomp from the monastery of *Chrysopolis*, where it had been interred, to the church of the *Apostles* in *Constantinople*, and there to be deposited in a stately monument of marble. In the year 893, the eighth of *Leo's* reign, a war broke out between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians* on the following occasion: A great trade had been long carried on between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at *Constantinople*, whence it was, at the request of some merchants, removed to *Thessalonica*. There the collectors of the customs oppressing with new and unlawful impositions the *Bulgarian* merchants, *Simeon* their king having first applied in vain to the emperor for redress, resolved to do himself justice; and accordingly, entering the *Roman* territories at the head of a powerful army, ravaged and laid waste the country as far as *Macedon*, where he was met by the *Roman* army, under the command of *Procopius Crenites* and *Curticius*, who were both cut off, with most of their men, in the engagement that ensued. *Simeon*, having taken in the pursuit a great number of prisoners, caused their noses to be cut off, and sent them back thus deformed to *Constantinople*. The emperor, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the *Ungri* or *Hungarians*, whom our author styles *Turks*, to invade the country of the *Bulgarians* on one side, while he entered it on the other. Against the *Hungarians* *Simeon* marched in person; but was by them utterly defeated, the flower of his army being cut off, and he himself with much ado escaping to a city named *Dorostolum*, whence he sent ambassadors to *Leo* suing for a peace; which was readily granted him upon very honourable terms. But the emperor's forces were no sooner with-
drawn

drawn than *Simeon* fell unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*; and *Theo-*
do- having put them to flight, ravaged their country, destroying all ^{chery of}
 with fire and sword. *Leo*, provoked at this breach of the treaty, ^{the Bulg-}
 and more at his new and unreasonable demands, resolved to fall ^{rians.}
 upon him with the whole strength of the empire, and utterly
 destroy him. A powerful army was accordingly raised, and sent
 into *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of *Catacalon* and *Theodosius*
 a patrician. But *Simeon*, who carefully watched their motions,
 falling unexpectedly upon them, cut most of them in pieces,
 with *Theodosius* and a great number of officers of distinction;
 which obliged the emperor to submit to the best terms he could
 obtain². While *Leo* was engaged in these wars abroad, several
 conspiracies were formed against him at home; which, how-
 ever, were seasonably discovered, and the conspirators sent into
 exile, the emperor being averse to the shedding of blood. In
 901, the empress *Theophano*, or, as others call her, *Theopha-*
nia, being dead, the emperor married one *Zoe*, the most beau- *The empe-*
 tiful woman of her age, whom he had kept as his concubine in *ror mar-*
 his wife's life-time, and caused her to be crowned with the usual *ries a se-*
 solemnity, conferring at the same time on her father, by name *Zantzas*, the title of *Father of the emperor*. *Zoe* did not long *cond and*
 enjoy her new dignity, and, upon her death, *Leo* married to his *third wife.*
 third wife a lady of extraordinary beauty, named *Eudocia*; but
 she dying in child-bed, together with the infant, *Leo*, who had
 yet no issue-male to succeed him, married to his fourth wife ano-
 ther *Zoe*, who brought him a son, called *Constantine*. This fourth
 marriage, which was then held unlawful, gave rise to great di-
 sturbances and divisions in the church of *Constantinople*; for
Nicolaus Mysticus, at that time patriarch, not only declared
 against the marriage, but excommunicated the emperor; who
 thereupon, after having earnestly begged, but in vain, to be re- *Is excom-*
 stored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch *municated*
 to a monastery, and placed one *Euthymius Syncellus* in his room. *for marry-*
 Some of the clergy adhered to *Nicolaus*, and others to *Euthy-* *ing a*
mius, which occasioned a schism in the church. Though *Eu-* *fourth.*
thymius restored the emperor to the communion of the faithful,
 yet he resolutely opposed him, when, by the advice of the senate,
 he was about to publish an edict declaring it lawful to marry the
 fourth time. *Leo* had formerly published an edict, subjecting
 those who married thrice to the penalties which had been decreed
 against them by some antient councils, and the clergy would
 not suffer him to revoke that edict³. Some time before his
 fourth marriage, as he was going on *Whitsunday* in a solemn pro-

² Idem in Leon. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.
 PORPHYROGEN. in præamb. ad edict. unionis.

³ Vide CONST.

An at-
tempt upon
the empe-
ror's life.

Tauromi-
nium and
Thessalo-
nica taken
by the Sa-
racens.

Who are
defeated by
the empe-
ror's gene-
rals.

cession to the church of *St. Mocius*, as was customary on that day, a person of a mean condition, watching that opportunity, just as he entered the church, gave him such a blow on the head with a club, that he fell to the ground, and those about him believed him dead; and truly he had been killed upon the spot, had not the violence of the blow been broken by a chandelier, which hung in the way. *Alexander*, the emperor's brother, was thought to have been privy to this attempt; but no proof could be alledged against him, the traitor, though tortured in a most cruel manner, obstinately refusing to discover his accomplices. As they could extort nothing from him, he was burnt alive in the circus, after his hands and feet had been cut off^b. The following year 902, the sixteenth of *Leo's* reign, the *Saracens*, having equipped a mighty fleet, took *Taurominium* in *Sicily*, reduced the island of *Lemnos*, and, ravaging without controul the coasts of *Asia*, threw the imperial city itself into great consternation. In the end of the summer, they laid siege to *Thessalonica*, which they took, and would have destroyed, had it not been redeemed with a large sum by *Simeon*, one of the emperor's secretaries, who was on that account raised to the rank of a patrician. *Leo*, not able to make head against the *Saracens* at sea, raised a powerful army, which he sent into the east, under the conduct of *Eustathius Argyrus* and *Andronicus Ducas*, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great success, having gained several victories over them. However, the year following, they invaded with a mighty army the *Roman* territories; which obliged the emperor to dispatch *Himerius* and *Andronicus Ducas* against them. They were both generals of great courage, experience, and conduct; but a fatal misunderstanding between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one *Samonas*, put a stop to the progress of their arms. *Samonas*, a *Saracen* by birth, and, formerly chamberlain to the emperor, having discovered a conspiracy, had been, on that account, advanced to the first employments in the state. Having by that means acquired immense wealth, he attempted to escape into his own country, carrying with him his treasures; but was stopped upon the road, and brought back to *Constantinople* by *Constantine Ducas*, the son of *Andronicus*. The emperor, provoked at his thus abandoning him, notwithstanding the many favours he had heaped upon him, kept him for some time under close confinement; but in the end restored him to his former rank and honours. As *Samonas* bore an irreconcilable hatred to *Andronicus*, on account of his son *Constantine*, by whom he had been intercepted on his way home, he prevailed upon one of that general's intimate friends, with a large

^b LEO GRAMMAT. l. iii. and iv.

sum,

sum, to warn him by letter not to join *Himerius*, who, he said, had orders from the emperor to put out his eyes, as soon as he had him in his power. *Andronicus*, giving credit to this letter, refused to join *Himerius*, who nevertheless engaged the *Saracens*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Andronicus*, dreading the emperor's indignation, seized a castle near *Iconium*, called *Cabala*, with a design to revolt; which *Samonas* no sooner understood, than making use of all his authority at court to his destruction, he prevailed upon the emperor, with his artful insinuations, to declare *Andronicus* a traitor, and to dispatch a strong army against him, under the command of *Iberitzas Gregoras*. Hereupon *Andronicus* despairing of pardon, fled to the *Saracens*, by whom he was received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem. *Leo*, greatly concerned for the loss of so brave a commander, who had hitherto served him with much honour and integrity, and dreading him as an enemy, resolved to persuade him, if possible, to return home. With this view he released a *Saracen* captive, on condition he delivered to *Andronicus* a letter, wherein the emperor invited him home, promised to restore him to his former honours, and gave him repeated assurances of his friendship and esteem; but the captive, bribed by *Samonas*, instead of conveying the letter to *Andronicus*, delivered it to the kaliff, who immediately caused the unfortunate *Andronicus*, with his son *Constantine*, and the rest who had attended him in his flight, to be thrown into prison, where they were treated with the utmost cruelty. *Andronicus* soon perished under the hardships he endured; several others purchased their liberty by renouncing their religion; but *Constantine*, the son of *Andronicus*, made his escape with a small number of attendants, and though pursued, sometimes by fighting, and sometimes by casting gold in the way, and by that means diverting the greedy soldiery, got safe to *Constantinople*, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and feasted upon his arrival in the golden room. We are told, that as he was departing, when the banquet was over, the emperor, calling him back, warned him not to suffer himself to be so far misled by the omen of his name as to aspire at the empire; adding, that he had been assured, by those who could foretel things of that nature, that his own son *Constantine* was destined by heaven to the empire; and that, if *Ducas* ever attempted the imperial dignity, his head would be inevitably cut off, and brought through the gate of that very place, where he was now treated with so much honour and magnificence. The event confirmed the truth of this prediction, as we shall relate anon. About this time, *Samonas*, the emperor's chief favourite, who had hitherto governed with an absolute sway, was at length disgraced on the following occasion: He had

Andronicus Ducas, disgraced, flies to the Saracens.

He dies; but his son Constantine returns to Constantinople.

Samonas disgraced.

recommended

The Ro-
man fleet
defeated by
the Sara-
cens.
Leo dies.

His cha-
racter and
works.

recommended a youth, named *Constantine*, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, to wait on the empress, who, being greatly taken with his address and other good qualities, used all her interest to prefer him. This gave no small jealousy to *Samonas*, who, apprehending he might in time be supplanted by this new favourite, did all that lay in his power to remove him; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he arrogantly accused the empress of too much familiarity with him, and even had the boldness to publish a libel against the emperor himself, who, finding him to be the author of it, confined him to a monastery, and appointed his rival *Constantine* great chamberlain in his room^c. In 911, the twenty-sixth and last year of his reign, the *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Damianus* a *Tyrian* and *Leo* of *Tripolis*, committing dreadful ravages on the coasts and in the islands of the *Ægean* sea, *Himerius* was sent with a powerful fleet against them; but in a sea-fight near the island of *Samos*, the *Roman* navy was utterly defeated, *Himerius* himself having with much difficulty escaped to *Mitylene*. The emperor did not long outlive this calamity; but died of the cholic on the eleventh of *May* of the present year, after having reigned twenty-five years and three months. He left behind him only one son, by name *Constantine*; but, as he was scarce five years old, he bequeathed the empire to his brother *Alexander*, after having earnestly intreated him to leave it at his death to his son *Constantine*, whom he recommended to his care^d. *Leo* is allowed on all hands to have been a prince of great prudence, and uncommon penetration in the management of public affairs. He is highly extolled by the ecclesiastic writers, on account of his zeal for the purity of the catholic faith, and by them compared to the most zealous and vigilant among their bishops. As he was a man of great learning, he left several works behind him, viz. a letter to *Omarus* king of the *Saracens*, concerning the mysteries and truth of the christian religion, and the heresies and blasphemies of the *Saracens*; a book of military discipline, which has been translated into *Latin*; another on hunting; several theological and historical tracts, still to be seen, though strangely maimed and corrupted, in the *Vatican* library; a circular letter, which, in imitation of the bishops, he wrote to all his subjects, encouraging them to the practice of every christian virtue; but as he applied himself above all to the study of the law, he new-modelled the *Roman* jurisprudence. His father *Basilus* had, in the year 870, with the assistance of his two sons *Constantine* and *Leo*, published an epitome of *Justinian's* code, which he called *procheiron*.

^c CUEOPALAT. in LEON. ZONAR. CEDREN. LEO. GRAMMAT. ibid. ^d CUEOPALAT. ZONAR. CONST. MANASS. GLYCAS. ibid.

This work, which consisted of forty titles, is still to be found among the manuscripts in the *Vatican* library. It is by some ascribed to *Basilus*, *Constantine* and *Leo*, by others only to *Leo* and *Constantine*, and by some to *Leo* alone; whence *Cujacius* and other civilians conclude it to have been revised by *Leo*, and brought into a better form. *Leo*, not satisfied with that, published about the year 886, his *basilicæ*, divided into sixty books and six volumes. In this great work the emperor followed the order which *Justinian* had observed in his laws; for it was compiled from his code, edicts, *novellæ*, and from the constitutions of the succeeding emperors down to *Basilus*; whatever was superfluous, or had been abrogated by the custom of after-times, being retrenched. The *basilicæ* were no sooner published, than the books of *Justinian* were quite laid aside, both in the schools and courts of justice. *Leo* dying, his son *Constantine* revised and corrected the *basilicæ*, which had been published by his father, and ordered them, thus corrected, to be made use of both at the bar and in the schools. The *basilicæ* of *Leo* were called *priores*, and those of *Constantine* *posteriores*; but the latter alone were in force, and continued to be the foundation of the *Greek* jurisprudence to the end of the empire^e.

Leo being dead, his brother *Alexander* was by the senate and Alexander people acknowledged emperor; but he, in the very beginning *a debauch-* of his reign, gave such instances of his cruelty, avarice, and de- *ed prince.* bauchery, as rendered him odious to all his subjects. Those who seemed to discountenance him in his lewd and dissolute courses, he banished under various pretences, placing persons of most infamous characters in their room, and suffering himself to be intirely governed by debauchees and prostitutes. He was so taken with one *Basilitzas*, a person of a mean descent, but of a most dissolute life and his inseparable companion in the most abominable extravagancies, that he resolved to settle the empire on him, and, by castrating his nephew *Constantine*, to deprive the young prince of all hopes of succession. But he was diverted from such an unpopular attempt, by some of the late emperor's friends, representing to him, that the child, who was of a weak and sickly constitution, would, in all likelihood, be soon removed out of the way by a natural death. In the mean time, he banished the empress *Zoe* from the court, suffering none to continue there, but such as were slaves to his sensual pleasures, and subservient to his brutish appetites. *Simeon*, prince of the *Bulgarians*, no sooner heard of his accession to the empire, than he dispatched ambassadors to him to renew the treaties of

^e STRUV. hist. jur. Græc. c. 4. CUJAC. l. vi. obser. c. 10. DOVIAT. hist. jur. civil. p. 47.

He pro-
vokes the
Bulgari-
ans.

He dies.

Constan-
tine VIII

The Bulga-
rians break
into the
empire.

peace and friendship concluded by former emperors between the two nations; but *Alexander*, instead of cultivating the friendship of that warlike and powerful nation, dismissed their embassadors in an ignominious manner; at which *Simeon*, justly provoked, invaded with a mighty army the *Roman* territories, destroying all with fire and sword. *Alexander*, instead of offering to oppose him, pursued without interruption his dissolute courses, till death, hastened on by his intemperance, delivered the world from so pernicious a monster. As he was one day using violent exercise, after having eaten and drunk to a great excess, some of the vessels breaking, he continued to bleed inwardly till he died. Before his death, which happened in 912, after he had reigned about a year and a month, he declared *Constantine* his successor; but appointed him for his governors, as he was yet a child, such persons as had been most subservient to him in his infamous pleasures, and were, on that account, despised and abhorred by all men of honour and integrity. This encouraged *Constantine Ducas*, the son of *Andronicus*, of whom we have spoken above, to attempt the sovereignty, notwithstanding the warning giving him by the late emperor; but as he endeavoured to force the imperial palace, after he had been proclaimed emperor by his friends in the circus, he was seized by the guards, who immediately cut off his head, and carried it to the emperor. With him fell the hopes of his party, most of his accomplices, who were men of great power and authority in the city, being discovered, and punished either with death or banishment. During these domestic broils, *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, having laid waste *Thrace*, was advanced to the very gates of *Constantinople*, which city he had great hopes of reducing in a short time; but the unexpected and vigorous opposition he met with from the inhabitants obliged him, after several unsuccessful attempts, to abandon the enterprize and retire to *Hebdomon*, whence he sent embassadors to the young prince's governors with overtures for a treaty; which were received with great joy. While the negotiations were carrying on, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of *Blachernæ*, whence he returned home loaded with rich presents. *Cedrenus* writes, that a peace was concluded; but *Zonaras* assures us, that the treaty was broken off, before it could be brought to a happy conclusion, the prince of the *Bulgarians* refusing to submit to the conditions insisted upon by the regents. If an agreement was made, it was broken soon after, as we shall relate anon. In the mean time, the regents, disagreeing amongst themselves, at the earnest request of the people of *Constantinople* and of the young prince himself, recalled to court the empress *Zoe*; who, having soon got all the power into her own hands, removed from the emperor's

emperor's presence the favourites of *Alexander*, and put others ^{The em-} in their room, who were better qualified for that high trust ^{pres}. *Zoe* had scarce taken upon her the administration, when the ^{gets all the} *Bulgarians* broke into the empire on one side, and the *Saracens* on the other. The former, after having laid waste *Thrace*, ^{power into} sat down before *Adrianople*, which was betrayed to them by ^{her own} one *Pancratucus* an *Armenian*, whom *Simeon* had bribed with ^{The Bulga-} rich presents. The *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Damianus*, kaliff of *Tyre*, having equipped a powerful fleet, committed great devastations on the coasts. *Zoe*, thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, resolved, pursuant to the advice of the senate, to make peace upon any terms with the *Saracens*, and employ the whole strength of the empire against the *Bulgarians*. Accordingly a treaty was happily concluded with the former, and a mighty army sent against the latter, under the conduct of *Leo Phocas*, who, having mustered his numerous forces in the spacious plain of *Diabasis*, led them strait against the enemy, encamped at a small distance. Before the engagement, *Constantine*, the chief chaplain of the palace, or, as he was styled *protopapa*, exposing the wood of the holy cross to the view of the whole army, commanded them to kneel down, and swear, that they would fight to the last. After this, both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed; but the *Romans* prevailing, after a most obstinate dispute, the *Bulgarians* fled in the utmost confusion. The victory, however, was unluckily snatched out of their hands by the following accident: *Leo*, the *Roman* general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the pursuit, his horse broke loose, while he stooped down to drink. The soldiers, who knew him, seeing him without a rider, concluded from thence, that their general was slain, and thereupon, giving over the pursuit, began to retire in a disorderly manner; which *Simeon* quickly perceiving, rallied his men, and, facing about, fell unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter, not only great numbers of the common soldiers being slain in that confusion, but many officers of great distinction ^{The Ro-}. To this unhappy mistake some ascribe the dreadful overthrow which the *Romans* received on this occasion; but others relate the matter in a quite different manner. They tell us, that while *Leo* was busy in the pursuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that *Romanus Lacapenus*, the admiral, a man of great power and authority, who had been ordered to hover on the coast with his fleet and assist *Leo*, if required, was returned to *Constantinople*, with a design to seize on

The Ro-
mans de-
feated.

¹ CEDREN. ZONAR. LEO. GRAMMAT. & CUROPALAT. in Constant.

² CUROPALAT. ibid.

Two par-
tials of the
Bulgarians
routed.

Leo dis-
graced and
deprived
of his
fight.

Zoe con-
fined to a
monastery.
Romanus
crowned
emperor.

the empire in the absence of the army and the chief officers. Upon this intelligence, *Leo*, say they, who had the same ambitious view, returned immediately to the camp, the better to be informed of the truth. But the soldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, were so discouraged, that they turned their pursuit into a sudden and disorderly flight ^b. *Simeon*, elated with this unexpected success, resolved to return before *Constantinople*; but, two strong detachments from his army being met on their march by the imperial troops, and utterly defeated, he thought it advisable to drop that enterprise and return home. In the mean time, the two rivals, *Leo* and *Romanus*, returning to court, began to plot, not only against the emperor, but against each other; for they had both nothing less in view than the sovereignty. But the faction of *Romanus* prevailing at length over that of *Leo*, the latter was declared a traitor; and being seized in a castle named *Atcas*, whither he had fled for shelter, he was, by the emperor's orders, deprived of his sight, and by that means rendered incapable of any further attempts. *Romanus*, having thus got rid of *Leo*, and driven all his partizans from the emperor's presence, persuaded the young prince to marry his daughter, and to appoint his son *Christopher* commander in chief of the allies, which post was at that time one of the greatest dignities in the empire. Having in this manner engrossed to himself the whole power, he drove the empress *Zoe* from the palace, and confined her to the monastery of St. *Euphemia*. Soon after her departure, he caused himself to be first declared *Cæsar*, and afterwards to be solemnly crowned emperor by the patriarch, the young prince rather silently permitting, than approving of these extraordinary proceedings. The following year 921, *Romanus* caused his two sons, *Stephen* and *Christopher*, to be crowned in the great church, reserving the other, by name *Theophylactus*, for the patriarchal dignity; nay, with the utmost arrogance he ordered himself to be named before *Constantine* in all public edicts and monuments. Several projects were set on foot by the friends of young *Constantine* to deliver him from the controul, or rather captivity, in which he lived; but they were all discovered, before they were ripe for execution, and the authors of them punished with the utmost severity. *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, taking advantage of these intestine broils, broke anew into the *Roman* territories; and having defeated, with great slaughter, the imperial troops dispatched against him, he advanced, without opposition, to the very gates of *Constantinople*; but despairing of being ever able to reduce that metropolis he desired an interview with the emperor *Romanus*; which being readily granted, a peace there-

^b ZONAR. CEDREN. GLYCAS in Constant.

upon ensued between the two nations, *Romanus* having in a pathetic speech put the *Bulgarian* in mind of the account he was to give one day to the eternal Judge of the christian blood he had already shed. At the same time, the *Saracens*, who had long infested the coasts and the islands, being surprised by *John Radenus* the *Roman* admiral, in the harbour of *Lemnos*, were cut off almost to a man, and their whole fleet destroyed. Not long after, *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, died, and was succeeded by his son *Peter*, who breaking into the *Roman* dominions, destroyed all with fire and sword, without any regard to the treaty lately concluded between the emperor and his father. When he heard *Romanus* was marching against him at the head of a powerful army, he dispatched a monk to him, with proposals for a peace, which he desired might be strengthened and confirmed with a marriage. This overture being well received by *Romanus*, the *Bulgarian* prince, after several negotiations, repaired to *Constantinople*, where he was splendidly entertained by *Romanus* in the palace of *Blachernæ*, and with great solemnity married by *Stephen*, the patriarch, to *Mary*, the daughter of *Christopher*, the emperor's son. At one of many public entertainments that were made on this occasion, the *Bulgarians* loudly complaining, at the instigation of *Romanus*, as was supposed, that the emperor *Constantine* should take place of *Christopher*, the father-in-law of their prince, *Romanus*, pretending to gratify them, caused his son, with a seeming reluctance, to take the most honourable place. The nuptial solemnities were scarce over, when the *Saracens* in *Syria* invaded the *Roman* territories; but *John Curcuas*, the imperial general in those parts, not only drove them back with great loss, but having besieged and taken the city of *Melitena*, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. The following winter proved very severe; and the long frost, said to have lasted an hundred and twenty days, was followed by a dreadful plague, which swept off incredible numbers of people: earthquakes were felt in several provinces, and whole cities overturned. At *Constantinople* a fire broke out, which consumed many stately buildings. But *Romanus* was not so much affected with these public calamities, as with the death of his son *Christopher*, who died on the fourteenth of *August* of the present year 933ⁱ. The following year, one *Basilus*, a native of *Macedon*, giving out, that he was *Constantine Ducas*, who had been slain in the beginning of the present reign, drew vast crowds after him; but being seized by an officer in the army, he was brought to the emperor at *Constantinople*, who, after

A peace concluded with the Bulgarians.

The king of the Bulgarians marries the granddaughter of Romanus.

Melitena taken from the Saracens.

ⁱ CYROPALAT. in Roman. LEO GRAMMAT. in Rom.

having

The Rossi
utterly de-
feated by
the Ro-
mans.

Romanus
depos. d by
his own
son.

His sons de-
posed and
banished.

having caused one of his hands to be cut off, set him at liberty. But he continuing still to pass himself upon the credulous multitude for the son of *Andronicus*, got together great numbers of malecontents, who having seized on a strong-hold, made from thence frequent incursions into the neighbouring country, destroying all with fire and sword. But *Romanus*, having with much difficulty got him once more into his power, ordered him to be burnt alive*. In 944, the *Rossi*, who inhabited the *European Sarmatia*, and were known to the antients by the names of *Roxolani* and *Bastarnæ*, having equipped a numerous fleet, consisting, according to some of ten, according to others of fifteen, thousand vessels, committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of the empire. But *Theophanes*, the *Roman* admiral, falling unexpectedly upon them, destroyed their whole fleet; and the two generals *Bardas* and *Curcuas*, pursuing those who had saved themselves ashore, made such a havock of them, that very few returned home with the news of their misfortune¹. All this while *Constantine*, the lawful prince, lived without the least authority, having but the bare name of emperor. However, he carefully watched an opportunity of recovering his former power, and with this view gained over some persons in great credit and esteem with *Romanus* and his sons, who being well apprised, that to remove *Romanus* was the first step towards the re-establishment of *Constantine*, applied to *Stephen*, the usurper's youngest son, and by degrees brought him to rebel against his father, whom he seized on the sixteenth of *December* of the present year 944, and confined to a monastery in the island *Prota*. He being thus removed, *Stephen* caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in his room, obliging his elder brother *Constantine*, who had been raised by his father to the imperial dignity, to acknowledge him for his partner in the sovereignty. This gave rise to a misunderstanding between the two brothers, which proved fatal to both. For *Constantine* having invited them to an entertainment, as if he had been desirous of bringing about an accommodation, caused them both to be seized in the midst of their jollity, and to be immediately conveyed away, viz. *Stephen* to the island of *Panormus*, and *Constantine* to *Terebinthus*, where they were both ordained priests. *Stephen* was afterwards removed to *Proconnesus*, and from thence to *Rhodes*, then to *Mitylene*, and lastly to *Lesbos*, where he died, after having borne his misfortunes for many years with great constancy and resolution. *Constantine* having two years after killed one of his keepers, with a design to make his escape out of the island of *Samothrace*, whither he had

* Idem ibid. ¹ Idem ZONAR. CEDREN. in ROM. LUITPRAND.
l. v. p. 384.

been removed, the rest, transported with rage, fell upon him and slew him. As for *Romanus*, their father, he died in the beginning of the fourth year of his exile^m. *Constantine*, thus restored to his former power and authority, amply rewarded all those who had been instrumental in his restoration, preferring them to the first employments in the state. Soon after, in order to prevent any future designs that might be formed against him, he caused his son *Romanus* to be crowned with the usual solemnity, and *Romanus* the son of *Stephen*, with *Basilus* the natural son of *Romanus* the elder, and *Michael* the son of *Christopher*, to be made eunuchs, and to enter into orders. In 948, the *Saracens* breaking into the empire with a mighty army, *Bardas Phocas* and his two sons *Nicephorus* and *Leo* were dispatched with the flower of the *Roman* forces against them. *Bardas* was one of the best officers of his age; but being hated by the soldiery on account of his extreme covetousness, he performed nothing answerable to the high character he bore; nay, his men having abandoned him in an engagement, he was dangerously wounded in the forehead, and with much-ado brought off alive by some of his friends. His two sons gained several signal victories over the enemy, by whom, however, they were not more feared, than beloved by those who served under them: *Leo*, having overthrown the *Saracens* in a pitched battle, took, among the other prisoners, *Apollasemus*, a person of great distinction, and nearly related to *Chabdanus* the kaliff; which the emperor no sooner knew, than he ordered the captive to be sent to *Constantinople*, where the vain prince, after having led him in triumph, trod in an insulting manner upon his neck. The kaliff, highly provoked at this indignity, used in a most barbarous manner *Constantine*, the third son of *Bardas Phocas*, whom he had taken prisoner, in order to make him abjure the christian religion; but not being able to prevail with him, he caused him to be poisoned. *Phocas*, to revenge his death, put to the sword all the relations of the kaliff, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. On the other hand, the kaliff, having raised a numerous and formidable army, marched against *Phocas* and his sons, carrying with him *Nicetas*, a patrician, and several other prisoners of distinction, with an intent to cause them to be massacred in the sight of the *Roman* army. But *Nicetas*, who was a man of great address, having in the mean time insinuated himself into his favour, was by him made privy to all his designs, which he found means to impart to *Phocas*, who lying in ambush for him in a narrow pass, cut off his nu-

Constantine restored to his former power.

Leo and Nicephorus gain great advantages over the Saracens.

^m CUROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid. LUITPRAND. l. v. § 9, 10, 11.

The Romans utterly defeated by the Saracens in Crete.

Romanus, the emperor's son, attempts upon his life.

merous army almost to a man, the kaliff himself escaping with much difficulty, after having put to the sword all the Roman prisoners, except *Nicetas*, who, by bribing his keepers, had made his escape in the beginning of the engagement. After this victory, *Phocas*, invading the territories of the *Saracens*, took several strong-holds, and laid waste whole provinces. But, in the mean time, the *Saracens*, who had settled in *Crete*, committing dreadful ravages on the coasts, the emperor having with incredible expedition fitted out a powerful fleet, dispatched it with a strong army on board against the island of *Crete*, where they landed, without the least opposition from the *Saracens*, altogether unprovided against so sudden a descent; and would have easily made themselves masters of the whole island, had they been commanded by an officer of any skill or experience. But the emperor having appointed commander in chief in this expedition one of his chamberlains, named *Constantine Gongylas*, who had been brought up in the court, and was consequently an utter stranger to the art of war, through his ignorance the whole undertaking miscarried. For the *Saracens*, finding he neither took care to fortify himself by any works, nor to send out scouts to get intelligence, concluded from thence, that he was no warrior; and recovering from their consternation, fell upon him unexpectedly, put his army to flight with great slaughter, and made themselves masters of his camp and baggage. He had himself fallen into the enemy's hands, had not some of his guards, in spite of their utmost efforts, conveyed him on board one of his vesselsⁿ. Not long after this defeat, *Romanus*, the emperor's son, prompted by his ambition, and egged on by his wife *Theophano* or *Theophania*, conspired with her against his father; and having gained over *Nicetas*, one of the attendants at the emperor's table, prevailed upon him to administer poison to the prince, instead of a potion, which had been prescribed to him by his physicians. But the emperor happening to stumble after he had taken in his hand the poisonous cup, the greater part of the draught was spilt by that lucky accident; so that what remained had not the desired effect, though his life was for some time in great danger. In the month of *September* of the same year, he undertook a journey to mount *Olympus*, to beg the prayers of the monks, as given out, for the success of his arms against the *Saracens*, whom he designed, if possible, to drive out of *Syria*: but the true motive of his journey was to advise with *Theodorus*, bishop of *Cyzicus*, by what means he might drive from the patriarchal see *Polyeuctus*, who had succeeded *Theophylactus*, the son of *Roma-*

ⁿ CUROPALAT. in Constantin.

nus. Being taken ill on his journey, either by the wicked practices of his son, or through the bad habit of his body, he was carried back in a litter to *Constantinople*, where he died on the ninth of *November* 960, after having lived forty-four years and two months, and reigned thirteen with his father, uncle, and mother, twenty-five with *Romanus*, and fifteen alone °. *Curopolates*, from whom other authors have copied, charges him with being too much addicted to wine, and with committing the whole management of affairs to his wife *Helena* and his favourite *Basilus*, who, abusing the trust reposed in them, set every thing to sale, bestowing the first employments in the state on the highest bidder. By this means all the offices, both civil and military, were filled with persons no-ways qualified for them, which equally redounded to his dishonour and the detriment of the state. He is likewise condemned for punishing the smallest faults with the utmost severity. On the other hand, he was a great encourager of learning, which he is said to have revived, after letters had been long neglected. He was himself well skilled in most branches of literature, especially in history, arithmetic, astronomy, philosophy, and geometry. *Zonaras* commends him on account of his piety, which, says he, appeared in all his writings and epistles p.

Constantine was succeeded by his son *Romanus*, surnamed the boy, to distinguish him from the other *Romanus*, his grandfather; for he was the son of *Constantine* by *Helena*, the daughter of *Romanus* the usurper. He is deservedly reckoned amongst the most lewd and debauched princes mentioned in history. Tho' he was himself capable of governing well, being endowed with uncommon parts, yet he committed the whole management of affairs to one *Joseph*, his chief chamberlain, that he might, with more liberty and without interruption, pursue his pleasures; which he did, wallowing in all manner of debaucheries, without bestowing one thought on the public. Soon after his accession, he caused his young son *Basilus* to be crowned with the usual solemnity by the patriarch *Polyeuctus*; and, imagining he had by that means secured the empire to his posterity, he took no further care either of his family or the public. In the second year of his reign, *Nicephorus Phocas*, a person of extraordinary merit, who had been raised by *Constantine* to the chief command of all the forces of the empire, undertook, with the consent of *Romanus* and the senate, an expedition against the *Saracens* in *Crete*; and landing in that island defeated the enemy in several engagements, made himself master of all their strong-holds, *Chandax* itself not excepted, took *Curupes*, the kaliff, and *Ar-*

*His cha-
racter.*

Romanus.

*Debauch-
ed prince.*

*The island
of Crete
recovered.*

° Idem ibid.

p CUROPALAT. ZONAR. ibid.

The Saracens over-come in the east.

Romanus dies.

Nicephorus comes to Constantinople, and triumphs.

emas, his lieutenant, prisoners, and in the space of seven months reduced the whole island. But before he could settle affairs there, he was recalled by the emperor at the instigation of *Joseph*, who, growing jealous of the success of *Nicephorus*, alarmed the young prince with a pretended prediction, that *he who conquered Crete should become master of the whole Roman empire*. While *Nicephorus* was thus signaling himself in *Crete*, his brother *Leo* was attended with equal success in the east, where he gave the *Saracens* the greatest overthrow they had ever received. *Chabdanus*, their kaliff, with much difficulty made his escape; but the rest were either killed upon the spot, or taken prisoners. Such numbers of captives were sent by *Leo* to *Constantinople*, that all the houses, both in the city and the neighbouring country, were, if we may give credit to the writers of those times, filled with *Saracen* slaves. *Leo*, on his return to *Constantinople*, was honoured with a triumph; but his brother *Nicephorus*, of whom the emperor entertained no small jealousy, on account of the above-mentioned prediction, was not allowed to come to court, but ordered to march against *Chabdanus*, the kaliff of *Syria*, who, having recruited his army after his late defeat, threatened the empire with a new invasion. But *Nicephorus*, meeting him on the borders of *Syria*, overthrew him in a pitched battle; and then laying siege to *Berea*, made himself master of that important place, in which he found great wealth, and multitudes of christian captives, who on that occasion recovered their liberty. The news of this victory had not yet reached *Constantinople*, when the emperor died, after having lived twenty-four years, and reigned thirteen years, four months, and five days, viz. ten with his father, and the rest alone. His death, which happened on the fifteenth of *March* of the year 963, is by some ascribed to poison, administered to him by his wife *Theophano*; by others to his great lewdness and intemperance^a. He left two sons behind him, viz. *Basilus* and *Constantine*; but as they were yet very young, the empress *Theophano* took upon her the administration; which she had no sooner done, than she commanded *Nicephorus* to repair to *Constantinople*, much against the will of *Joseph*, the prime minister, and honoured him with a triumph in the circus, where he displayed the rich spoils he had taken in the island of *Crete* and the city of *Berea*. During his stay at *Constantinople*, he found that *Joseph* suspected him of ambitious designs, as if he aspired at the empire, which he was well apprised would end in his ruin, *Joseph* still bearing great sway at court. In order therefore to remove the suspicions of the prime minister, having desired and

^a CUROPAL. in Roman.

obtained of him a private audience, he told him, that looking upon all worldly grandeur with that contempt it deserved, he had long panted after a retired and monastic life; but had been prevented from complying with his inclination by the kindness of his masters, who had forced employments upon him of the greatest trust. At the same time, he shewed him a hair-cloth, which he pretended he wore constantly next his skin. The credulous minister, surprised at his speech and the sight of the hair-cloth, fell down at his feet, and with tears in his eyes, begging his pardon, declared, that for the future he would give no credit to any thing that could be alledged against him. *Nicephorus*, having thus gained the good opinion of *Joseph*, was suffered to return to the army in the east; where he had not been long, ere *Joseph*, jealous of the esteem he was in with the army, began to repent he had let him escape out of his hands, and seriously to consider by what means he might put him out of a condition of raising disturbances in the state. As his apprehensions daily increased, he wrote in the end to *Tzimisches* and *Curcuas*, two principal commanders in the east, promising to prefer them to the first posts in the army, provided they seized on *Nicephorus*, and secured him in a monastery, or by any other means removed him out of the way. But the two officers not only delivered the letters to *Nicephorus*, but advised him to provide for his own safety by the only means that was now left him, viz. that of taking upon him the sovereignty. This proposal he rejected at first, or seemed to reject, with the utmost horror. But *Tzimisches* and *Curcuas* threatening him with their drawn swords, he accepted of the empire, as was given out, to save his life, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor on the second of July of the year 963^r. Some writers tell us, that he was not so much prompted by his ambition to usurp the sovereignty, as by his love for the empress *Theophano*, of whom he had been long enamoured. They add, that he maintained a private, and perhaps not altogether innocent, correspondence with her, which greatly heightened the suspicions of the prime minister, who had secret intelligence of all that passed. As *Nicephorus* was no less beloved by the people of *Constantinople*, on account of his affability and mighty exploits, than *Joseph* was hated for his pride and haughty carriage, the news of what had happened in the east was received by all ranks of people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, nothing being heard in the streets, but *success and prosperity to Nicephorus Callinicus*,

He is proclaimed emperor.

^r Idem, CEDREN. ZONAR. & alii in Niceph.

Nicephorus Phocas crowned emperor.

The Roman army cut off by the Saracens in Sicily.

Nicephorus gains great advantages over the Saracens.

or the brave conqueror. The house of *Joseph* and those of his friends and adherents were in an instant levelled with the ground by the tumultuous rabble. The new prince, being arrived at *Chrysopolis*, was there met by the chief nobility, and conducted to *Hebdomon*, where he was crowned with great solemnity by the patriarch *Polyeuctus*. Being thus acknowledged both by the people and senate, he began his reign by banishing *Joseph* into *Paphlagonia*, and confining him to a monastery in that province, where he died two years after. In the second year of his reign, he married the empress *Theophano*, though he was therein opposed with great warmth by the patriarch, because he had been married before, and was said to have stood godfather to one of the empress's children; nay, *Polyeuctus* proceeded so far as to excommunicate the emperor, pretending his marriage to be unlawful, on account of the two above-mentioned impediments. But the matter being examined in a synod held for that purpose at *Constantinople*, *Nicephorus* was by the assembled bishops restored to the communion of the church^a. In the third year of his reign, he raised a powerful army, with a design to drive out of *Sicily* the *Saracens*, who had settled there, and were daily committing dreadful ravages on the coasts of *Italy*. With the command of this army he intrusted *Manuel*, the natural son of his uncle *Leo*, who, being an intire stranger to the art of war, suffered himself to be drawn by the enemy into the mountainous parts of the island, where he was cut off with all his men. *John Zimisces*, who commanded in *Cilicia*, was attended with better success; for the *Saracens*, who had invaded that province, were defeated by him with such slaughter, that the hill, on which the battle was fought, was from that time forward called *the bloody hill*. The same year, the *Saracens* in *Cyprus* were overthrown in several successive battles, and in the end driven quite out of the island, which was reunited to the dominions of the empire. The following year, the emperor marched in person against the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*, took three of their strongest cities; and having wintered in *Cappadocia*, invested early in the spring the cities of *Mopsuestia* and *Tarsus* at the same time, which, after an obstinate defence, were obliged to surrender at discretion. A fleet, with a great number of troops on board, was sent from *Egypt* to the relief of *Tarsus*; but the city having submitted three days before their arrival, they sailed back, when they were overtaken by a violent storm, which destroyed most of their ships, and drove the rest on the coasts of the empire, where they were seized, with the soldiers on board, by the *Romans*. *Nicephorus*, encouraged with the

^a CUROPALAT. in Niceph.

success that attended his arms, broke into Syria the following year; and having easily reduced such cities and forts as refused voluntarily to submit, he marched forward, the Saracens flying every-where before him, and laid siege to *Antioch* itself. But as that metropolis was defended by a numerous garison, and well stored with provisions, the emperor, after having continued three months before it, was obliged, by the approach of winter, to drop the enterprize and return to *Constantinople* ^b. *Cedrenus* writes, that he might have reduced the place, but was deterred from it by an old prediction, that the prince who took *Antioch* would not long enjoy that conquest ^c. Upon his return to *Constantinople*, *Burtzas*, a patrician, whom he had left in Syria with a large body of troops, to secure the places he had conquered in those parts, having drawn together his forces in the depth of winter, marched strait to *Antioch*, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, struck the garrison with such terror, that they immediately submitted. Thus was the metropolis of Syria once more reunited to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, mindful, says *Cedrenus*, of the above-mentioned prophecy, instead of rewarding *Burtzas* for such an eminent piece of service, discharged him, and forbad him the court. *John Zimisces*, who had served him with the utmost fidelity and uncommon success, was likewise dismissed soon after upon some groundless suspicion, and banished the court, which in the end proved the ruin of the unhappy prince. For *Zimisces*, highly provoked at the undeserved treatment he met with, conspired with *Burtzas*, and several others, and found means to draw the empress herself into the conspiracy, incensed against her husband, according to the most probable opinion, on account of his designing, as she apprehended, to make her two sons *Basilus* and *Constantine* eunuchs, and to leave the empire to his brother *Leo*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the empress was not only privy to the conspiracy, but acted the chief part in it; for by her means *Zimisces* and the other conspirators were privately let into the palace in the night-time, and conducted to the emperor's room, where they dispatched him with many wounds, before the guards could come to his relief. When they received the alarm, *Leo Abalantius*, cutting off the emperor's head, shewed it out of the window; which unexpected sight struck the guards with such terror, that, without offering to revenge the unfortunate prince's death, they continued quiet, expecting what farther designs the conspirators had in view ^d. Such was the end of *Nicephorus Phocas*, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and se-

Antioch besieged.

The siege raised.

Antioch surprised by Burtzas.

A conspiracy against Nicephorus.

Who is murdered.

^b Idem ibid.

^c CEDREN. in Niceph. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid.

^d CQROPALAT.

venth of his reign. He was without all doubt a prince of great valour and experience in war, gained several signal victories over the *Saracens*, drove them out of the island of *Cyprus*, recovered *Cilicia* and the greater part of *Syria* and *Asia Minor*, and would in all likelihood, if he had lived longer, have restored the empire to its antient splendor. But his abominable covetousness and the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded his subjects, estranged from him the minds of the people; so that he was, notwithstanding the glory he had acquired in arms, universally hated both by the nobility and the populace, who were so far from revenging his death, that they received the news of it with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable.

John Zimisces
proclaimed
emperor.

Nicephorus being thus murdered, *John Zimisces* was proclaimed by the conspirators, and by all acknowledged, emperor. His first care was to remove from their employments, both in the state and army, all the friends of the deceased emperor, and among the rest *Leo*, the brother of *Nicephorus*, whom he confined to the island of *Lesbos*. All those who had been banished by his predecessor he recalled, and restored them to their former honours. When he thought himself by this means thoroughly settled on the throne, he went to the great church to receive the crown at the hands of the patriarch. But *Polyeuctus*, meeting him at the door, opposed his entrance, telling him, that he could not suffer the church to be profaned by one who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, till he had atoned by a public penance for so enormous a crime. *Zimisces* heard the patriarch with great submission; and, being unwilling to quarrel with the church in the beginning of his reign, offered himself ready to give what satisfaction should be thought proper, alledging at the same time in his own defence, that the emperor had not been murdered by him, but by *Abalantius*, at the instigation of the empress. Hereupon the patriarch commanded him to banish them both, and to revoke all the edicts published by his predecessor to the prejudice of the church and the ecclesiastics; which he readily complying with, and at the same time promising to settle his paternal estate on the poor, the patriarch admitted him into the church, where he was crowned with great solemnity on *Christmas-day*. As for the empress *Theophano*, she was banished to *Armenia*, and there shut up in a monastery. Some writers are of opinion, that the opposition made by the patriarch was not real, but feigned, and concerted beforehand between him and *Zimisces*, who only wanted a plausible pretence to remove her. However that be, the new emperor took her two sons *Basilus* and *Constantine* for his colleagues, and
caused

He is
crowned
by the pa-
triarch.

caused them to be acknowledged as such by the senate and people of *Constantinople*. In the mean time, the *Saracens*, hearing of the death of *Nicephorus*, raised without loss of time one of the most numerous armies that had been seen for some ages in those parts; and giving the command of it to one *Zochares*, a person well skilled in the art of war, sat down before *Antioch*, not doubting, but they should be able to reduce the place, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But, in spite of their utmost efforts, the besieged held out, till *Nicolas*, an eunuch, declared general by the emperor, having raised what forces he could in *Mesopotamia* and the neighbouring provinces, fell unexpectedly upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged *The Saracens* to raise the siege, and return with shame and disgrace to their own territories. The following year 970, the *Rossi*, having defeated being driven out the *Bulgarians* and seized on their country, advanced with an army of above three hundred thousand men into *och*. the dominions of the empire, and, having wasted all *Thrace*, sat down before *Adrianople*. *Zimisces*, having first endeavoured in vain to come to an agreement with them, ordered *Bardas Sclerus*, or *the bold*, his wife's brother, to make head against them with what troops he could draw together. *Bardas*, pursuant to his orders, marched strait to *Adrianople*; but not daring to venture an engagement, as he had with him but thirteen thousand men, he had recourse to stratagems; and having drawn a strong party of the enemy into an ambuscade, he first cut them all off to a man; and then falling, when least expected, upon the main body of their army, he gave them a total overthrow, put most of them to the sword, took an incredible number of prisoners, and would not have suffered one to escape, had not night coming on obliged him to give over the pursuit. *The Rossi* defeated by *Bardas Sclerus*. The *Romans* are said to have lost but twenty-five men in both engagements. The success which attended the emperor's arms abroad did not deter several of the nobility from conspiring against him at home, with a design to raise to the empire *Bardas Phocas*, the late prince's nephew, who, upon the encouragement given him by his friends at *Constantinople*, withdrew on a sudden out of *Amasia*, the place of his banishment; and, *Bardas* being joined by several persons of distinction, made himself *Phocas* master of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and there took upon him the *revolts*. imperial title and ensigns. At the same time, *Leo* the father of *Phocas*, who had been confined to the island of *Lesbos*, attempted to make his escape from thence with his other son *Nicephorus*, in order to join *Bardas*; but being apprehended by the emperor's officers, both he and *Nicephorus* were sentenced to

^c Idem in Zimisces.

death,

Is abandoned by his followers.

The rebellion suppressed.

The emperor invades the country of the Rossi.

death, but soon after pardoned by the good-natured emperor. In the mean time, *Bardas Sclerus*, who had been dispatched by the emperor at the head of a considerable army against *Phocas*, arriving at *Dorylaus* the capital of *Phrygia*, endeavoured first by fair offers to bring him and his accomplices back to their duty; for he had been strictly enjoined by the emperor to abstain, as much as possible, from shedding blood. But when he found them deaf to his offers and promises, he left *Dorylaus*, and advanced to *Cæsarea*, in order to lay siege to the place. Upon his approach, those who had appeared the most sanguine in the revolt agreed among themselves to abandon *Phocas*, and consult their own safety. Accordingly they withdrew with their attendants, before *Bardas* invested the place; so that *Phocas*, who had with him but a small number of troops, thought it adviseable to retire from *Cæsarea*, and shut himself up in a strong castle called *Cyropæum*, which at first he resolved to defend to the utmost extremity. But when *Bardas* invested the place, and by repeated messages assured him of all imaginable kindness on his part, and at the same time undertook to obtain his pardon of the emperor, he submitted; and, depending upon the promises of *Bardas*, delivered himself up into his hands. The emperor granted him his life; but, to prevent his raising new disturbances, confined him to the island of *Chios*. The rebellion being thus suppressed, the emperor married with great solemnity *Theodora*, according to some the sister, according to others the daughter, of the late emperor *Romanus*. The following year 971, the emperor, being informed that the *Rossi*, notwithstanding their late defeat, were preparing to invade the empire anew, resolved to be beforehand with them. Accordingly having raised a powerful army, and committed the administration of affairs at home to such as he thought he had the greatest reason to confide in, he set out from *Constantinople* early in the spring; and marching with great expedition over mount *Hæmus*, invested *Persthalba*, the principal city of *Bulgaria*, before the enemy received the least intelligence of his approach. A party of the *Rossi*, consisting of eight thousand men, attempted to throw themselves into the city, but were all to a man either cut off, or taken prisoners, by the *Romans*: among the latter was *Sphagellus*, a person of great authority among the *Bulgarians*. The *Romans*, animated with this success, attacked the city with great resolution and intrepidity, but were obliged, by the approach of night, to retire to their camp, before they could master it. Early next morning, *Zimisces*, having drawn out his men, offered the besieged very advantageous conditions; which they rejecting, he gave the signal for a general attack. The *Rossi* made a most vigorous resistance;

sistance; but, the *Romans* prevailing in the end, the city was taken, and great numbers of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, put to the sword by the incensed soldiery. Eight thousand *Scythians*, part of the garison, finding the *Romans* masters of the city, retired to the citadel, with a design to defend themselves there to the last extremity. As the castle stood on a steep rock, and the *Romans* were already greatly fatigued, they seemed inclined to put off the assault to the next day. But *Zimisce*s advancing in person against the enemy, at the head of a small band of chosen men, the whole army followed him, every one striving who should first thrust himself between his prince and the danger that threatened him. The *Scythians* fought like men in despair; but the *Romans*, after a terrible slaughter on both sides, made themselves in the end masters of the place. All the *Scythians* were either driven down the rocks and precipices, or put to the sword. In the city, when the first fury of the soldiery was over, the women and children were spared, and, together with such men as were found without arms, made prisoners. Among the captives was *Borise*s, king of the *Bulgarians*, who, being conducted to the emperor in his royal robes, was received by him in a manner suitable to his rank, magnificently entertained, and released with his wife, and children, and all the *Bulgarians*, *Zimisce*s declaring he was at war with none but the *Rossi*. The city of *Persthalba* was utterly destroyed; but the emperor, having caused it to be rebuilt, called it after his own name *Joannopolis*. From thence he marched to *Doroſterum*, a city of great strength on the *Danube*, where he was met by the army of the *Rossi*, three hundred and thirty thousand strong. However, he resolved to venture an engagement, which they not declining, one of the most bloody battles ensued we find mentioned in history. It continued from morning to night, victory inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another. As night approached, the left wing of the *Rossi* began to give ground, which the emperor observing, he charged them at the head of a chosen body with such resolution, that they betook themselves in the end to a precipitous and disorderly flight. Upon their retreat, the *Romans*, animated by the example of their prince, fell with fresh vigour upon the main body of the enemy, and, bearing all down before them, carried the day. The *Rossi* fled in the utmost confusion to *Doroſterum*, whither the emperor pursued them, and laid close siege to the place, which brought on a second battle, wherein the *Rossi* were defeated anew with great slaughter. However, they still held out, and in their daily sallies made a dreadful havock of the *Romans*, till their provisions failing them, they unanimously agreed to quit the city, and open themselves a way,

Takes their metropolis by assault.

The citadel taken.

The Rossi defeated with great slaughter.

Doroſterum besieged. The Rossi overcome in a second battle.

A peace
between
the two
nations.

Zimisces
recovers
several
cities in
the east.

way, sword in hand, through the midst of the *Roman* army. This they attempted with great boldness and resolution, and succeeded in the attempt, though great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitous flight. Their general, by name *Sphendosthalbus*, finding himself no longer in a condition to make head against the *Romans*, sent ambassadors to the emperor, offering to relinquish *Bulgaria*, and conclude a peace upon the following terms; viz. That he should be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire; that he and his countrymen should be suffered to return home unmolested; and that a free commerce should be settled between the two nations. The emperor, who was grown weary of the war, readily agreeing to these articles, the treaty was concluded and signed by both parties. After this *Sphendosthalbus* went to wait on the emperor, who received him in a very obliging manner, entertained him with great magnificence, and dismissed him loaded with rich presents. The *Rossi* being obliged, on their way home, to pass through the territories of the *Patcinacæ*, that fierce and savage people fell upon them unexpectedly, and cut off the general and most of his men. The war with the *Rossi* being thus ended, to the great reputation of *Zimisces*, and the safety of the empire, the emperor caused all the towns on the *Danube* to be fortified, and then returned to *Constantinople*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. He was met at some distance from the city by the patriarch, the clergy, the senate, and the people, with crowns, and a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses richly caparisoned; but he, placing the image of the virgin *Mary* in the chariot, followed it in a solemn procession, mounted on a white horse, and thus entered the city amidst the joyful acclamations of the people &c. During the war with the *Rossi*, several cities in the east, which had been reduced by his predecessor, revolted, which obliged him to undertake another expedition. Leaving therefore *Constantinople*, he marched into the eastern provinces; and having reduced several cities, partly by force, partly by fair promises, he advanced as far as *Damascus*, and there resided some time, applying himself with great care to the affairs of state. During his stay in the east, he was informed, that *Basilus* the eunuch had engrossed almost the whole wealth of those provinces to himself; that most of the fine palaces and fruitful territories, which he observed on the road, belonged to him; that in the late reign he had oppressed the people in a most cruel manner, &c. Upon which he broke out with a sigh into this expression; *How unhappy is the present condition of*

* CEROPIAT. ibid. CEDREN. & LEO. GRAMM. in Zimisc.

the Roman empire, which is thus pillaged by an avaricious and aspiring eunuch ! *Basilus* had served with great reputation under several emperors in their wars with the *Saracens* ; and, as he was a man of great authority, had not a little contributed to the promotion of *Nicephorus*, who out of gratitude raised him to the post of prime minister, in which he was continued by *Zimisces*, on account of his great knowledge and experience in affairs of state. As he had many friends at court, he was soon informed of the emperor's reflection ; and apprehending he might be called to an account, he resolved to prevent, by some means or other, the evil consequences, which he had reason to fear would attend it. Accordingly, by large presents and greater promises, he prevailed upon the emperor's cup-bearer to administer him poison ; which brought him to his end, before he reached *Constantinople*. Though he mistrusted his prime minister, yet he would not suffer any inquiries to be made about the treason, but spent the short time he lived in exercises of christian piety. He died in 976, after having reigned six years and as many months, and was universally lamented, especially by the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, whom he had eased of many heavy taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predecessors. He is deservedly reckoned amongst the best and greatest emperors, on account of his equity, moderation, courage, and piety, in which he excelled most of his predecessors. He was the first who caused the image of our Saviour to be engraved on the coins, with this legend, *Jesus Christ, the king of kings*. The writers of those times tell us, that in the last battle with the *Rossi*, a champion on a white horse was observed by the whole army fighting before the first ranks ; that to his single valour was owing the victory gained on that occasion ; and that, as he had never been seen before, and disappeared after the battle, they all believed him to be *St. Theodore* the martyr, on whose anniversary the victory was obtained. The emperor himself seemed to be of this opinion ; for he repaired a church dedicated to that martyr, and changed the name of *Euchaneia*, the city in which it stood, to that of *Theodoropolis* ^b.

Zimisces, dying without children, appointed *Basilus* and *Constantine*, the sons of the late emperor *Romanus* by *Theophano*, for his successors. But as both princes were under age, the eldest being but nineteen, and the other seventeen, *Basilus* the eunuch took upon him the administration ; and, the better to establish his authority, recalled *Theophano*, the young prince's mother, who had been banished by *Zimisces*. His next care was to remove *Bardas Sclerus*, of whom we have spoken

He is poisoned by Basilus the eunuch.

His character.

^b CUROPALAT. *ibid*,

Bardas
Sclerus
usurps the
sovereign-
ty.

Conde-
fiate the
emperor's
army.

above. He had been rewarded for his eminent services by *Zimisces* with the chief command of all the forces in the east, and was greatly beloved by the soldiery, among whom he had been brought up from his youth. This gave no small jealousy to the prime minister, who thereupon deprived him of his command, and sent him into *Mesopotamia*, to restrain the incursions of the *Saracens* into that province. *Sclerus* broke out into bitter invectives against *Basilus*; but the prime minister threatening to deprive him of all his employments, and confine him to his house, he thought it adviseable to obey the orders he had received, and to depart into the province which had been assigned him. He carried with him a firm resolution of being revenged on his rival; and accordingly, soon after his arrival, he acquainted the chief officers of the army with his design, who all to a man promising to stand by him, and encouraging him to set up for himself, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was saluted as such with loud acclamations by the whole army. Having spent the winter in warlike preparations, and entered into an alliance with the *Saracens*, who sent him large supplies of money and horses, he set forward in the beginning of the spring towards *Constantinople*. *Basilus*, struck with terror and dismay at the news of his revolt, left no means unattempted to divert the impending storm. He dispatched orders to *Peter*, who had been appointed, in the room of *Sclerus*, commander of the forces in the east, to draw together all his troops, and encamp with his whole army in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea*. At the same time, *Syncellus*, bishop of *Nicomedia*, a man famed for his eloquence, and the holiness of his life, was sent to try whether he could prevail upon *Sclerus* to quit his unjust pretensions, and disband his army. The usurper received the prelate with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection; and, having heard him, in appearance with great submission, returned him this short answer; That having once appeared in the purple, he was firmly resolved never to quit it but with his life. Upon the return of the bishop to court, *Peter* was ordered to secure all the passes, and to prepare for a vigorous defence, in case he was attacked, but by no means to begin hostilities. *Peter*, pursuant to his orders, posted strong parties in all the passes; but *Sclerus* having, in spite of all opposition, opened himself a way into *Cappadocia*, encamped at a small distance from the imperial army. Hereupon several skirmishes ensued, without any considerable advantage on either side. But at length *Sclerus*, falling unexpectedly upon the emperor's army, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence; and, having forced the rest to save themselves

selves by flight, made himself master of their camp, in which he found great sums of money, and an immense quantity of arms and provisions. The fame of this victory induced most of the eastern provinces to renounce their allegiance to the young princes, and declare for *Sclerus*, who, elated with this success, would not so much as admit to his presence the ambassadors, who were sent to him with very honourable and advantageous proposals. In the mean time, *Leo*, who had been appointed to succeed *Peter* in the command of the army, arriving in *Phrygia*, marched from thence at the head of a strong detachment into the eastern provinces, which had submitted to the usurper, but had been left quite destitute of troops. This obliged *Sclerus* to divide his army, and send a body of men to cover those countries. But *Leo* falling in with them on their march, a battle ensued, in which the emperor's troops had the advantage, great numbers of *Sclerus*'s men being slain, and many taken prisoners. The usurper, alarmed at the news of this defeat, left *Cappadocia*, and hastening after *Leo*, came up with him in a few days march, engaged him, and gained a complete victory. Most of the chief officers in the emperor's army were slain, and *Leo* himself taken prisoner, with several other persons of great distinction. Such of them as had abandoned *Sclerus* to side with *Leo*, had their eyes pulled out by the usurper's orders at the head of the army. As for *Leo* himself, he was treated with great civility, but kept under close confinement. *Bardas*, animated with this success, marched strait to *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, not doubting, but he should carry the place at the first assault. But *Manuel Eroticus*, whom *Basilus* had sent with a considerable body of troops to defend it, repulsed the usurper, in several successive attempts, with such vigour, that, despairing of being able to take a place so well garisoned by force, he resolved to reduce it by famine. *Manuel*, apprised of his design, and sensible of the great straits to which the numerous garison would be soon reduced, filled the empty granaries with sand, which he strewed over with corn, and shewed them to some prisoners he had taken; who, being dismissed, represented to *Sclerus*, that he attempted in vain to reduce a place by famine, that was so plentifully supplied with corn. Soon after, *Manuel* sent deputies to acquaint *Sclerus*, that, considering the doubtful events of war, he was willing to surrender upon certain conditions, one of which was, that the garison should be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and to pass unmolested to *Constantinople*. To these conditions the usurper readily consented; but was highly provoked, when, entering the city, he discovered the deceit, and found the place quite destitute of provisions.

*He gains
another
victory.*

*He lays
siege to
Nice.*

*The place
surrenders.*

Bardas
Phocas
defeated by
Sclerus.

Bardas
gains a
complete
victory
over
Sclerus.

Who flies
to Baby-
lon.

vifions¹. *Sclerus*, after the reduction of *Nice*, was preparing to march to *Constantinople*, where he had many friends, who were ready to declare for him as soon as he appeared. But, in the mean time, *Bardas Phocas*, whom *Bafilus* had recalled from exile, and appointed commander in chief against *Sclerus*, as the only man in the empire able to contend with him, arriving, with all the troops he could draw together, at *Amorium*, the usurper thought it adviseable to march in the first place against him. Accordingly he hastened with all his forces to *Amorium*; and coming there to an engagement, put *Phocas*'s army to the rout. Though *Phocas* himself discharged all the offices of a valiant soldier and experienced officer, yet his soldiers were so dispirited by former defeats, that he could neither with words nor his example inspire them with courage. *Phocas*, no longer able to keep the field, retired to *Phrygia*, and having there received large supplies out of *Iberia* and the other provinces, which continued stedfast in their allegiance, he resolved to venture a second engagement. Accordingly, leaving *Phrygia*, he advanced into *Cappadocia*, where he found *Sclerus* encamped on a large plain named *Pancalea*, and ready to receive him. Both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed; but *Phocas*'s men beginning, after an obstinate dispute, to give ground, the brave general, determined to conquer or perish, opened himself a way, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and there engaging *Sclerus* himself, dangerously wounded him. Some of the enemy's officers, apprised of the danger their general was in, hastened to his rescue; and finding him covered all over with blood, they carried him to a neighbouring fountain, there to wash his wound and refresh him, as he was fainting with drought. In the mean time, his horse running in with his bloody main among the ranks, his soldiers concluded from thence that their general was slain; which occasioned such consternation in the army, that, instead of pursuing the emperor's troops, who had, in spite of *Phocas*'s utmost endeavours, begun to fly, they fled themselves in the utmost confusion, some throwing themselves headlong down vast precipices, others taking to the river *Halys*, in which great numbers were drowned. Thus was the fortune of the day turned, and the victory, by a lucky mistake, snatched out of the hands of the enemy, who were pursued with great slaughter by *Phocas*. *Sclerus* escaped with a small body of horse to *Martyropolis*, and from thence to *Babylon*, to implore the protection and assistance of *Casrbaas*, sultan of the place; which the emperor *Bafilus* no sooner understood, than he dispatched

¹ CUROPALAT. CEDREN. LEO. GRAMM. ibid.

embassadors

embassadors to *Cosroes*, representing to him the evils that might accrue from one prince's protecting such as had, by an open revolt, taken arms against another. The ambassadors were at the same time enjoined to assure *Sclerus* in the emperor's name, that he should not only be pardoned, but received into favour and restored to his former honours, provided he renounced his pretensions and returned home. *Cosroes*, finding the ambassadors were privately treating with *Sclerus*, ordered both him and them to be thrown into prison, whence we shall see him in a short time released, to raise new disturbances in the empire.

THE rebellion of *Sclerus* being thus suppressed, the emperor *Basilus*, who had taken the administration into his own hands, resolved to be revenged on the *Bulgarians*, who had made frequent inroads into the empire, while the emperor's troops were employed in the east. With this view he put himself at the head of his army, and, without imparting his design either to *Phocas* or any other of his generals in the east, he entered *Bulgaria*, and, leaving *Leo Melissenus* to secure the narrow passes behind him, marched strait to *Sardica*. But while he was preparing to lay siege to that important place, *Stephen*, commander in chief of the western forces, and an avowed and irreconcilable enemy to *Leo Melissenus*, coming in the dead of the night to the emperor's tent, conjured him to lay aside all other designs whatsoever, and to return with all possible expedition to *Constantinople*, whither *Leo* had already marched, with a design to seize on the sovereignty in his absence. The emperor, alarmed at this unexpected news, and apprehending the enemy might, by seizing on the posts which *Leo* was said to have abandoned, cut off his retreat, ordered in a great fright his army to march the same night, which being observed by *Samuel*, prince of the *Bulgarians*, he fell upon them in their retreat, and put great numbers of them to the sword. The emperor with great difficulty reached *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his duty on the station which had been assigned him. Hereupon, highly provoked against *Stephen*, who had thus imposed upon him, he immediately discharged him, and conferred his employment on his competitor. *Stephen*, however, maintained to the last, that *Leo* really intended to usurp the empire; which incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he could not forbear striking him, and dragging him in a violent passion on the ground by his hair and long beard^k. The emperor had undertaken the *Bulgarian* expedition, as we have observed above, without imparting his design to *Bardas Phocas*, commander in chief of all the eastern forces. This that general highly resented;

Basilus enters Bulgaria.

But returns with disgrace.

^k Idem ibid.

Bardas
Phocas
proclaimed
emperor.

Sclerus, set
at liberty,
joins Pho-
cas.

They agree
to divide
the empire
between
them.
Phocas be-
trays and
seizes Scle-
rus.

and apprehending the young prince would act for the future without any regard to his counsels, he began to entertain thoughts of usurping the supreme authority. The officers of the army, to whom he imparted the motive of his discontent, encouraged him in his attempt, and promised to support him to the last; so that, after several private conferences, they all met at the house of one *Eustathius Melenius*, and there, investing *Phocas* with the imperial ornaments, unanimously proclaimed him emperor. At the same time, *Bardas Sclerus*, of whom we have spoken above, being set at liberty by *Cosroes* sultan of *Babylon*, returned into the territories of the empire, at the head of three thousand *Roman* captives, the sultan having granted them their liberty, in regard of their eminent services against the rebellious *Persians*. With these *Sclerus* thought himself once more in a condition to renew his former pretensions; and accordingly entering *Mesopotamia*, caused himself to be there acknowledged emperor. But being, in the mean time, informed of the revolt of *Phocas*, after having been some time in suspense whether he should join him or *Basilus*, he offered in the end to assist *Phocas*, and share the empire with him; but at the same time he advised his son *Romanus* privately to abandon him, and fly to *Basilus* at *Constantinople*. By this means, if *Phocas* prevailed, he thought he should be able to obtain of him his son's pardon; and if *Basilus* got the better, he did not doubt, but his son would have interest enough to obtain his of the emperor. *Romanus*, upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, was received by *Basilus* with all possible demonstrations of kindness, and raised to the first employments in the state. But *Sclerus* met with a far different treatment from *Phocas*: they agreed at first to divide the empire between them; *Sclerus* was to have for his share *Antioch*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Cœle-syria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Egypt*; *Constantinople*, with the rest of the provinces, was allotted to *Phocas*. This agreement being ratified and sworn to by both parties, *Sclerus* and *Bardas* joined their forces; which was no sooner done, than *Phocas* caused *Sclerus* to be privately seized; and, having stripped him of his imperial ornaments, committed him to close prison. His men at first mutinied; but, being overpowered with numbers, they were forced to submit, and in the end prevailed upon with large promises to serve under *Phocas*; who, being thus reinforced, sent *Calocyrrus Delphinus* with part of his army to *Chrysopolis*, while he removed with the rest to *Abydus*, in order to besiege that important place, and, after reducing it, to block up *Constantinople* itself. But, in the mean time, the emperor *Basilus*, acquainted with the enemy's motions, having passed the streights in the night, fell unexpectedly upon *Delphinus*; and having put his army to flight at the first onset, took him and

some

some other officers of great note prisoners, who were all immediately nailed to several trees on the high-way, to strike terror into the rest. *Phocas* met with a vigorous resistance at *Abydus*, *He lays* the inhabitants and garison being encouraged by the arrival of *siege to* the imperial fleet, which was immediately followed by the emperor *Basilus*, and he soon after by his brother *Constantine*. Upon the arrival of the two princes, *Phocas* resolved to give them battle; and accordingly, leaving part of his forces before *Abydus* to pursue the siege, he drew up the rest in a neighbouring plain. Some of the young princes generals advised them to throw themselves into *Abydus*, and there wait the arrival of fresh supplies; but the greater part thinking it adviseable to engage the enemy without loss of time, they marched at the head of their forces in battle-array into the plain where the usurper had drawn up his. But while both armies were ready to engage, or, as some write, when the battle was begun, *Phocas* was taken off. The manner of his death is differently related: *Phocas dies.* some write, that his horse threw him, and that he died of the fall; others, that he was killed in the first onset. The emperor *Constantine* bragged, that he had killed him with his own hand; but the most received opinion is, that one of his domestics, by name *Symeon*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, at the instigation of *Basilus*, administered him poison before the battle, of which he died soon after. Be that as it will, the report of his death was no sooner spread abroad in the army, than his men betook themselves to a precipitous and disorderly flight. The emperor's forces pursued them close, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and having taken most of the leading men of the party prisoners, conveyed them to *Constantinople*, where they were punished according to their deserts, some being publicly executed, and others stripped of their estates and sent into banishment. However, the death of *Phocas* and the defeat of his army did not put an end to the civil wars; for such of the party as had the good luck to make their escape, having set *Sclerus* at liberty, encouraged him to pursue his former pretensions; and he, though now in a very advanced age, hearkening *set at liberty.* to their suggestions, put himself at their head, and marching into *Cappadocia* reduced great part of that province. But the emperor having written a friendly letter to him, offering him his favour and protection, and his son *Romanus* earnestly intreating him at the same time not to involve the empire in new wars, but to enjoy the small remainder of his life in peace and tranquillity among his friends and relations, he was prevailed upon to quit his pretensions, and return to *Constantinople*, *He submits.* where he was received by *Basilus* with uncommon civility, entertained at his table, and declared great steward of the household.

hold. Such of his followers as had enjoyed offices of honour or profit under him, were continued in the same employments, or preferred to others equally advantageous and honourable. We are told, that when he first appeared before *Basilius*, supported, on account of his age and corpulency, by two of his domestics, the emperor, in reflecting how much he had dreaded him, could hardly forbear laughing.

*Basilius
visits the
eastern
provinces.*

THE civil war being thus happily ended, *Basilius* took a progress into *Thrace* and *Macedon*; and having left a sufficient number of troops at *Theſſalonica* to awe the *Bulgarians*, he passed over into *Asia* with the rest, to settle the affairs of the eastern provinces. On his march through *Cappadocia*, he was entertained with his whole army by *Eustathius Melenius*, commander of the troops in that province. The wealth which *Melenius* displayed on that occasion gave the emperor such umbrage, that, pretending a particular esteem for him, he took him with him to *Constantinople*, whence he never after suffered him to depart, lest he should raise disturbances in the empire; and, after his death, seized on his vast estate. The emperor, upon his return to *Constantinople*, was informed, that *Samuel*, king of the *Bulgarians*, had surprised the city of *Theſſalonica*, and, having crossed the *Peneus*, was laying waste *Theſſaly*, *Bæotia*, *Attica*; nay, that some of his parties had penetrated into the very heart of *Peloponnesus*. Hereupon *Nicephorus Uranus*, commander in chief of the western forces, was dispatched against him, at the head of a powerful army. *Uranus*, leaving his baggage at *Larissu*, reached by long marches the *Sperchius*, and encamped with his whole army over-against the enemy, who lay on the opposite bank. As the river was greatly swelled with the heavy rains that had fallen, *Samuel*, not imagining the *Romans* would attempt to pass it, suffered his troops to roam in large parties about the country in quest of booty. But *Uranus*, having at length found out a place where the river was fordable, passed it in the dead of the night; and falling unexpectedly on the *Bulgarians*, who were left in the camp and lay for the most part asleep, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took their baggage, with many prisoners, and made themselves masters of their camp. *Samuel* and his son were dangerously wounded, and would unavoidably have been taken, had they not all that day concealed themselves among the dead. The next night they stole away to the mountains of *Ætolia*, and from thence made their escape into *Bulgaria*¹. The following year 1001, the emperor *Basilius* entered *Bulgaria* at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined

*His war
with the
Bulgari-
ans.*

*Samuel,
king of the
Bulgari-
ans, de-
feated.*

¹ Idem ibid.

army; and having defeated *Samuel* in a pitched battle on the banks of the *Azias*, took *Vidina*, *Scopi*, and several other strong cities. However, the emperor narrowly escaped being cut off with his whole army in the streights of *Cimba*, where he was unexpectedly attacked by *Samuel*; but rescued from the danger he was in by the seasonable arrival of *Nicephorus Xiphias*, governor of *Philippopolis*, who, falling upon the enemy's rear, put them to flight. *Basilus* pursued them close, and having taken an incredible number of prisoners, caused their eyes to be pulled out, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, that he might conduct them to *Samuel*; who, not able to stand the shock of so terrible and affecting a spectacle, fell into a deep swoon and died two days after. *Samuel* was succeeded by his son *Gabriel*, who was soon after murdered by *John Bladisthlabus*.

Bladisthlabus, a person nearly related to him. *Bladisthlabus*, having caused himself to be acknowledged prince of the *Bulgarians*, sent ambassadors to *Basilus*, offering to submit to any terms, and to own himself, and behave on all occasions, as a subject and vassal of the empire. The emperor received the ambassadors in a very obliging manner, but the new prince declining, under various pretences, to execute the conditions agreed on, *Basilus* returned the following year into *Bulgaria*, firmly resolved not to sheath his sword, till he had intirely reduced it. Accordingly, having in the space of two years made himself master of most of the enemy's strong-holds, and gained several victories over *Bladisthlabus*, who had defended his country with incredible valour, but was at length slain in a battle fought near *Achridus*, the *Bulgarians* sent deputies to the *Roman* camp, with offers of a total and unfeigned submission. *Basilus* received them with his usual civility; and having raised to the rank of patricians such of the *Bulgarian* nobility as seemed most forward in surrendering their castles and strong-holds, he was received with loud acclamations into the city of *Achridus*, where he found the vast treasures of the *Bulgarian* princes, which he distributed, by way of donative, amongst his soldiers. Soon after, the widow of the late king, with her six daughters and three of her sons, delivered herself up to the emperor, who received her with the greatest kindness and respect, and entertained her suitable to her rank. This obliging behaviour in the emperor encouraged her three other sons, with most of the princes of the blood, who had taken shelter among the mountains, to submit and throw themselves upon the emperor's mercy. However, *Ibatzes*, a person nearly allied to the royal family, who had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner during the whole course of the war, refusing to submit, fled to a steep and craggy mountain, with a design to defend

The Bulgarians
submit to
the emperor.

Ibatzes
alone holds
out.

A desperate attempt of Daphnomelus.

Bulgaria entirely subdued.

himself there to the last extremity. *Basilus* endeavoured by fair means to induce him to submit to necessity, and comply with the present posture of affairs; but he equally despising the emperor's threats and promises, *Eustathius Daphnomelus*, whom *Basilus* had lately appointed governor of *Acbridus*, without imparting to any one his design, repaired, with two persons in whom he could confide, to the mountain where *Ibatzes* had fortified himself. He hoped to pass undiscovered among the many strangers, who flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feast of the assumption of the virgin *Mary*, for whom *Ibatzes* had a particular veneration; but being known to the guards, he was seized and carried before *Ibatzes*, to whom he pretended to have matters of the greatest importance to communicate. *Ibatzes* received him in a very obliging manner; and having, at his request, followed him into a remote place, *Daphnomelus* threw himself all on a sudden upon him; and his two men, who attended at some distance, and with whom the whole scheme had been concerted before-hand, coming up, and thrusting their cloaths violently into his mouth, pulled out both his eyes, and got safe to an abandoned castle on the top of the hill; which *Ibatzes's* men invested on all sides, as soon as they heard of the misfortune which had befallen their leader. But *Daphnomelus* exhorting them to follow the example of their countrymen, and, now that they were destitute of a leader, to submit to the emperor, by whom, he assured them, they should be well received and amply rewarded, instead of attacking the castle, they congratulated *Daphnomelus* on his success, and took an oath of allegiance to the emperor of the *Romans*. Hereupon *Daphnomelus*, quitting the castle, carried *Ibatzes*, without the least opposition, to *Basilus*, who, no less surpris'd at the boldness than the success of the attempt, rewarded his officer with the government of *Dyrrhachium* and all the rich moveables of his prisoner. *Basilus*, having thus at length accomplished the intire reduction of *Bulgaria*, returned with an incredible number of prisoners and hostages to *Constantinople*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by the senate and people. After the conclusion of this war, which began in 995, and ended in 1019, the emperor undertook an expedition into *Iberia*; but with what success we are no-where told. During his absence, *Xiphias* and *Nicephorus*, the son of *Bardas Phocas*, revolted; but *Xiphias*, being gained over by *Basilus*, put a stop to the rebellion, by dispatching his fellow-conspirator. *Basilus* proceeded with great severity against all who had been, or were only suspected of having been, privy to the conspiracy. Great numbers of the nobility were on this occasion either put to death, or sent into exile; which occasioned some commotions at *Constantinople*:



Constantinople : but the ringleaders being seized and publicly executed, the city was restored to its former tranquillity. In 1025, the emperor, though then in the seventieth year of his age, resolved to engage in a new war against the *Saracens*, who had settled in *Sicily* and committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of *Naples* and *Calabria* ; which countries were still subject to the empire. Accordingly, having assembled a powerful army and equipped a mighty fleet, he sent before a strong body of forces, under the conduct of *Orestes* his favourite eunuch, with a design to follow in person soon after with the rest of the army ; but was prevented by death, which overtook him in the month of *December* of the year 1025, after he had lived seventy years, and reigned fifty. He was highly esteemed by his subjects, on account of his application to public affairs, and his success in the long and bloody war which he undertook against the *Bulgarians*. But as his jealousy increased with his years, towards the close of his reign he grew inexorably severe ; on which account he was rather feared than beloved by his subjects. The absolute conquest of *Bulgaria*, which had been in vain attempted by so many of his predecessors, but was happily accomplished by him, has rendered the name of *Basilus II.* famous among the *Roman*, or rather the *Constantinopolitan*, princes.

*Basilus
resolves to
make war
upon the
Saracens.*

*But is pre-
vented by
death.*

C H A P. XXXV.

*The Roman history, from the death of Basilus II.
to the taking of Constantinople by the Latins.*

Constan-
tine.

*His wick-
ed reign.*

*Several
persons of
distinction
put to
death, or
sent into
exile.*

BY the death of *Basilus*, *Constantine*, who had borne the name of emperor in conjunction with his brother, remained sole master of the empire. As he was an effeminate, vicious, and indolent prince, he intirely neglected all public affairs, to follow his private diversions, suffering his ministers, most of them persons no less infamous than himself, to oppress the provinces without controul, and lay on the people what burdens they thought fit. By this means the empire, which had begun to revive under *Nicephorus*, *Zimisces*, and *Basilus*, was in the short reign of *Constantine* brought to as low an ebb as it had ever been at. Such persons as had, either by their exploits or virtues, acquired reputation in the late reign, were removed from their employments, to make room for the emperor's companions in his debaucheries. *Nicephorus Comnenus*, a person no less esteemed for his virtue than his experience in war, was at the same time deprived of his command and his sight, under pretence of conspiring against the emperor, though in reality, his eminent virtues, which gave umbrage to the abandoned prince, were his only crimes. *Bardas*, the son of the celebrated *Phocas*, who had served *Basilus* with the utmost fidelity, and distinguished himself on many occasions in a most eminent manner, was treated with the like severity, for no other reason, but because his extraordinary merit gave umbrage to the emperor's favourites. Many other persons of great distinction, who seemed to dislike the emperor's conduct, were, under various pretences, either put to death, or sent into exile. Such proceedings raised a general discontent at home, and at the same time encouraged the nations abroad to make irruptions into the territories of the empire; but they were restrained by the care and vigilance of those who commanded on the borders. It was happy for the state, that *Constantine's* reign was short; for he had scarce governed three years alone, when he fell dangerously ill, and was given over by his physicians; which divided the court into two factions concerning his successor, some proposing *Constan-*

tine

tine Delassenus, commander of the forces in *Armenia*, and others using all their interest in favour of *Romanus Argyrus*, a person of an antient family, and nearly related to the emperor. As *Constantine* had three daughters, it was agreed, that whoever succeeded him should marry one of them. *Romanus* was already married, and therefore seemed by this agreement to be excluded from the empire; but his friends, who were the most powerful at court and the emperor's chief favourites, prevailed upon the prince to declare in his favour, and sending for him, to put it to his choice, either to be deprived of his sight, or to divorce his wife, and, marrying one of the emperor's daughters, to be raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*. *Romanus* seemed at first rather inclined to lose his eyes and the imperial dignity, than part with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but she, informed of what passed, retired immediately to a monastery, and, by embracing there a monastic life, made room for *Zoe*, the emperor's second daughter, to whom *Romanus* was married, and at the same time created *Cæsar*. Three days after the nuptials, *Constantine* died, in the year 1028, the seventieth of his age, and third of his reign without a colleague. Constantine dies.

Romanus, thus raised to the empire, began his reign by easing the people of the many taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predecessor; which gained him the hearts of his subjects. His liberality to the church knew no bounds, and his indulgence to the unhappy captives, who had been taken in the late wars, was no less remarkable; for they were all ransomed at his private expence, supplied with money to defray the charges of their journey, and sent back to their respective countries^m. In his second year, the *Saracens*, who had continued quiet in the reign of *Basilus*, but had begun to prepare for war in that of *Constantine*, broke into that part of *Syria* which belonged to the *Romans*, and, with their daily incursions, greatly harassed the territory of *Antioch*. *Spondyles*, who commanded the troops quartered in *Antioch* and that neighbourhood, endeavoured to restrain them; but being in several encounters worsted and put to flight, the emperor resolved to march in person into *Syria*, and retrieve, if possible, the reputation of the *Roman* arms there. Pursuant to this resolution he set out from *Constantinople*, at the head of a very numerous and formidable army. But before he had advanced far on his way, he was met by ambassadors from the *Saracens* of *Berea*, who, alarmed at his vast preparations, were come to sue for peace, promising at the same time to pay their usual tribute for the future, and never more to infect the territories of the empire. Most of the officers in the army advised *Romanus* He marches in person against the Saracens.

^m CUROPALAT. in Roman,

to accept of their submission, and not to engage rashly in a war, which, in all likelihood, would prove both bloody and expensive. But he, promising himself great glory and advantages from that expedition, dismissed the ambassadors with disdain, and entering *Syria* detached a strong party to observe the enemy's motions. The party, falling unhappily into an ambuscade, were all cut off to a man; and the *Saracens*, elated with this success, attacked unexpectedly *Constantine Delassenus*, who had been sent out with a strong body of troops to cover the *Roman* foragers, put him to flight at the first onset, and pursued him to the very gates of the camp, which they invested on all sides. The emperor's army being soon reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, and above all of water, it was agreed in a council of war, that they should decamp in the night, and march to *Antioch*. But the *Saracens*, who carefully watched their motions, falling upon them with great violence in their retreat, put most of them to the sword, the emperor himself escaping with the utmost difficulty to *Antioch*. The enemy took all the emperor's baggage; which, however, was recovered by *George Maniaces*, at that time governor of a small town in those parts, in the following manner: Eight hundred *Saracens*, loaded with the rich plunder of the emperor's camp, appeared before the place, and, affirming that the emperor himself was taken, and his army totally defeated, summoned *Maniaces* to surrender. *Maniaces*, already informed of the emperor's escape, but pretending to give credit to what they said, sent them out a great quantity of provisions to refresh themselves that night, and promised to deliver up the town to them as soon as it was light. Hereupon the enemy, without the least distrust, passed the greater part of the night in mirth and jollity; but when, after having eaten and drank to a great excess, they were all asleep, *Maniaces*, sallying out, cut them all off to a man, without the least opposition; and having taken two hundred and eighty camels loaded with the spoils of the *Roman* army, he sent them to the emperor, who rewarded him for this seasonable piece of service with the government of *Media*^a. In the mean time, *Romanus*, having with much-ado reached *Cappadocia*, returned from thence, with the remains of his shattered army, to *Constantinople*; and there, laying aside all thoughts of any warlike attempts for the future, made it his whole study to fill the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality and extravagance of his predecessor. In order to this, he renewed his claim to old debts, thought to have been utterly forgotten, and proceeded with such rigour in the recovery of them, that

His army
is cut off.

The baggage of the
George Maniaces,
army recovered by
Maniaces.

Romanus
oppresses
the people.

^a CUROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR.

many persons of distinction were driven from their estates, and reduced with their families to beggary. These severe exactions raised a general discontent in the people, which gave rise to several plots and conspiracies, for the most part carried on by *Theodora*, the late emperor's youngest daughter, who was on that account confined to a monastery, and obliged to take the religious habit; which we shall see her hereafter exchange for the imperial purple. In 1033, the fourth of *Romanus's* reign, a dreadful plague broke out in *Cappadocia*, and raged with such violence in that province, as well as in *Paphlagonia* and *Armenia*, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings and retire to other parts of the empire. The plague was followed by a terrible famine, and that by earthquakes, which destroyed several cities, and overturned many stately edifices at *Constantinople*, where it was felt for the space of forty days. At the same time a comet appeared, which passed with a terrible noise from the north to the south, the whole horizon seeming to be in a flame. *Romanus*, alarmed at these and several other public calamities and prodigies, with which the histories of those times are filled, applied himself wholly to works of piety, hoping by that means to avert the wrath of heaven, which seemed to threaten the empire. He erected several hospitals for the relief of the poor, repaired those which had been destroyed by the late earthquakes, rebuilt the aqueducts, supplied the city with water, of which it began to be in great want, and, above all, enriched with large donations the monasteries, bestowing on the monks whole cities, and the most fruitful lands in the provinces, purchased by him at the public expence. In the mean time, the empress *Zoe*, a most lewd and incontinent woman, despising her husband, now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, cast her eyes on *Michael* the brother of *John* an eunuch, in great authority with the emperor. As *Michael*, though meanly born, was a man of a most comely aspect, of a graceful person and great address, the empress began to entertain a violent passion for him; which, as she abandoned herself to it, grew in a short time so powerful, that she resolved to dispatch her husband and marry him. Accordingly, having imparted her design to such of her creatures as she could confide in, poison was administered by them to the unhappy prince, which, in a short time, reduced him to a most deplorable condition. However, the empress thinking it too slow in its operation, hired an assassin to dispatch him, who, entering the bath where the emperor was refreshing himself, held his head under water till he expired. His death happened on the eleventh, or as others write on the fifteenth, of *April* of the year 1034, after he had reigned five years and six months.

Several public calamities.

The emperor applies himself wholly to works of piety.

The empress falls in love with Michael.

Romanus murdered.

Michael
the Paph-
lagonian
marries
Zoe, and
is raised to
the empire.

Several
persons of
distinction
banished by
John the
eunuch.

Romanus being dead, the empress *Zoe* sent for the patriarch *Alexius* in great haste, who was then celebrating in the church the office appointed for *Good-friday*; for on that day the emperor was murdered. As *Alexius* had been sent for in *Romanus's* name, he was greatly surprised, when he heard he was dead; and much more when the empress, upon his being introduced to her, ordered him to marry her to *Michael*. Struck with horror and amazement, he declined the office for some time; but was in the end, with a present of an hundred pounds weight of gold, prevailed upon to comply. When the ceremony was over, the new emperor acquainted the people with the death of *Romanus*, and his own marriage with *Zoe*, who, he said, had taken him for her partner in the empire, to which she had an undoubted right. Letters to the same purpose were dispatched into the provinces, where none of the great men seemed displeased at the promotion of *Michael*, except *Constantine Delasenus*, who had been named by some to succeed *Basilus II.* and being, on account of his rank and family, the first man in the empire, was highly offended, that a person of *Michael's* obscure birth should be preferred to him. But *John* the eunuch, *Michael's* brother, having, with repeated oaths, promises, and asseverations, prevailed upon him to come to court, banished him, as soon as he had him in his power, to the island *Prota*, whence he was removed to a strong tower, and there kept under close confinement, till he was sent for to court by the empress *Zoe*, as we shall relate hereafter. At the same time, *John* took care to remove, and, under various pretences, to send into exile, such as gave him the least umbrage, or seemed to be ill-affected to his family: *Constantine Monomachus*, afterwards emperor, was confined to a castle; *Maniaces*, who was highly esteemed and beloved by the people, was sent into *Upper Media*, under pretence of restraining the incursions of the *Saracens*; all the friends and relations of the late emperor were driven from their estates and employments, and the government of the provinces, as well as the charge of civil affairs, committed to none but eunuchs. *John*, having thus established his brother's interest in the provinces, began to reflect on the fate of *Romanus*; and, distrusting the fickle temper of *Zoe*, removed from her all the women, in whom she reposed any confidence; and discharging her eunuchs, appointed others, in whom he could confide, to attend, or rather to watch, her; so that she could not stir out of the palace without his knowledge and consent. The empress, highly provoked at the restraint put upon her, and looking upon *John* as no other than her goaler, endeavoured to get rid of him by poison; but the design being discovered, before it could be put in execution, the minister stood thenceforth on his guard,

guard, and watched her more narrowly. As for *Michael* the emperor, he suffered *John* to govern with an absolute sway, applying himself wholly to his devotions. Being conscious of the heinous crime he had committed in murdering his sovereign, he hoped to atone for it by works of piety, by his liberality to the poor, and by erecting and endowing churches, hospitals, oratories, &c. As he began to grow distempered in his body and disordered in his mind, *John*, concluding that if he died the empress would endeavour to recover her authority, and would not fail, if she succeeded therein, to gratify her revenge with the utter ruin of him and his family, prevailed upon the emperor to prefer *Michael*, surnamed *Calaphates*, his sister's son, to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and to banish all the friends and relations of the empress *Zoe*. In the third year of *Michael*'s reign, a peace for thirty years was concluded between him and the *Saracens* of *Egypt*, whose kaliff being dead, his widow is said to have embraced the christian religion, and to have brought about an agreement between her subjects and the *Romans*. The following year, 1036, was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which overturned several cities in different parts of the empire, and for an attempt of the *Saracens* on the city of *Edeffa*, which narrowly escaped falling into their hands. Twelve of the chief men of their nation, presenting themselves before the gates, with five hundred horses and as many camels, loaded with large chests, demanded admittance, pretending they were carrying presents to the emperor. The governor received into the city the twelve ambassadors, as they styled themselves, and entertained them at a banquet; but could not be prevailed upon to admit the horses and camels: which diffidence preserved the place; for the chests were filled with armed men, who, in the dead of the night, were to be let out, and, killing the centinels, to seize on the city. The design was discovered by an *Armenian* to the governor, who, suddenly withdrawing from the banquet, and taking a sufficient force with him, surprised and put to the sword all the *Saracens* without the town; then, returning to his guests, treated them in the like manner, sparing but one, whose hands, ears, and nose he cut off, and sent him home in that condition, to give his countrymen an account of what had happened. The following year, the *Bulgarians* revolted, and, shaking off the yoke, chose one *Deleanus*, or, as some call him, *Dolianus*, for their king. He was servant to a citizen of *Constantinople*; but escaping from his master, fled into *Bulgaria*, his native country; and there gave out, that he was the son of *Gabriel* and grandson of *Samuel*. The *Bulgarians*,

Who governs without controul.

Michael Calaphates created Cæsar.

An attempt of the Saracens upon Edeffa defeated.

The Bulgarians revolt.

• Idem ibid. • Idem ibid.

Q q 2

weary

And the inhabitants of Dyrrhachium.

The emperor is put to flight.

Theſſalonica beſieged.

weary of the yoke, to which they had but lately submitted, received him as their deliverer, and having proclaimed him king, murdered all the *Romans*, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. At the ſame time, the inhabitants of *Dyrrhachium*, no longer able to bear the cruel exactions of their governor *Michael Dermocaitas*, roſe up againſt him, drove him out of the town, and, deſpairing of pardon, openly revolted, and choſe one *Teichomerus*, a ſoldier of great reputation amongſt them, for their king. *Deleanus*, the new king of *Bulgaria*, no ſooner heard of this revolt, than he wrote an obliging letter to *Teichomerus*, offering to take him for his partner in the kingdom of *Bulgaria*, provided he joined him with all his followers. *Teichomerus*, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, readily received him into *Dyrrhachium*; but *Deleanus*, inſtead of performing his promiſe, cauſed the credulous and unhappy *Teichomerus* to be put to death; and then marching without loſs of time to *Theſſalonica*, where the emperor lay encamped, ſtruck with his unexpected approach ſuch terror into the *Roman* army, that they fled with *Michael* in the utmoſt confuſion to *Conſtantinople*, leaving all their baggage behind them to the care of *Manuel Ibatza*, who, betraying his truſt, delivered it up to the enemy. In the mean time, *Aluſianus*, the brother of *John* the laſt king of *Bulgaria*, who, when that country ſubmitted to *Baſilius*, had been raiſed to the dignity of a patrician, having made his eſcape from *Conſtantinople* and got undiscovered into *Bulgaria*, was there received by his countrymen with great demonſtrations of joy. As he was a real deſcendant of the royal family, his arrival gave no ſmall umbrage to *Deleanus*, who nevertheless, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, took him for his colleague in the empire, and ſent him, at the head of forty thouſand men, to lay ſiege to *Theſſalonica*. *Aluſianus* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that occaſion in a very eminent manner; but the vigorous oppoſition he met with from *Conſtantine* the patrician, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege and retire, after he had loſt fifteen thouſand men in the undertaking. *Deleanus* laid hold of this opportunity to leſſen the credit of his colleague, giving out, that he maintained a private correſpondence with the *Romans*. But *Aluſianus*, apprized of his evil deſigns, reſolved to be beforehand with him; and accordingly, having invited him to an entertainment, he cauſed his eyes to be plucked out; and then, diſtruſting the fickle humour of the *Bulgarians*, returned to *Conſtantinople*, after his friends had obtained of the emperor his pardon. Upon his return, *Michael*, though grievouſly afflicted with a dropſy, entered the enemy's country at the head of a powerful army, and falling upon the *Bulgarians*, now deſtitute of a head to adviſe and command them, put them

to

to flight, and obliged them to submit anew to the yoke. After this, the emperor returned in triumph to *Constantinople*; but finding his distemper daily increased, he soon after divested himself of the imperial purple, and entering into a monastery, which he himself had built, spent there the remaining part of his life in acts of piety and repentance. He died on the tenth of *December* 1041, after he had reigned seven years and eight months. Upon his death, *Michael Calaphates*, his sister's son, who had been created *Cæsar*, and at the same time adopted by *Zoe*, as some authors write, was proclaimed emperor. He, upon his accession to the empire, probably out of complaisance to *Zoe*, who appeared very zealous in his interest, banished his uncle *John* the eunuch, and proceeded with the like unnatural severity against his other relations, causing most of them, without any regard to their age or circumstances, to be made eunuchs. Over-jealous of his authority, he caused in the end the empress *Zoe* to be confined to a monastery, under pretence, that she had, by witchcraft and forcery, attempted to take away his life. His monstrous ingratitude to one, who had been chiefly instrumental in his promotion, and was still held in great veneration by the people, on account of her high birth, provoked them to such a degree, that, breaking out into a general sedition, with an unanimous consent they sent for *Theodora*, the emperor *Constantine's* youngest daughter, who had been shut up in a monastery, as we have observed above, and saluted her empress, with her sister *Zoe*. *Michael*, finding the people universally bent against him, retired of his own accord, with his uncle *Constantine*, to a monastery, where they both took the religious habit, hoping by that means to appease the enraged multitude. But *Theodora*, who was more incensed against them than *Zoe* herself, moving that their eyes should be plucked out, the populace, breaking into the church of *St. John the baptist*, where they had taken refuge, dragged them from the altar to the forum, and there, in a most cruel manner, deprived them of their sight. After this, they were banished, with all their relations and adherents, *Michael* having enjoyed the sovereignty scarce four months ⁹.

Zoe, seeing herself once more invested with the sovereignty, banished all the friends of the late tyrants, and recalled from exile such as had served her father and uncle, preferring them to the first employments in the state and army. Among the rest *Maniaces*, of whom we have spoken above, was sent for to court, and appointed commander in chief of all the western forces. *Zoe* had scarce reigned three months, when the people

⁹ CUIROPALAT. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

Zoe mar-
ries Con-
stantine
Monoma-
chus, who
is declared
emperor.

Maniaces
revolts;
but is mur-
dered.

The Rossi
defeated.

Leo Tor-
nicus re-
volts; and
besieges
Constanti-
nople.

pressing her to marry, and by that means prevent the disturbances that might arise among competitors for the empire, she recalled from banishment *Constantine*, surnamed *Monomachus*, a person of a noble extraction and comely aspect; and having married him, caused him to be crowned by the patriarch with the usual solemnity. He had been banished, during the reign of *Michael*, to the island of *Lesbos*, and from thence removed, at the instigation of *John* the eunuch, to *Mitylene*, where he was when sent for to court, and raised to the empire. He no sooner saw himself invested with the imperial dignity, then he banished the eunuch to the island of *Lesbos*; where, his eyes being pulled out by the emperor's orders, he died soon after. In the very beginning of *Constantine's* reign, *Maniaces*, not able to brook the ill treatment he met with from *Sclerus*, one of the emperor's chief favourites, revolted with the troops under his command, and, assuming the imperial ornaments, passed with his army into *Bulgaria*, where he was joined by the malecontents of that country. *Constantine* dispatched *Stephen Sebastophorus* against him, at the head of a very numerous army; which, however, was defeated and put to flight by *Maniaces* at the first onset. *Maniaces* did not live to reap the fruit of his victory, being slain a few days after it by a person unknown, who had the good luck to make his escape. Upon his death, those who had been most forward in the rebellion, were the first who threw down their arms, and submitted to *Stephen*, the emperor's general, who, notwithstanding his defeat, was, on his return to *Constantinople*, honoured with a triumph. The same year 1043, the *Rossi*, who had continued long quiet, appeared unexpectedly before *Constantinople* with a mighty fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's navy in the streights, they were glad to renew their antient alliance with the empire. Upon their retreat, the emperor marched in person into the east, and there recovered several cities, which the *Saracens* had seized in the two late reigns. But while he was pursuing the war with great success, *Leo Tornicius*, escaping out of a monastery, to which he had been confined, assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. *Leo* was a person of extraordinary parts, and nearly related to the emperor, by whom he had been, out of jealousy, removed from his government of *Iberia*, and shut up in a monastery; but having found means to make his escape from thence he fled to *Adrianople*, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who had been lately disoblged by *Monomachus*. Being joined there by great multitudes, who flocked to him from all parts, he advanced to *Constantinople*, and laid siege to that metropolis; but meeting, contrary to his expectation, with a vigorous opposition from the inhabitants, and several of his accomplices

plices falling off from him, he raised the siege, and retired to *Arcadiopolis*, where he defended himself for some time against the forces the emperor had sent to reduce him; but being in the end overpowered with numbers, he was taken, and sent in chains to *Monomachus*, who first caused his eyes to be pulled out, and then confined him to a remote island. The rebellion being thus happily suppressed almost in its birth, and the *Saracens* in the east awed by the emperor's presence, a profound tranquillity reigned the two following years throughout the provinces. But in 1048, the *Roman* dominions were invaded by a new enemy, scarce mentioned before in history; but reserved by providence for the utter destruction of the empire, which we shall see them accomplish four hundred years hence, and put a period to the very name of a *Roman* empire. These were the *Turks*, who, quitting their antient habitations in the neighbourhood of mount *Caucasus*, and passing the *Caspian* streights, had settled in *Armenia Major*, about the year 844. There they continued an unknown and despicable people, till the wars of the *Saracens* among themselves gave them an opportunity of aggrandizing their nation. The *Saracens* having, with amazing success and rapidity, subdued *Persia*, *Assyria*, *Egypt*, *Africa*, and a considerable part of *Europe* itself, divided their vast spreading dominions into several governments or principalities, which were ruled by their respective sultans or commanders, who, in process of time quarrelling with one another, hastened the ruin of the empire, which they had so successfully established. About the year 1030, *Mohammed*, the son of *Sambrael*, sultan of *Persia*, not finding himself a match for *Pisaris*, sultan of *Babylon*, with whom he was at war, had recourse to the *Turks*, who sent him from *Armenia Major*, where they settled, as we have observed above, three thousand of their nation, under the conduct of one *Tangrolipix*, a leading man amongst them. *Mohammed*, strengthened with this supply, gained a complete victory over the sultan of *Babylon*; but when the *Turks*, to whom it was chiefly owing, desired leave to return home, he refused to comply with their just demand, being unwilling to part with them, till he had ended the war, in which he was engaged with the *Indians*. Hereupon the *Turks*, withdrawing without his consent, to the desert of *Carbonitis*, and being there joined by several discontented *Persians*, began to make frequent inroads into the territories of the *Saracens*. *Mohammed* immediately dispatched an army of twenty thousand men against them, who were surprised in the night by *Tangrolipix*, and utterly defeated. The fame of this victory, and the immense booty which the *Turks* acquired by it, drew multitudes to them, from all parts, of criminals, fugitive

*He raises
the siege,
is taken,
and de-
prived of
his sight.*

*The Turks
conquer
Persia un-
der the
conduct of
Tangrolipix.*

Tangrolipix proclaimed sultan of Persia.

Reduces Babylon.

Is defeated by the Arabians.

Invades Media.

slaves, robbers, &c. insomuch, that *Tangrolipix* saw himself in a short time at the head of fifty thousand men. *Mohammed*, enraged at the defeat of his forces, ordered the ten generals, who had commanded them, to be deprived of their sight, and at the same time a new army to be raised, which he headed in person; but as he was riding about in the heat of the engagement, to animate his men, he fell from his horse, and soon after died of the fall. His death was no sooner known, than his men threw down their arms, and submitting to *Tangrolipix*, proclaimed him king of *Persia*. This battle, which gave rise to the *Turkish* power, was fought about the year 1034, in the neighbourhood of *Aspahan*, now *Ispahan*, the metropolis of *Persia*^r. *Tangrolipix*, now master of *Persia*, having first opened a passage for his countrymen into that kingdom over the *Araxes*, parting it from *Armenia*, made war upon *Pisaris* or *Pisastris*, kaliff of *Babylon*, whom he at length slew, and annexed his dominions to his own. He then sent his nephew, *Cutlu-Moses* or *Cuthimuses*, against the *Arabians*; but he was overthrown by them in a pitched battle, and obliged to take shelter in *Media*, through which *Stephen*, the *Roman* governor, denying him a passage, he put his troops to flight, took the governor himself prisoner, and, without any further opposition, reached *Brisium*, on the confines of *Persia*, where he sold *Stephen* for a slave. Returning from thence to *Tangrolipix*, he excused, in the best manner he could, the bad success of his expedition, acquainting him at the same time with his victory over the *Romans* in *Media*, and encouraging him to invade that fertile country, which, he said, might be easily subdued, as it was inhabited by none but women, meaning the *Romans*. *Tangrolipix* did not then hearken to his advice, being wholly bent on revenging the late defeat on the *Arabians*, against whom he marched in person, at the head of a numerous army; but being himself defeated and put to flight by that warlike nation, he gave over all thoughts of reducing them; and reflecting on what *Cutlu-Moses* had told him, he sent *Asan*, his brother's son, surnamed the *Deaf*, with an army of twenty thousand men, to reduce *Media*; which *Asan* entered, committing every-where dreadful ravages. But being in the end drawn into an ambush by the *Roman* generals, he was cut off, with his whole army. *Tangrolipix*, no-ways discouraged at this misfortune, sent a new army into *Media*, near an hundred thousand strong; who, after having laid waste the country without opposition, the *Romans* shutting themselves up in their strong-holds, laid siege to *Artza*, a place of great trade, and on that account esteemed the most wealthy in those parts; but not being able by any other means to master

^r NICEPH. BRYENN. l. i. c. 3.

it, they set fire to it, which in a short time reduced it to ashes. Of the inhabitants an hundred fifty thousand, and upwards, are said to have perished, either by the sword, or in the flames. After this, *Abraham Halim*, half-brother to *Tangrolipix*, who commanded the *Turks*, hearing that the *Romans*, reinforced with a body of troops under the command of *Liparites*, governor of *Iberia*, had taken the field, marched against them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed. The victory continued long doubtful; but at length inclined to the *Romans*, who nevertheless did not think it adviseable, as their general *Liparites* was taken prisoner, to pursue the fugitives. The emperor, greatly concerned for the captivity of *Liparites*, dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents and a large sum, to redeem him, and at the same time to conclude an alliance with *Tangrolipix*. The sultan received the presents; but generously returned them, with the money, to *Liparites*, whom he set at liberty without ransom, only requiring him, at his departure, never more to bear arms against the *Turks*. Not long after, *Tangrolipix* sent a person of great authority among the *Turks*, with the character of ambassador, to *Constantinople*, who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to submit to his master, and acknowledge himself his tributary, was by *Monomachus* dismissed with scorn, and driven out of the city. On his return, he acquainted *Tangrolipix* with the reception he had met with; who thereupon resolved to renew the war. *Monomachus*, on the other hand, did not neglect the necessary preparations to oppose so powerful an enemy; but was diverted from it by a war, which suddenly broke out between him and the *Patzinacæ*, a *Scythian* nation, whose king, by name *Tyrach*, highly provoked at the kind reception *Kegenes*, after revolting from him, had met with from the *Romans*, passed the *Danube* on the ice, and entering, if the authors of those times are to be credited, with eight hundred thousand men the *Roman* provinces, destroyed all with fire and sword. *Constantine Arianites* was sent against them with all the troops quartered in *Macedon* and *Bulgaria*; but he, not thinking it adviseable to venture an engagement, suffered them to ravage the country without controul, till great multitudes of them being swept off by the distempers which raged in their army, he was advised by *Kegenes*, who joined him with twenty thousand men, to fall upon them suddenly; which he did with so much resolution, that the barbarians, weakened with sickness, and terrified at so sudden an onset, threw down their arms and submitted. Great numbers of them were allowed to settle at *Sardica*, *Naiſſus*, *Eutzaopolis*, and in other cities of *Bulgaria*; some returned to their own country; but *Tyrach* and an hundred and forty of the most noble

Is defeated
by the
Romans.

The Patzina
nacæ
break into
the em-
pire.

But are
utterly
routed.

ble among them were sent to *Constantinople*, where they were kindly received by the emperor; and upon their embracing the christian religion, as *Kegenes* had done before, with all his followers, they were entertained in a manner suitable to their rank, and even raised to considerable employments. However, the emperor having sent fifteen thousand of those who had settled in *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of *Catalunes*, one of their own officers, to reinforce the army in *Iberia*, they revolted on their march; and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamped on the banks of the *Danube*, making from thence frequent incursions into the *Roman* territories. The emperor sent some of his best generals against them; but was not able to suppress them, his forces being, in three successive engagements, put to the rout. Having at length resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them, they were so terrified at the noise of the preparations the emperor was making, that they sent deputies to sue for peace; which was readily granted them for thirty years^a. During this war, *Tangrolipix*, affronted at the reception of his ambassador, as we have related above, entered *Iberia*, and having laid the country waste far and near, returned from thence into *Media*, and laid siege to *Mantzichierta*, a place defended by a numerous garison, and fortified with a triple wall and deep ditches. However, as it was situated in a plain and open country, he hoped to be master of it in a short time; but finding, after he had continued before it thirty days together, that the besieged were resolved to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, despairing of success, he resolved to raise the siege, when *Alcan*, one of his chief officers, prevailed upon him to continue it but one day longer, and to commit to him the conduct and management of the attacks. This being granted, *Alcan* the next day disposed his men with such skill, and encouraged them by his example to fight with so much bravery and resolution, that, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with, the place would, in all likelihood, have been taken, had not *Alcan* been slain, while, in spite of the incessant showers of arrows, darts, stones, &c. he was mounting the wall. The besieged, knowing him by the richness of his armour, drew him by the hair into the city, and cutting off his head, threw it over the wall amongst the enemy, who, disheartened at that sight, gave over the assault, and retired, *Tangrolipix* pretending some urgent affairs had called him home. However, he returned the spring following, and ravaging *Iberia*, spared neither sex nor age. But upon the approach of *Michael Acoluthus*, who was sent against him at the head of a considerable army, he retired to *Tauris*, leaving thirty thousand men behind him to infest the

Iberia laid waste by the Turks;

Who besiege Mantzichierta;

But are forced to raise the siege.

^a NICEPH. BRYENN. CUROPAL. CEDREN. ZONAR. in Monomach. frontiers

frontiers of the empire ; which they did with great success, the borders being, through the avarice of *Monomachus*, left unguarded ; for, till his time, the provinces bordering on the countries of the barbarians, had maintained, at their own charge, forces to defend them, and were on that account exempted from paying tribute. But *Monomachus* exacting of them the same sums that were paid by the other provinces, they were no longer in a condition to restrain the incursions of the enemy¹. About this time died the empress *Zoe*, and soon after the emperor himself. Though he had always expressed a great esteem and regard for *Theodora*, the sister of *Zoe*, yet he was prevailed upon by the eunuchs at court to name for his successor *Nicephorus*, who commanded the forces in *Bulgaria*, and was privately sent for, when the emperor's recovery was despaired of. But *Theodora*, informed by her friends at court of the emperor's intention, privately withdrew from the monastery of *St. George*, whither she had attended him ; and returning to *Constantinople*, attended by her most faithful friends, caused herself to be proclaimed, and saluted empress ; which gave *Monomachus* so much concern, that he fell into a swoon, and died soon after, having reigned twelve years and eight months. Some authors write, that both he and *Zoe* died of the plague, which indeed raged at that time with great fury in *Constantinople* ; but most authors ascribe his death to the gout, which he increased by his intemperance, lewdness, and debaucheries.

Theodora no sooner received the news of his death, than she caused all those to be secured, who had proposed the promotion of *Nicephorus* ; and depriving them of their employments, named others in their room, in whom she thought she could confide. *Theodorus*, the eunuch, was sent at the head of a considerable army into the east to awe the *Turks*, who, hearing of the emperor's death, were preparing to renew the war. He prevented with his care and vigilance the enemy from making inroads into the *Roman* territories ; so that the eastern provinces enjoyed, during *Theodora*'s short reign, a profound tranquillity, to which they had been long strangers. Her prudent choice of the great officers and ministers of state, her impartial administration of justice (for she heard all causes herself), and her great moderation in the use of the authority with which she was invested, gained her the affections of her people, and the respect and esteem of all foreign nations. But the empire did not long enjoy the many valuable blessings that attended her administration ; for in the second year of her reign she was seized with a violent pain in her bowels, which in a few days put an end to her

¹ NICEPH. BRYENN. c. 4. CUROP. ibid.

Her death.

*Michael
Stratioti-
cus.*

*Rebellion
suppressed.*

*Michael
disobliges
the officers
of the
army.*

life. Before she died, she was persuaded by *Leo Straboſpondylus*, her prime miniſter, and her favourite eunuch, to bequeath the empire to *Michael Stratioticus*, a perſon ſtricken in years, and altogether ignorant of ſtate-affairs, which chiefly recommended him to the eunuchs, who hoped to govern in his name with an abſolute ſway. *Theodora* died, ſoon after ſhe had named him, in the month of *Auguſt* 1056, having reigned one year and nine months. The death of *Theodora*, and promotion of *Michael*, which had been managed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, being known at the ſame time, *Theodorus*, couſin-german to the deceased emperor, laying claim to the empire, as of right belonging to him, proteſted againſt what had been done in favour of *Michael*; and ſummoning all his friends, ſervants, and dependants, moved in the evening with a great train through the moſt frequented ſtreets to the palace; but finding the gates ſhut and well guarded, he went from thence to the great church, not doubting but he ſhould be well received there by the patriarch and the clergy. But they reſuſing, contrary to his expectation, to admit him, he had recourſe to the people, who, unmoved by his offers and promiſes, continued firm in the reſolution they had taken a few hours before to ſupport *Michael*. *Theodorus*, now well apprized he could not ſucceed in his attempt, and dreading the reſentment of the new emperor, renounced all claim to the imperial dignity, and took refuge with his ſon in the church; but he was ſoon dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, and baniſhed to *Pergamus*, where he died ſome years after. The rebellion being thus ſuppreſſed, *Michael* enjoyed the imperial dignity without a competitor, but ſoon ſhewed himſelf altogether unequal to ſo eminent a poſt. As he was an intire ſtranger to ſtate-affairs, having been brought up from his youth in the camp, he ſuffered the eunuchs, to whom he was indebted for his promotion, to govern without controul. At their inſtigation he diſobliged moſt of the general officers of the army, whom he ought to have regarded as his chief ſupport, and among the reſt, *Iſaac Comnenus*, and *Ambuſtus Catacale*, men renowned for their eminent ſervices and experience in war. The former he deprived of his command in the army, and the latter he removed from the government of *Antioch*, recalling *Bryennius*, a man of a turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit, who had been baniſhed by *Theodora*, and appointing him commander in chief of the eaſtern forces. *Bryennius*, upon his return to court, petitioned the emperor for his eſtate, which had been conſiſcated in the late reign, but met with a ſurly denial; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to revolt, and employ the forces under his command againſt the perſon who had entrusted him with them.

Having

Having imparted his design to *Ambustus*, *Comnenus*, and several ^{Several} others, who had been disobliged by *Michael*, they all met, in ^{of them} order to proceed to the election of a new emperor, when, by ^{conspire a-} the unanimous consent of the whole party, *Ambustus* was cho- ^{gainst him.} sen; but he declining the burden on account of his age, *Isaac Comnenus* was proposed next, as a person in every respect well qualified for so great a trust. As the proposal was received by all with great applause, *Comnenus* did not oppose it, but suffered the conspirators to take an oath of allegiance to him, promising at the same time to govern with justice and moderation. After this, they all departed from *Constantinople*, where they had met, according to custom, at *Easter*, and repaired to their several posts, where each of them was, in his respective station, to promote the general design. *Bryennius* hastened to the army in the east; but falling out there with *John Opsaras*, a patrician, whom the emperor had appointed to distribute a largess among the soldiers, the quarrel was carried to such a height, that *Bryennius*, in defiance of the emperor's orders, committed *Opsaras* to custody, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods. Hereupon *Lycanthes*, who commanded in that neighbourhood a strong body of *Lycaonians* and *Pisidians*, concluding that *Bryennius* designed to revolt, fell upon him unexpectedly in his camp; and having taken him prisoner, delivered him to *Opsaras*, by whose orders his eyes were pulled out. The officers of the east, informed of his misfortune, and apprehending he might, upon examination, reveal their designs (for he was sent in chains to the emperor), resolved openly to declare themselves; and accordingly having drawn together, in a spacious plain, all the forces under their command, they sent for *Comnenus*, who was then at his house in *Paphlagonia*, ^{Isaac} and presented him in the imperial robes to the soldiery, by whom ^{Comnenus} he was, with universal consent, saluted emperor. ^{saluted} of June 1057. ^{emperor.}

Comnenus, thus raised to the imperial dignity, took upon him the command of the army, which he immediately marched ^{An army} over the river *Sangarius* in *Phrygia Major*, bending his rout ^{sent a-} towards *Nice*, which he surprised, most of the soldiers, who gari- ^{gainst him.} soned it, being retired to their own homes. In the mean time, *Stratioticus*, receiving news of the revolt, assembled all the forces quartered in the west; and having mustered his army, chose for his generals *Theodorus* the eunuch, and *Aaron Ducas*, an officer of great experience in war, and brother to the wife of *Comnenus*. The two generals marched at the head of their army to *Nicomedia*, and from thence to *Nice*, in the neighbourhood of which city they found *Comnenus* encamped. Upon their approach, he drew up his army, *Ambustus*

Which is
defeated by
Comne-
nus.

Stratioti-
cus forced
to resign.

Ambustus having the command of the left wing, *Romanus Sclerus* of the right, and *Comnenus* himself of the main body. The emperor's generals accepted the challenge, and the two armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity. At first *Aaron*, who commanded the left wing of the imperial army, broke the opposite wing of the enemy, took *Romanus* himself prisoner, and pursued the fugitives to their camp. But *Ambustus*, on the other hand, bearing all down before him, pierced into the enemy's camp, which he took and plundered; and then charging with fresh vigor the emperor's left wing, obliged them to give over the pursuit, and retire in some confusion. In their retreat they were attacked by *Comnenus*, and easily put to flight; which so discouraged the rest of the emperor's troops, that, throwing away their arms, they fled in great disorder. *Comnenus*, having thus gained a complete victory, began his march to *Constantinople*, not doubting, but the citizens would open their gates to him, as soon as he appeared before them. In the mean time, *Stratoticus*, informed of the overthrow of his forces, sent some of the chief men in the senate to *Comnenus*, with proposals for an agreement, which was concluded on the following terms: That *Comnenus* should be declared *Cæsar*; that a full pardon should be granted to all his followers; and that such of them as enjoyed employments, should be continued in them, and confirmed by the emperor. But this agreement was made void by the emperor himself soon after he had ratified it: for, at the instigation of some about him, he obliged, partly by promises, partly by menaces, the senate and people to bind themselves by a most solemn oath never to give *Comnenus* the title of emperor, nor own him for their sovereign. This oath was exacted, when *Comnenus* was still in *Asia*; but news was no sooner brought, that he was within a day's march of *Constantinople*, than he was, by a decree of the senate, and the unanimous consent of the people, proclaimed emperor, and all those, who should oppose him, adjudged enemies to their country. The decree being passed in the senate without opposition, the patriarch dispatched messengers to *Comnenus*, inviting him to the city, and at the same time some bishops to *Stratoticus*, commanding him in the name of the senate and people to resign the imperial dignity, and quit the palace. We are told, that when the bishops delivered their message, *Stratoticus* asked them, What they intended to give him in exchange for the empire? and that they answering, The kingdom of heaven, he immediately divested himself of the purple, and, quitting the palace, retired to his own house, and from thence to a monastery, after he had reigned one year. *Comnenus* arrived the same evening, and was the next day, the first of September 1057, crowned in the great

great church by the patriarch *Michael Cerularius* *. The new *Isaac* emperor's first care was to reward those, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, and above all the patriarch, whose nephews and relations he preferred to the first employments in the state. As he was well skilled in military affairs, and had given signal proofs of his courage and resolution, the neighbouring barbarians continued quiet, during his short reign. At home he was more feared on account of his severity, than beloved. As he found the exchequer quite drained, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, and at length fell upon the monasteries, depriving them of the immense wealth, with which they had been enriched by his predecessors. This the patriarch highly resented, and with great arrogance threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had raised him, unless he restored to the monasteries the estates which he had unjustly seized. But the emperor, instead of yielding to his threats, immediately banished him, and raised *Constantine Lichudes* to the patriarchal see in his room. *Isaac* had not reigned above two years, when he was seized with a violent distemper, occasioned, as some authors write, by a flash of lightning. Being sensible that his end approached, and at the same time touched with remorse in reflecting by what means he had obtained the imperial dignity, he voluntarily resigned it, and retiring to a monastery, there spent the remainder of his days in exercises of piety, having reigned but two years and three months. Being advised, before he resigned, to chuse a successor, though he had several children and near relations of his own, yet, preferring the public good to his private interest, he named *Constantine Ducas*, a person generally esteemed the best qualified in the whole empire for so eminent a station. *Ducas*, thus chosen by *Comnenus*, and received by the senate and people, was crowned with the usual solemnity by the patriarch. He applied himself with great diligence to the affairs of state, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, reformed several abuses, which had prevailed under his predecessors, and behaved on all occasions with such moderation, that he might have been reckoned amongst the best princes, had not his insatiable avarice drowned, in a manner, all his good qualities. He chose rather to leave the frontiers naked and unguarded, than to maintain the necessary garisons; which encouraged the *Turks* to extend their conquests on all sides, and the *Uzians*, a *Scythian* nation, to pass the *Danube* to the number of five hundred thousand men, and ravage the neighbouring countries. *Nicephorus Botaniates*, afterwards emperor, and *Basilus Apocapes*, were sent against them. But the

Comnenus
crowned
emperor.

He banishes the
patriarch.

He resigns
the empire
to *Constantine Ducas*.

The *Uzians*
invade the
empire.

* CUROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR. in Stratiot. & *Isaac Comn.*

But are
cut off by
the Hun-
garians.

The Turks
invade the
empire.

barbarians having put the emperor's forces to flight at the first onset, and taken both the generals in the pursuit, laid waste all *Thrace* and *Macedon*; and penetrating without opposition into *Greece*, destroyed all with fire and sword. The emperor, affected with the calamities of his subjects, but yet unwilling to be at the charge of raising the necessary forces to deliver them from the oppression under which they groaned, endeavoured at first to purchase a peace with rich presents, and even with promising to pay them an annual tribute. To such meanness was the emperor brought by his sordid temper. But the barbarians refusing to hearken to any terms, he ordered a general fast to be observed throughout his dominions, and then marched out against them with a handful of men. But, in the mean time, the enemy being greatly weakened by a plague that began to reign among them, the *Hungari* or *Hungarians*, whose country they had ravaged, fell unexpectedly upon them, and cut them off almost to a man. Nothing else happened, during this unactive prince's reign, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except a dreadful earthquake, which overturned several stately edifices at *Constantinople*, and the appearing of a comet, which was seen for forty days together, and thought to portend the emperor's approaching fate. And indeed *Constantine* was soon after seized with a violent distemper, which in a few days put an end to his life. He left the empire to his three sons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Constantine*; but as they were yet very young, he appointed the empress *Endocia*, their mother, regent during the minority, after having required of her an oath never to marry, which was lodged with great solemnity in the hands of the patriarch. He likewise obliged the senators solemnly to swear that they would acknowledge none for their sovereign but his three sons. Having thus secured, as he thought, the imperial crown to his family, he died in 1067, after having reigned five years and six months^u. He was no sooner dead, than the *Turks*, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, destroying all with fire and sword. The empress was no ways in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of the army having been disbanded in her husband's life-time, and the troops, that were still on foot, being undisciplined and altogether unfit for service. This gave the empress great concern, which was aggravated by the seditious speeches of a discontented party at home, repeating in all assemblies, that the present state of the empire required a man of courage and address at the helm, instead of a weak and

^u Idem ibid. & NICEPH. BRYENN.

helpless

helpless woman. As they imagined the empress would never think of marrying, in regard of the oath she had taken, they hoped by these speeches to induce the people to revolt, and chuse a new emperor. This *Eudocia* was aware of; and therefore, to prevent the evils that threatened her and her family, she resolved to marry some person of merit, capable of defeating the designs of her enemies both at home and abroad. At this time, *Romanus Diogenes*, a person of a most beautiful aspect, extraordinary parts, and an illustrious birth, for he was descended from the emperor *Romanus Argyrus*, being accused of aspiring at the empire, tried and convicted, was brought forth to receive the sentence of death, which his ambition had deserved. But the empress, touched with compassion at the appearance of the unhappy prisoner, who, she thought, deserved a better fate, put a stop to the sentence; and, having gently upbraided him with his ill-timed ambition, set him at liberty, and soon after appointed him commander in chief of all her forces; in which station he acquitted himself so well, that the empress resolved to marry him, if she could but recover the writing, in which her oath was contained, out of the hands of the patriarch. In order to this, she applied herself to a favourite eunuch, who, going to the patriarch, told *John Xiphiline*, that the empress was so taken with his nephew, by name *Bardas*, that she was determined to marry him, and raise him to the empire, provided he absolved her from the oath she had lately taken, and convinced the senate of the lawfulness of such a marriage. The patriarch, though a man of great probity and learning, yet dazzled with the prospect of his nephew's promotion, readily undertook to perform both; and accordingly, having first obtained the consent of the senate, by representing to them the dangerous condition of the empire, and exclaiming against the rash oath, which the jealousy of the late emperor had extorted from the empress, he publicly discharged her from the observance of it, restored the writing to her, and exhorted her to marry some deserving person, who, being entrusted with an absolute authority, might protect her and her children, and defend the empire against the many enemies who threatened it, and were not to be repressed by the hands of a weak woman, or awed by three young children. The empress, thus discharged from her oath, married a few days after, to the great disappointment of the patriarch, *Romanus Diogenes*, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor. As he was a man of great activity and experience in war, he no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereign power, than, taking upon him the command of the army, he passed over into *Asia* with the few forces he could assemble, recruiting and inuring them on his march to the military discipline, which *Asia*.

*Romanus
Diogenes.*

*The em-
press mar-
ries him.*

*He passes
over into
which Asia.*

His success
against
the Turks.

which had been utterly neglected in the preceding reigns. Upon his arrival in *Asia*, he was informed, that the *Turks*, having surprised and plundered the city of *Neocæsarea*, were retiring with a rich booty. Hereupon, hastening after them at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, he came up with them the third day; and falling upon them, while they were marching in disorder, without the least apprehension of an enemy, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and recovered the booty. He then pursued his march to *Aleppo*, which he retook, together with *Hierapolis*, where he built a strong castle. As he was returning to join the forces he had left behind him, he was met by a numerous body of *Turks*, who attempted to cut off his retreat; but the emperor, pretending at first through fear to decline an engagement, attacked them afterwards, when they least expected it, with such vigour, that he put them to flight at the first onset, and might have gained a complete victory, had he thought it adviseable to pursue them. After this, several towns submitted to him, the *Turks* abandoning them upon the first news of his approach. But the autumn being already far spent, he retired to *Cilicia*, and from thence to *Constantinople*. The following year, he passed over into *Asia* early in the spring; and being informed, that the *Turks*, having defeated *Philaretus*, who had been left to guard the banks of the *Euphrates*, were advanced into *Cilicia*, and had there surprised and sacked *Iconium*, the most rich and populous city of that province, he marched in person against them. But the *Turks*, not thinking it adviseable to wait his arrival, retired in great haste. However, the *Armenians*, encouraged by the approach of the emperor's army, fell upon the enemy in the plains of *Tarsus*, put them to flight, and stripped them both of their baggage and the booty they had taken. The enemy being retired, the emperor spent the remaining part of the summer in settling the affairs of the provinces; and, upon the approach of winter, returned once more to *Constantinople*, which he entered in triumph, amidst the loud acclamations of the people. The spring following, the emperor marched anew into *Asia*, at the head of a considerable army, which he had raised, and with incredible pains disciplined, during the winter. As the *Turks* had already taken the field, several skirmishes happened between the parties detached from the two armies, in one of which *Nicephorus Basilacius*, one of the emperor's chief officers, was taken prisoner, and carried to *Axan*, the *Turkish* sultan, and son of the celebrated *Tangrolipix*, who received and entertained him with great civility. When the two armies drew near, the sultan, observing the disposition and number of

of the emperor's forces, and dreading, as he was a man of great experience and sagacity, the uncertain issues of war, sent ambassadors to *Romanus*, with proposals for a lasting and honourable peace, which being rejected by the emperor with disdain, both armies prepared for an engagement. Though the emperor's troops were not near so numerous as those of the enemy, *Rufelius*, one of his best commanders, having been detached a little before with a considerable body; yet *Romanus*, presuming upon the courage of his men and the success that had hitherto attended his arms, caused the signal to be given; and falling with great fury upon the enemy, put them into some disorder. However, they soon rallied, and charged with fresh vigour; so that the dispute continued with various success, till the emperor, fearing the sultan should send part of his army to attack his camp, which he had left weakly guarded, caused, as the day was already far spent, a retreat to be sounded, and retired in good order with that part of the army, which he commanded in person. But *Andronicus*, the son of *John Ducas* brother to the late emperor *Constantine*, and in his heart an enemy to *Romanus*, whose good fortune he envied, cried out, that the emperor was put to flight; and at the same time, turning his horse about, fled with great precipitation to the camp. The rest of the army followed his example, and were pursued by the *Turks*, who in that confusion put great numbers of them to the sword. The emperor did all that lay in his power to make them rally and face the enemy; but, in spite of his utmost efforts, they continued their flight, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. The emperor, though thus forsaken by his army, yet stood his ground, till he himself being wounded and his horse killed under him, he was at length overpowered with numbers and taken prisoner. When news was first brought to the sultan of his captivity, he could hardly give credit to it. But being assured of the truth, both by the ambassadors, whom he had sent to him before the battle, and by *Basilacius* his captive, he ordered the emperor to be brought before him, and tenderly embracing him, *Grieve not, noble emperor, said he, at your misfortune; for such is the chance of war, sometimes overwhelming one, and sometimes another; you shall have no occasion to complain of your captivity; for I will not use you as my prisoner, but as an emperor: which he did accordingly, lodging him in a royal pavilion, assigning him attendants, with an equipage suitable to his quality, and discharging such prisoners as he desired.* After he had entertained for some time his royal captive with extraordinary magnificence, a perpetual peace was concluded between them, and the emperor dismissed with the greatest marks of honour imaginable. Being thus set at liberty,

*He rejects
the propo-
sals of the
sultan.*

*He is de-
feated, and
taken pri-
soner.*

*But kindly
entertain-
ed, and set
at liberty,
by the sul-
tan.*

Michael
Ducas pro-
claimed
emperor.

Romanus
dies.

The Turks
invade the
empire.

Defeat the
emperor's
army.

he proceeded, attended by the sultan's ambassadors, for *Constantinople*, where the peace was to be ratified. He stopped at *Theodosiopolis*, and continued some days there to have his wounds dressed, with a design to pursue his journey to the imperial city, as soon as he was able to travel. But, in the mean time, he was informed, that *John*, the brother of *Constantine Ducas*, with *Psellus*, a leading man in the senate, and several others, having, upon the news of his captivity, driven *Eudocia* from the throne, and shut her up in a monastery, had proclaimed her eldest son *Michael Ducas* emperor. Upon this intelligence he left *Theodosiopolis*, and repairing to a strong castle called *Docia*, he fortified himself there, not doubting, but he should be soon joined by his friends, and by great numbers of the officers and soldiers, who had served under him. But, in the mean time, *John*, who had taken upon him to act as guardian to the young prince, and governed with an absolute sway, dispatched his eldest son *Andronicus* against him with a strong body of troops, who having defeated the small army the unfortunate prince had with him, pursued him to *Adana*, a city in *Cilicia*, where he was closely besieged, and in the end forced to surrender. *Andronicus* carried him prisoner into *Phrygia*, where he fell dangerously ill, being, as was suspected, secretly poisoned. But the poison being too slow in its operation, *John* ordered his eyes to be pulled out, which was done with such cruelty, that he died soon after in the island *Prota*, to which he had been confined, having reigned three years and eight months^w. *Romanus Diogenes* being thus removed, *Michael Ducas* was universally acknowledged emperor; but he being an indolent and unactive prince, the whole power was lodged in *John* his uncle, who preferred such only as had been instrumental in the late revolution, and, under various pretences, banished those who gave him the least umbrage.

In the mean time, *Axan*, the *Turkish* sultan, hearing of the unhappy end of the late emperor, resolved to revenge the death of his friend and ally; and accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he broke into the territories of the empire, not with a design only to spoil and plunder, as formerly, but to conquer, and hold what he had once conquered. The emperor, alarmed at the motions of the *Turks*, dispatched *Isaac Comnenus*, son to the late emperor of that name, against them, who gained at first some advantages over them; but having soon after ventured a general engagement, his army was, after a long and obstinate dispute, utterly defeated, and he himself taken prisoner. Another army was soon dispatched against them, under the com-

^w NICEPH. Bryenn. c. 2—10. CUIROPALAT. in Rom. Diog.
mand

mand of *John Ducas*, the emperor's uncle, who gained several advantages over the enemy, and would, in all likelihood, have put a stop to their farther conquests, had he not been diverted by *Rufelius*, or *Urselius*, a native of *Gaul*, who, revolting with the troops of his own nation under his command, reduced several cities in *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, causing himself to be every-where proclaimed emperor. Against him *John* marched with all his forces, suffering the *Turks* in the mean time to pursue their conquests; but coming to an engagement with the rebels on the banks of the *Sangarius*, he received a total overthrow and was taken prisoner. Notwithstanding this victory, *Rufelius*, to stop the progress of the *Turks*, who threatened the empire with utter destruction, not only released his prisoner, but joined him against the common enemy, by whom they were both overcome and taken prisoners. However, *Axan* was Gain a for some time diverted from pursuing his conquests, and reaping second vic- the fruit of his victory, by *Cutlu-Moses*, cousin to the late sul- tory. tan *Tangrolipix*, from whom he had revolted; but being defeated by him in a pitched battle, he had taken refuge in *Arabia*, whence he now returned, at the head of a considerable army; and laying claim to the sovereignty, was preparing to decide the controversy by dint of sword. But while the two armies were ready to engage, the kaliff of *Babylon*, who had been deprived of his temporal jurisdiction by *Tangrolipix*, as we have related above, but still continued to exercise his authority in matters of religion, being looked upon as the successor of their great prophet, interposed; and, by representing to them the dangers, to which their intestine dissensions exposed them, brought them to this agreement; that *Axan* should enjoy undisturbed the monarchy lately erected by his father *Tangrolipix*, and that *Cutlu-Moses* and his family should quietly possess such provinces of the empire as he or his sons should, in process of time, conquer. This agreement being made, *Cutlu-Moses* turned all The pro- his forces against the empire; and being assisted by *Axan*, made gress of himself, in this and the following reign, master of all *Media*, *Ly-* the *Turks*. *caonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*, fixing the seat of his new empire at *Nice* in the latter province. While the *Turks* were busied in reducing the above-mentioned provinces, *Rufelius*, who had been ransomed by his wife, and, notwithstanding his late revolt, restored to favour and entrusted with a considerable command in *Asia Minor*, revolted anew, and, depending upon the assistance of the *Turks*, with whom he had privately entered into an alli- Rufelias revolt. ance, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. *Michael* sent the best commanders in the empire against him; but they were all successively overcome in the several battles that were fought, *Rufelius* being powerfully supported by the *Turks*, whose

The rebel-
lion sup-
pressed by
Alexius
Comne-
nus.

Nice-
phorus
Botoniatēs
and Bryen-
nius revolt.

Michael
resigns.

Nicepho-
rus Boto-
niatēs
crowned
emperor.

whose interest it was to sow and maintain divisions in the empire. At length the emperor was advised to send *Alexius Comnenus* against him, he being esteemed, tho' then very young, a man of uncommon address, and well skilled in the art of war. *Alexius*, by intercepting the enemy's provisions, and constantly harassing them on their marches, without ever coming to an engagement, reduced them in a short time to such straits, that they were forced to take refuge in the dominions of the sultan, where they were kindly entertained, and supplied with necessaries at the public expence. But *Alexius* applying to *Tutach*, the Turkish commander in those parts, he prevailed upon him with a large sum to seize on *Rufelius*, and send him in chains to *Amasia*, whence he was conveyed to *Constantinople*. The rebels, destitute of a leader, readily submitted, and surrendered the cities and strong-holds which they had reduced. The civil war being thus ended, *Alexius* returned to the imperial city, which he found highly dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct, and grievously afflicted with a famine, during which the emperor, instead of relieving the distressed inhabitants, had lessened the measure of the corn, which deservedly procured him the nick-name of *Parapanaces*. The aversion which people of all ranks had for the emperor, on account of his avaricious temper, encouraged *Nicephorus Botoniatēs*, who commanded the forces in *Asia*, to revolt, and enter into an alliance with the *Turks*, upon whom he had been sent to make war. *Cutlu-Moses* promised to assist him to the utmost of his power; upon which he assumed the purple, and was saluted emperor by the army under his command. At the same time, *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who commanded in *Dyrrhachium*, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there; and depending upon the affection of his soldiers, whom he had obliged with his liberality, was preparing to march strait to *Constantinople*. *Michael*, well apprised that he was not in a condition to oppose either of the two competitors, resolved to resign the empire, and leave the throne empty for which of them should prevail. Accordingly, divesting himself of the imperial ornaments, he retired to a monastery, where he took holy orders, and was soon after raised to the see of *Ephesus* *. He had reigned six years and as many months, and resigned in the year 1078. Upon his resignation, *Botoniatēs* entered *Constantinople* without opposition; and being crowned by the patriarch on the twenty-fifth of *March* 1078, he immediately dispatched *Alexius Comnenus* with the flower of his army against *Bryennius*, who was advancing with long marches to the im-

* NICEPH. Bryen. hist. Michael. c. 2 — S. Ann. Comnen. l. 1. c. 2.

perial city at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, and received with loud acclamations in all the places through which he passed, he being universally beloved by the people, and looked upon as a person in every respect well qualified for the empire. The two armies met at *Calaura* in *Thrace*; and an engagement ensuing, the fortune of the day continued doubtful, till the *Scythians*, who served under *Bryennius*, pursuing the advantage they had gained over the forces of *Alexius*, fell upon his baggage and began to plunder; which occasioned great confusion in the army of *Bryennius*, the rest of his troops following the example of those barbarians. Of this *Alexius* took advantage, and charging them with fresh vigour, put them to flight. However, they rallied, and encouraged by *Bryennius*, returned to the charge; but *Alexius* having, in the mean time, taken the horse of *Bryennius*, adorned as he was, according to the custom of those times, with the imperial ornaments, he ordered him to be led up and down the ranks, giving out that the general was slain. His own men being, by this device, greatly encouraged, and those of the enemy equally dispirited, the victory continued no longer doubtful. *Bryennius*, by shewing himself at the head of his army, convinced them of their mistake; but, as they were already put into disorder, and had begun to give ground, after having attempted in vain to stop their flight, he was himself obliged to fly with the rest. As he was pursued close by the emperor's forces, he had the misfortune to be defeated, fall into their hands, after having given extraordinary proofs of his personal valour. *Alexius* received him in a very obliging manner, entertained him at his own table, and soon after, having put his troops into winter-quarters, set out with his unfortunate prisoner for *Constantinople*; but was met on the road by *Borilus*, with orders from court to deliver up *Bryennius* to him, and march back against *Basilacius*, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at *Dyrrhachium*; and being supported by all the men of interest in the west, had surprised *Thessalonica*, and was preparing to march to the imperial city at the head of a considerable army. *Alexius*, having drawn his troops out of their winter-quarters, marched against the enemy; and, encamping at a small distance from *Basilacius*, began to ravage and lay waste the neighbouring country. Hereupon *Basilacius*, having attempted in vain to bring him to an engagement, resolved to fall upon his camp in the night, which he did accordingly; but *Alexius*, informed beforehand of his design, received him, while he expected to meet with no opposition, so briskly, that his forces were soon put to flight, and he himself obliged to throw himself, with part of his army, into *Thessalonica*, which was immediately invested by the conqueror. *Basilacius*, *Alexius*, who

*Basilacius
revolts.*

*But is de-
feated by*

Isaac and
Alexius
Comneni
resolve to
depose the
emperor.

who was a man of great resolution and intrepidity, rejecting the advantageous conditions offered by *Alexius*, prepared to hold out to the last extremity; but the inhabitants, dreading the emperor's resentment, opened their gates, allowing *Basilacius* just time enough to retire into the castle, which he defended with incredible bravery, till he was betrayed by his own men, and delivered up to *Alexius*, who sent him to *Constantinople*, where his eyes were pulled out by the emperor's orders, and he confined to a monastery^y. As the emperor was stricken in years and had no issue male, *Borilus* and *Germanus*, two brothers, natives, of *Scythia*, and the chief favourites of *Botoniates*, persuaded him to name in his will one *Synademus* for his successor, a youth of uncommon parts, and nearly related to the emperor. Though this was managed with great secrecy, yet *Mary* the empress had some intimation of it. She was first married to the emperor *Michael Ducas*, and afterwards to his successor *Nicephorus Botoniates*. By her former husband she had *Constantine Ducas*, who, by marrying the daughter of *Botoniates*, had acquired an indisputed right to succeed him. The empress therefore, highly provoked both against the emperor and his favourites, for thus excluding, with the utmost injustice, her son from the empire, disclosed the whole to the two brothers *Alexius* and *Isaac Comneni*, who promised her all imaginable assistance. But, in the mean time, the two favourites, taking umbrage at the intimacy that appeared between the empress and the *Comneni*, resolved to remove, by some means or other, the brothers out of the way. Of this *Alexius* being seasonably informed, he applied to *Pacurianus*, an officer of great experience in war and equally versed in state-affairs, acquainted him the design they had formed of deposing the emperor, and begged him to assist them with his advice. *Pacurianus*, having heard him with great attention, answered without the least hesitation, That if they withdrew to the army early next morning, he would attend them in their flight; but if they delayed one moment longer, he would discover to the emperor their treasonable designs. *Alexius*, charmed with this resolute and generous answer, fled early in the morning, with his brother *Isaac*, *Pacurianus*, and the rest of their friends, towards the army, which then lay encamped on the borders of *Thrace*. Upon their arrival, they acquainted the chief officers of the army with their design of creating a new emperor; which being universally approved of, a council was summoned; and after some deliberation, whether *Isaac* or *Alexius* should be raised to the

^y NICEPH. Bryenn. in Eton. l. i. c. 1, 2. Ann. Comnen. l. i. c. 4, 5.

empire, the latter was unanimously chosen, and saluted emperor by the whole army, which, without loss of time, he led ^{saluted} to Constantinople, being received with joyful acclamations in ^{emperor by} all the cities through which he passed. The inhabitants of ^{the army.} Constantinople, awed by the troops of *Botoniates*, shut their gates against him; but an officer, to whose charge one of the quarters of the city was committed, having privately admitted part of *Alexius's* forces, the gates were by them opened in the ^{He takes} night to the rest, who, rushing in, made themselves masters of ^{Constanti-} the city, before *Botoniates* knew it was assaulted. As *Alexius's* ^{nople.} army was composed of barbarians as well as christians, the unhappy city was plundered in a most cruel manner, without any regard to the churches themselves, which, together with the monasteries, were stripped of all their wealth and ornaments. *George Palæologus*, a person of great authority in the empire and a zealous champion for the *Comneni*, easily prevailed upon the officers of the imperial navy, then riding in the haven of Constantinople to declare for the new emperor. *Botoniates*, thus forsaken by all, sent some senators to *Alexius*, offering the whole power to him, provided he were suffered to retain the bare name of emperor, and with it the ornaments of the imperial dignity. *Alexius* was inclined to comply with his request; but *John Ducas*, brother to the late emperor *Constantine Ducas*, and an irreconcilable enemy to *Botoniates*, would not suffer him to hearken to an accommodation upon any terms whatsoever. Hereupon *Barilus*, the reigning favourite, observing with how much security the troops of *Alexius* ranged through the city in quest of plunder, drew together a considerable body of resolute men; and having encouraged them with large sums and greater promises, was preparing to fall upon the unwary enemy. But *Cosmas* the patriarch, a man famed for his piety, advising *Botoniates* rather to submit to providence and resign the empire, than suffer the city to be polluted with the effusion of christian blood, he readily embraced his coun- ^{Botoniates} sel; and leaving the imperial palace, withdrew to the great ^{resigns.} church, and from thence to a monastery, where he took the religious habit, after he had reigned two years and ten months ².

Botoniates having thus resigned the sovereign power, *Alexius* was, by the unanimous consent of the senate and people, proclaimed emperor, and crowned by the patriarch in the month of April 1081. His first care was to reward those who had ^{Alexius} been instrumental in his promotion, conferring on them the ^{Comnenus} chief employments in the state, and even inventing new honours ^{crowned} and dignities to gratify them. *Constantine Ducas*, the son of ^{emperor.}

² ANN. COMNEN. l. ii. c. ult. & l. iii. c. i.

the late emperor *Michael*, was suffered to wear an imperial crown, and appear with the other ensigns of sovereignty, pursuant to a promise, which he is said to have made to the empress *Mary*, before he took arms against *Botoniates*. As the barbarous behaviour of his soldiers, upon their first entering the city, had given great offence both to the clergy and people, *Alexius*, either being really, or pretending to be, touched with remorse for the disorders they had committed, resolved to make an open confession, and undergo a public penance. Accordingly he appeared before the patriarch and several other ecclesiastics, in the attire of a penitent; and, acknowledging himself guilty of the many disorders that had been committed by his soldiers, begged the patriarch to impose upon him a penance answerable to the enormity of his crimes. The patriarch enjoined him, and all his relations and adherents, to fast, to lie upon the ground, and to practise several other austerities, for the space of forty days, which no one performed with more chearfulness than the emperor himself. Having thus atoned for his crimes, or at least gained the affections and esteem of the clergy, he began to make the necessary preparations for putting a stop to the conquests of the *Turks*, who had seized on several provinces during the late distractions, and threatened the empire with utter destruction. But *Solyman*, the son and successor of *Cutlu-Moses*, alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on in all the provinces of the empire, dispatched ambassadors to *Alexius* with overtures for a lasting peace, which he at first rejected, but was in the end glad to accept, tho' he had gained several advantages over the enemy, upon certain advice, that *Robert Guiscard*, duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, was making great preparations against him in the west. *Robert* was by birth a *Norman*, the son of *Tancred* lord of *Hauteville*, who, having a numerous family and but a small estate, sent his two eldest sons to try their fortune in the wars against the *Saracens* in *Italy*, where they distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner; and having driven out the *Saracens*, seized on the places they had held, establishing by that means a new principality in *Italy*. *Robert*, the third son, upon the death of his two elder brothers, did not content himself with the principality of *Puglia*, which they had held, but reduced the greater part of that country which is now called the kingdom of *Naples*, taking upon him the title of duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*. Towards the end of the reign of *Botoniates*, *Michael*, who had been forced to resign the empire, having made his escape into the west, prevailed upon *Robert*, whose daughter had been some years before betrothed to *Constantine*, *Michael's* son, to espouse his cause and attempt his restoration. With this view *Robert* made great preparations

He puts a
stop to the
conquests
of the
Turks.

Robert
Guif-
chard's
expedition
against
Alexius.

preparations both by sea and land, which were continued even after the resignation of *Botoniates*, *Robert* being determined to drive *Alexius* from the throne, if possible, and restore *Michael*, or, as some authors insinuate, to seize on the empire for himself. Be that as it will, *Robert*, having left his son *Roger* as his lieutenant in *Italy*, sailed with all his forces from *Brundisium*; and landing at *Buthrotum* in *Epirus*, made himself master of that place, while his son *Bohemond*, with part of the army, reduced *Aulon*, a celebrated port and city in the country now called *Albania*. From thence they advanced to *Dyrrbachium*, which they invested both by sea and land, but met with a most vigorous opposition from *George Palæologus*, whom the emperor had entrusted with the defence of that important place, and who, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, held out, till the *Venetians*, with whom the emperor entered into an alliance, arriving with a powerful and well-appointed navy, fell upon the enemy's fleet commanded by *Bohemond*, and gave them a total overthrow, the admiral himself, whose ship was sunk with several others, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands. After this victory, the *Venetians*, landing without loss of time, and being joined by *Palæologus* from the town, fell with great fury upon *Robert's* men, who were employed in the siege, destroyed their works, burnt their engines, and having driven them back to their camp, returned to their ships loaded with booty. As the *Venetians* were masters at sea, the besieged were supplied with plenty of provisions, while a great famine raged in the enemy's camp, attended, as usual, by a pestilential distemper, which is said to have destroyed ten thousand men in the space of three months, among whom were some of the chief officers, and many other persons of great distinction. However, *Robert*, who was a prince of great intrepidity, address, and resolution, pursued the siege; and, having with great difficulty repaired and equipped his fleet, found means to supply his famished troops with provisions, brought in great plenty from *Italy*. *Palæologus*, finding the courage of the garison and citizens began to fail them, sent repeated advices to the emperor of the straits to which they would, in all likelihood, be reduced. Hereupon *Alexius* resolved to march in person to the relief of the place; and accordingly, leaving his brother *Isaac* at *Constantinople*, to prevent any disturbances there during his absence, he set out for *Thessalonica*; and being joined there by *Pacurianus* and the troops under his command, he pursued his march with incredible expedition to *Dyrrbachium*; and encamping at some distance from the town, on a rising ground, with the sea on the left, and an inaccessible mountain on the right, he summoned a council of war, in which, after a warm debate, it was resolved by a

Robert passes over into Epirus. Takes Buthrotum and Aulon. Besieges Dyrrbachium.

His fleet defeated by the Venetians.

The emperor marches to the relief of the place.

But is de-
feated.

Dyrrha-
chium sur-
renders.

great majority, but contrary to the opinion of the most experienced officers in the army, that the whole should be put to the issue of an engagement; which *Robert* was so far from declining, that, observing the emperor's preparations, he ordered all his ships to be sunk, which was giving his men to understand, that they had no hopes of safety, but in victory. However, the emperor's forces had at first the advantage, and drove a body of *Robert's* troops quite to the sea, which occasioned no small disorder in the army; but they being encouraged and brought back to the charge by *Gaita*, *Robert's* wife, a woman of a masculine courage and behaviour, the fight was renewed with fresh vigour, and the victory long disputed. At length the emperor's forces began to give ground, and being warmly pressed by the enemy, the whole right wing betook themselves to a precipitous and disorderly flight, most of them escaping to a neighbouring church, dedicated to *St. Michael*, as to a place of safety. But the victorious enemy, pursuing them close, set fire to the church, which was soon consumed, with all who were in it. In the mean time, *Robert* having put to flight the main body of the emperor's army, *Alexius* himself was forced to retire, though he was the last, if we may give credit to his daughter *Ann Comnena*, who turned his back. The flower of the emperor's troops were cut off, either in the flight or in the pursuit, with an incredible number of officers and persons of distinction, among whom were *Constantius*, the son of *Constantine Ducas*, *Nicephorus Synademos*, *Nicephorus Palæologus*, the father of *George*, *Zacharias*, *Aspetes*, &c. The emperor with much-ado made his escape, and reached *Achris*, leaving the enemy master of his camp and the whole baggage of the army. *Robert*, elated with this victory, returned before *Dyrrhachium*, which immediately submitted, and opened its gates to the conqueror, who, as the year was already far spent, put his troops into winter-quarters, with a design to pursue his conquests early in the spring. In the mean time, *Alexius*, who had lost the flower of his troops in the battle, ordered new forces to be raised in all the provinces of the empire, seizing for that purpose, as the exchequer was quite exhausted, on the wealth of the churches and monasteries, which gave great offence to the clergy, and had like to have occasioned dreadful disturbances in the imperial city. At the same time, *Alexius*, entering into an alliance with *Henry*, emperor of *Germany*, persuaded him to invade the territories of *Robert* in *Italy*, which he did accordingly early in the spring, entering *Calabria* at the head of a numerous army. *Robert* was no sooner informed of the emperor's motions, than, summoning a council of war, he appointed his son *Bohemond* his lieutenant in the east; and having recommended him to the officers

cers of the army, he set out without delay for *Italy*, where he Robert relieved the pope, besieged by the emperor's forces in the castle *obliges the* of *St. Angelo*, retook *Rome*, and drove the emperor out of *Italy*, *emp. ror* as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. In the mean *Henry to* time, *Bohemond* reduced several places in *Illyricum*; and, hav- *quit Italy.* ing defeated *Alexius* in two pitched battles, entered *Theffaly*, *Several* and sat down before *Larissa*, which, being defended by an of- *places in* ficer of great experience in war, held out till the emperor, *Illyricum* having recruited his army, marched to its relief. Soon after his *reduced by* arrival, he found means to draw a strong party of *Bohemond's* *Bohe-* men into an ambuscade, who were almost all cut off. How- *mond.* ever, in the battle, which was fought a few days after, *Bohe-* *mond* had the advantage; but his troops mutinying, and refusing to continue the war, till they had received their arrears, he was obliged to repair to his father in *Italy*. *Alexius*, taking advantage of his absence, recovered several cities; and being informed, that *Robert* was making great preparations against him, he had recourse once more to the *Venetians*, who, having with incredible expedition equipped a powerful fleet, engaged *Robert*, and overthrew him in two successive battles, but were soon after surpris'd by him, and defeated with the loss of almost their whole navy. We are told, that *Robert* used his victory with the greatest barbarity, putting several of his prisoners to unheard-of torments. The *Venetians* equipped a second fleet; and, joining that of the emperor, fell unexpectedly upon *Robert's* navy, while they were riding without the least apprehension of an enemy, near *Buthrotum*, sunk most of his ships, and took a great number of prisoners, his wife and younger sons having narrowly escaped falling into their hands. But *Robert*, not in the least disheartened with this overthrow, ordered his fleet to be refitted, new ships to be built, and levies to be made throughout his *Italian* dominions, with a design to pursue the war with more vigour than ever. But being in the mean time seized with a violent fever, he died in the island of *Cephalenia*, being then in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Upon his death, *Roger*, his son and successor, not thinking it advisable to pursue so dangerous and expensive a war, recalled his troops; so that *Dyrrhachium*, and the other places, which they had seized in *Illyricum*, submitted anew to the emperor^a.

THIS war was scarce ended, when another broke out with the *Scythians*, who, passing the *Danube*, laid waste great part of *Thrace*, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. Against them the emperor dispatched *Pacurianus* and *Branas*, who, engaging the enemy, tho' far superior to them in numbers, were

^a ANN. COMMEN. l. v. c. 1—6. & l. vi. c. 1—5.

The emperor's army defeated by the Scythians.

Alexius gains a complete victory over them.

both cut off, with the greater part of the army, to the unspeakable grief of the emperor, who had a particular esteem for *Pacurianus*, on account of his extraordinary parts, his experience in war, and his approved fidelity. This overthrow was owing to the rashness of *Branas*, who in a manner forced his colleague to venture an engagement, contrary to his own opinion. *Tallicius*, who had signalized himself on several occasions, being appointed to command the army in their room, fell upon the enemy as they lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Philippopolis*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire in the utmost confusion. However, they returned the spring following in such numbers, that the emperor resolved to march against them in person. Accordingly, leaving the imperial city, he set out for *Adrianople*, and from thence to a place called *Lardea*, where, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, he engaged the enemy; but, after a warm dispute, which lasted almost from morning till night, was put to flight and utterly defeated. Incredible numbers of his men were put to the sword or taken prisoners, he himself escaping with the utmost difficulty to *Beroe*. About the same time, the *Turks*, finding the main strength of the empire was employed against the *Scythians*, broke with great violence into the *Roman* territories, and made themselves masters of several places of great importance in *Asia*, and among the rest *Clazomene*, *Phocæa*, *Mitylene*, *Methymna*, and soon after of the island of *Cbios*. This sudden irruption obliged the emperor to send part of his forces into the east, under the conduct of *John Ducas*, brother to the empress, while he himself led the rest, reinforced with new levies, against the *Scythians*, by whom he was again overthrown with great loss, being betrayed by one *Neantzès*, a *Scythian*, who had deserted to him in the beginning of the war; but abandoning him in the heat of the battle, so disheartened the *Romans* with his sudden flight, that they began to give ground; and being pressed by the enemy and overpowered with numbers, they retired in great disorder, leaving the *Scythians* masters of their camp and baggage. However, not long after, *Alexius* gained a considerable advantage over them; and the year following, 1084, having defeated them in a pitched battle and put them to flight, made such a dreadful havock of the fugitives, that few of them are said to have escaped the general slaughter^b. An end being put to the *Scythian* war by this victory, the emperor resolved to march in person against the *Turks*, with whom *John Ducas*, his brother-in-law, had often fought with various success. *Tzachas*, a leading man among the *Turks*, having

^b ANN. COMM. l. vi. c. 13. & l. vii. c. 1—3.

made himself master of *Smyrna*, erected there a new principality, independent of the sultan, harassing with frequent incursions the neighbouring countries. He had, besides several other places, reduced *Mitylene*, which *John Ducas*, pursuant to his instructions, closely besieged by land, while *Constantine Delassenus*, who commanded the fleet, invested it by sea. But *Tzachas*, having committed the defence of the place to his brother, kept the field with a chosen body of troops, watching the motions of the *Romans*, intercepting their provisions, and harassing them with frequent and sudden onsets, which diverted them from pursuing the siege with due vigour. But *John Ducas*, having at length drawn *Tzachas* to an engagement, gave him a total overthrow; after which he sent deputies to *Ducas*, with proposals for a peace, which was concluded upon the following terms: That *Tzachas* should be allowed to retire unmolested to *Mitylene* *Smyrna*; that *Mitylene* should be delivered up to the *Romans*; and that none of the inhabitants should be injured in their persons or estates, or be forced to attend *Tzachas* at his departure. These articles were mutually agreed to, and hostages delivered on both sides; but *Tzachas* having, with a manifest breach of the treaty, obliged several of the inhabitants to quit their habitations and follow him, *Delassenus* sailed after him; and, soon coming up with him, sunk most of his ships, put great numbers of his men to the sword, and released the captives, *Tzachas* himself having narrowly escaped falling into his hands by embarking on a light vessel, which carried him safe to *Smyrna*, where he ordered a new fleet to be equipped; and in the mean time marched with all the forces he could raise to *Abydos*, which he hoped to reduce, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But the sultan looking upon him as an enemy no less dangerous to himself than to the empire, marched against him in person at the head of a powerful army, while *Delassenus*, the *Roman* admiral, cut off his retreat by sea. *Tzachas*, finding himself thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, chose to submit to the sultan, whose daughter he had married. The sultan received him in a very obliging manner, and invited him to an entertainment; but, in the height of his mirth, caused him to be murdered, and soon after concluded a peace with the emperor.

Alexius's
wars with
the Turks.

Mitylene
retaken by
the Ro-
mans.

Tzachas
put to
death by
the sultan.

IN the year 1093, the *Scythian* war broke out anew, the barbarians being encouraged to invade the empire by an impostor, who, pretending to be *Leo*, the eldest son of the late emperor *Romanus Diogenes*, slain some years before in an engage-

The Scy-
thians re-
new the
war,

ment with the *Turks*, laid claim to the empire, and was received with great joy by the *Scythians*, who wanted only a pretence to renew the war. *Alexius*, having received timely advice of the design they had formed of falling with all their forces on the empire, visited the borders in person; and having supplied the frontier towns with whatever was necessary for their defence, repaired to the city of *Anchialus* on the *Euxine* sea. There he was informed, that the barbarians, having passed the *Danube*, and caused the impostor to be proclaimed emperor in several towns, which had submitted to them, were advancing with long marches to *Anchialus*, in order to besiege the place, and, by taking the emperor, put an end to the war at once. Upon this intelligence, *Alexius*, having left a sufficient garison in the place, encamped with the rest of his forces on a rising ground at a small distance from the city, and there fortified himself in such manner, that the barbarians, after having viewed his camp and works for three days together, thought it advisable to draw off; and leaving *Anchialus*, which they could not invest without driving the emperor from his post, marched to

And besiege
Adriano-
ple;

Adrianople, the impostor persuading them, that the place would be immediately delivered up to them by *Nicephorus Byrennius*, who commanded in it, and had, he affirmed, been highly obliged by his father *Romanus Diogenes*, when emperor. The credulous barbarians, believing all he said, marched chearfully to *Adrianople*, but, contrary to their expectation, met there with so vigorous a resistance, that, after they had continued seven weeks before it, they had some thoughts of abandoning the enterprize. But being encouraged by the pretended *Leo* to pursue the siege, the place was in the end reduced to the utmost extremity, and must have submitted in a few days, had not an officer of the army, by name *Alacaseus*, preserved it by the following stratagem: In imitation of the celebrated *Zopyrus*, he disfigured his face, mangled his whole body in a cruel manner, and flying in that condition to the impostor, told him, that he was the son of one, who had been inviolably attached to his father, on which account he had been thus inhumanly treated by *Alexius*, and was come to implore the protection of the lawful emperor, and conjure him, by the memory of both their fathers, to revenge their mutual injuries. The usurper, giving credit to what he said, and reposing an intire confidence in him, followed him, attended by a chosen body of *Scythians*, to a strong-hold in that neighbourhood, which, *Alacaseus* pretended, the governor designed to betray to him. He was accordingly received, as had been agreed before-hand, into the place, and invited by the governor to a grand entertainment; at which the mock prince and his *Scythians*, who, without the

Which is
preserved
by a stra-
tagem.

least

least apprehension of treachery, had drunk to excess, were seized and loaded with chains. Hereupon *Alexius*, informed of what had happened, marched with all possible expedition against the *Scythians*, now destitute of a leader; and falling upon them, before they had the least intelligence of his approach, slew seven thousand of them upon the spot, took three thousand prisoners, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight. However, they returned the following year with a very numerous army; but, being overthrown in two successive engagements, they sent at length deputies to treat of a peace; which was concluded upon the emperor's own terms^d. After this *Alexius* returned to *Constantinople*, loaded with booty; which he generously divided among those, who had distinguished themselves most in the war.

The Scythians defeated.

A peace concluded with them.

DURING his stay at *Constantinople*, he was informed, that the western christians were making great preparations for the recovery of the holy land, at that time possessed by the *Turks* and *Saracens*. As the fortunes of those adventurers are inseparably interwoven with the remaining part of this history, it might be justly deemed an unpardonable omission, not to acquaint the reader with the motives that prompted them to engage in that mighty undertaking, commonly known by the name of *the holy war*, or *the crusade*. About the year 1093, an hermit, by the name *Peter*, a native of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, undertook a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, to visit the holy places there; and observing the miserable condition of the christians in *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, at that time mostly possessed by the *Turks*, and the cruel usage they met with from those infidels, on account of their religion, he began to deliberate, first with himself, and afterwards with *Simon*, then patriarch of *Jerusalem*, about the means of rescuing them from the tyranny under which they groaned. As the eastern empire was in too weak a condition to give any hopes of redress, he resolved to apply to the western princes, and endeavour, by all possible means, to unite them in a league against the common enemy, for the relief of the unhappy christians, and the recovery of the holy land. Accordingly, having received pressing letters from the patriarch and the grand master of the hospitalers, to that purpose, to the pope and all the christian princes in the west, he took upon him to be messenger; and embarking on the first ship he met, he arrived at *Bari* in *Puglia*, and proceeding from thence to *Rome*, he delivered the letters to pope *Urban II.* giving him at the same time a pathetic account of the unexpressible miseries the christians suffered under the *Turkish* yoke, of which he himself had been

the holy war.

Peter the hermit his pilgrimage, and the effects of it.

^d ANN. COMMEN. l. x. c. 2-4.

The council
of Cler-
mont.

The crusade
published.

The princi-
pal com-
manders.

Peter the
hermit be-
ginst the ex-
pedition.

an eye-witness. Having received all the encouragement he could wish for from the pope, he applied to the other princes; and, travelling from kingdom to kingdom, inspired both princes and people with the pious and commendable desire of relieving the oppressed christians, and rescuing the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. The pope, informed of this general disposition, summoned a council at *Clermont* in *France*, where three hundred and ten bishops met, and likewise the ambassadors of most christian princes; to whom *Peter* the hermit made an eloquent speech, representing the sufferings of the oppressed christians, the desolation of the holy places, the cruelty of the *Turks*, &c. in so lively and affecting a manner, that a religious war was unanimously resolved on, all declaring, as if filled with one spirit, their consent, by often repeating aloud, *Deus vult, Deus vult, God will have it so, God will have it so*. Upon the dissolution of the council, the crusade was published by the pope, and generally embraced throughout the west, multitudes flocking together from all parts, with red crosses on their breasts, the mark of their expedition, ready to recover the holy land, and redeem the christians from the cruel yoke they groaned under, at the expence of their lives. They are supposed in all to have been no fewer than three hundred thousand men, of whom the chief commanders were, *Hugh* brother to *Philip I.* king of *France*, *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, *Robert* earl of *Flanders*, *Raymond* of *Toulouse*, *Goafrey* of *Bouillion*, with his brothers *Baldwin* and *Eustace*, *Stephen de Valois* earl of *Chartres*, *Bohemond* prince of *Tarentum*, and *Peter* the hermit. To the latter was given the command of forty thousand men; which army he divided into two bodies, leading one himself, and committing the other to the conduct of *Gautier*, a native of *France*, surnamed, from his being a soldier of fortune, *the Moneyless*. *Gautier* began his march on the eighteenth of *March* 1096, and, passing through *Germany*, entered *Hungary*, where the inhabitants refusing to supply him and his army with the necessary provisions, he was forced to plunder the country. Hereupon the *Hungarians*, falling upon him on his march, killed great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest to save themselves among the woods and marshes, where they lay concealed, and suffered inexpressible miseries, till the prince of *Bulgaria*, touched with compassion, furnished them with guides, who conducted them to *Constantinople*, the place of their general rendezvous, where they waited the arrival of *Peter*, who did not join them till the first of *August*, being strangely harassed on his march by the *Hungarians*, who slew above two thousand of his men, took all their baggage and two thousand waggons, with the money designed to pay the army. To these hostilities *Peter* himself gave occasion, by suffering

suffering his men to commit all sorts of disorders, under pretence of revenging the cruel treatment, which the army under *Gautier* had met with from the natives. *Peter*, having with much-ado reached *Constantinople* with the remains of his shattered army, was there received, in appearance, with great marks of friendship and kindness by the emperor *Alexius*, who nevertheless was in his heart greatly alarmed at the expedition; for though he believed the common people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could not persuade himself, that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in so hazardous an undertaking upon the same motives. However, he supplied *Peter's* army with all manner of provisions; who thereupon passed the straits, and marching into *Bitthynia*, encamped not far from the city of *Nice*. Not long after his departure, the emperor received advice of *Godfrey's* arrival at *Philippopolis*, with ten thousand horse and seventy thousand foot; which gave him no small jealousy, the more, as *Godfrey* immediately dispatched to him an officer, to demand the liberty of *Hugh*, brother to the king of *France*, who, in his passage from *Bari* to *Dyrrhachium*, being separated by a storm from the rest of the fleet, had been seized by the governor of the above-mentioned city and sent to *Constantinople*, where he was detained prisoner. As the emperor refused, under various pretences, to set his prisoner at liberty, *Godfrey*, who was already advanced as far as *Adrianople*, began to act against him as an open enemy, laying waste the country, and marching directly to *Constantinople*. Hereupon *Alexius*, not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, complied at length with his demand, promising at the same time to supply his army with provisions; which, however, he neglected to do, and by that neglect provoked *Godfrey* to such a degree, that he laid waste the whole neighbouring country to the very gates of *Constantinople*. *Alexius*, dreading he might fall upon the imperial city itself, sent ambassadors to treat of an accommodation, offering his own son as an hostage, and promising the provoked prince all possible satisfaction. *Godfrey* having received the ambassadors in a most obliging manner, and put a stop to all hostilities, the emperor invited him and the other princes and chief officers of his army into the city, where they were received with great magnificence, and entertained in a friendly manner. After several conferences and warm disputes, the following agreement was at length concluded between them and *Alexius*; that, during the expedition, the emperor should assist them with all his forces, supply them with arms, provisions, and other necessaries, and treat them on all occasions as his friends and allies. On the other hand, the princes were to restore to the empire such pro-

His unhappy conduct.

Godfrey marches in a hostile manner to Constantinople.

An agreement between the emperor and the princes of the crusade.

vinces and cities as they should recover out of the hands of the *Turks* and *Saracens*. Soon after, the other princes arrived by different ways at the head of powerful armies, and were all received by the emperor with the greatest marks of esteem and affection. After a short stay at *Constantinople*, the forces passed the *Besporus*, and encamped near *Chalcedon*, with a design to advance from thence to *Nice*, and lay siege to that important city.

The army
commanded
by Peter
cut off.

WHILE *Godfrey* and the other princes were yet on their march, the army commanded by *Peter* the hermit, which had entered *Bithynia*, as we have observed above, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, began to mutiny; and, deposing *Gautier*, advanced *Raymond*, a *German* commander of great prowess, in his room. After this, the *Germans* and *Italians*, separating from the *French*, encamped apart. A strong party of the *Italians*, having made themselves masters of a town called *Xerigordus*, were there surprised by the *Turks* and put to the sword. The *French*, who lay encamped near *Helenopolis* and *Cibolus*, two villages on the gulph of *Nicomedia*, were, by the *Turkish* commander in those parts, drawn into an ambuscade, and mostly either cut off, or taken prisoners; so that of the forty thousand men commanded by *Peter*, scarce three thousand were left, who with him took refuge in *Cinite*; which place they defended till the arrival of *Godfrey* and the other princes of the crusade, with whom they marched to *Nice*; which city was invested by the christian princes in the month of *May* 1097. As the place had been strongly fortified by *Solyman*, then sultan of the *Turks*, who had chosen it for the seat of his empire, and was defended by a numerous garison, the siege lasted several weeks; during which time both the christians and *Turks* gave many signal instances of their intrepidity and resolution. *Solyman*, who had posted himself with a numerous army among the neighbouring mountains, attempted twice to raise the siege; but was as often repulsed with much slaughter. However, the besieged continued to defend the place with great courage and resolution, till the emperor *Alexius*, who assisted in person at the enterprise, having caused a great number of small vessels to be fitted out, cut off the communication, which by means of the lake *Ascanius*, the city maintained with the neighbouring country. The garison being thus deprived of the constant supplies they received both of men and provisions, and at the same time privately solicited by the emperor with mighty promises to surrender the place, not to the western princes, but to him, they submitted at length, and, on the fifth of *July*, delivered up the city to his lieutenant, by name *Butumites*. Among the many captives taken on this occasion, were, *Solyman's* wife and two of his children, who were immediately sent to *Constantinople*.

Nice be-
siedged by
the christi-
ans.

And taken.

nople. After the reduction of *Nice*, the princes, taking their leave of the emperor, of whom they now entertained great distrust, bent their march towards *Syria*, having first divided the army into two bodies, for the convenience of forage and subsistence. *Bohemond*, who marched the first, was suddenly attacked by *Solyman*, at the head of sixty thousand *Turks*, and would in all likelihood have been put to flight, had not *Hugh* come seasonably to his relief with thirty thousand men; who falling upon the enemy, cut forty thousand of them in pieces, *The Turks* and obliged the rest to take shelter among the neighbouring *defeated* mountains. This victory was attended with the surrender of *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, of *Iconium* in *Cilicia*, *Heraclea*, and several other places. The christian princes, animated with this success, bound themselves by an oath not to return, till they had rescued the holy city of *Jerusalem* out of the hands of the infidels. Accordingly, having passed mount *Taurus*, they made themselves masters of the cities of *Marefia* and *Artasia*; and marching from the latter, but fifteen miles distant from *Antioch*, they encamped before that famous metropolis on the twenty-first of *October* 1097. As the place was strongly fortified, and garisoned with seven thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, the siege lasted to the third of *June*, when one *Pyrrhus*, who had in appearance embraced the *Mohammedan* superstition to save his estate, and was entrusted with the defence of a tower called the *Two sisters*, betrayed the city to *Bohemond*, whose men, entering it in the night, opened the gates to the rest of the army; who falling upon the *Turks*, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, cut them off almost to a man. *Cassianus* the governor, with some others, found means to make his escape out of the place; but fell soon after into the hands of the *Armenian* christians, by whom he was slain. While the christians were engaged in the siege of *Antioch*, *Corbenus*, one of the sultan of *Persia*'s generals, attacked *Edeffa* with a mighty army; but *Baldwin*, to whom the place had submitted some months before, gave him such a warm reception, that he abandoned the enterprise, and marched to the relief of *Antioch*. Being informed on his march that the city was taken, he resolved nevertheless to venture a battle, in hopes of recovering it; but received a total overthrow, having lost, as we are told, an hundred thousand, partly killed, and partly taken prisoners; whereas of the christians only four thousand two hundred were slain. This memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh of *June* 1098, and the next day the *Turks*, who still kept the castle of *Antioch*, despairing of relief, submitted and were made prisoners. The christians, thus become masters of *Antioch*, chose with one consent *Bohemond* prince of that metropolis, not thinking themselves bound by

Antioch
besieged
and taken.

The Turks
defeated
with great
slaughter.

the

the late treaty, since *Alexius* had, contrary to that agreement, under various pretences, declined lending them the least assistance. However, they sent *Hugh*, brother to *Philip* king of *France*, and *Baldwin* earl of *Heynault*, to give the emperor an account of their success, and press him to join them with all his forces, pursuant to the treaty; but the earl of *Heynault* was never afterwards seen or heard of, whence he was generally believed to have been taken prisoner and murdered by the emperor's orders. As for the other, he got safe to *Constantinople*; but, instead of returning to the princes with an account of his embassy, he departed from thence into *France*; whence some writers speak of him much to his disadvantage, as if he had been bribed by the emperor to abandon the enterprise. The emperor had indeed at this time a just excuse for not joining the western princes; for *Tangripermes*, a *Turkish* pirate, having seized on the cities of *Smyrna* and *Ephesus*, and reduced the islands of *Rhodes* and *Chios*, infested the coasts of the empire, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Against him the emperor sent a considerable fleet and army; which arriving safe at *Smyrna*, besieged that city by sea and land, and having in the end reduced it, marched to *Ephesus*; which was likewise forced to submit, *Tangripermes* having been defeated with great slaughter in that neighbourhood. The victory gained by the emperor's forces was followed by the surrender of *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, and other maritime cities of great importance. *Alexius*, elated with this success, laid claim to *Antioch*, and sent ambassadors to *Bohemond*, requiring him to deliver up that city to its lawful owner. *Bohemond* was so offended at this demand, that, instead of complying with it, he, in his turn, claimed, as prince of *Antioch*, the city of *Laodicea*, and dispatched a considerable body of forces, under the conduct of his nephew *Tancred*, to take it by force; which they did accordingly, reducing at the same time several other strong-holds in *Cilicia*, belonging to the emperor. Hereupon *Alexius*, having caused a mighty fleet to be equipped with all possible expedition, resolved to stop the passage of the supplies, which the western princes, especially the bishop of *Pisa*, were preparing for the support of the christians in the east, till such time as they had restored to the empire the cities they had taken from the *Turks*. Of this fleet *Taticius* was appointed admiral, who, meeting that of the western princes near *Rhodes*, attacked them, and gave them a total overthrow; but was himself overtaken, in his return to *Constantinople*, by a violent storm, which destroyed the greater part of his fleet. After this, the emperor ordered *Catacuzenus*, one of his generals, to lay siege to *Laodicea*; which, notwithstanding the supplies *Bohemond* with much difficulty threw into it,

A war
between
Alexius
and *Bohe-*
mond,
prince of
Antioch.

Laodicea
taken by
Alexius.

it, was in the end obliged to submit. Hereupon the prince of *Antioch*, finding he had not sufficient strength at present to contend with the emperor, either by sea or land, left a strong garrison in *Antioch*, and passed undiscovered into *Italy*, with a design to levy new forces there, and return early in the spring into the east. *Alexius*, acquainted with his design, ordered his admiral, by name *Contostephanus*, to cruize on the coasts of *Italy*, and prevent, by all means, *Bohemond's* fleet from passing into the east; but *Contostephanus*, departing from his instructions, made a descent, and laid siege to *Brundisium*; which, however, he was obliged to raise, his men being with great slaughter put to flight by the inhabitants. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion were six *Scythians*, whom *Bohemond* carried to the pope, telling him, that, with the assistance of such infidels and barbarians, *Alexius* endeavoured to stop the progress of the christian princes in the east; which inflamed both the pope and the people against him to such a degree, that multitudes crowded daily to *Bohemond*, desiring to be employed against a prince, whom they looked upon as an avowed enemy to the christian name. *Bohemond*, having by this means soon raised a powerful army, passed over into *Illyricum*; and landing without opposition in the neighbourhood of *Dyrrbachium*, sat down before that important place, after having caused his fleet to be burnt in the sight of the whole army, that, seeing there was no means of making their escape, they might fight the more courageously, and place their safety in victory alone. As the place was defended by a numerous garrison and supplied with great plenty of provisions, it made a vigorous defence, and held out, till *Bohemond's* army, being reduced to the utmost extremity for want of necessaries, that haughty prince began to give ear to the proposals that were made him for putting an end to the war. After several conferences between him and the emperor's ministers, a peace was in the end concluded, upon terms equally honourable to both princes. The war being thus ended, *Bohemond* returned to *Italy*, according to *Anna Comnena*; but, according to others, to *Antioch*, where, we are told, he died six months after^e. *Alexius*, being disengaged from this war, marched in person against the *Turks*, who, renewing their incursions, had laid the country waste to the very walls of *Nice*; and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of that city, gave them a total overthrow. However, the *Turks* returned the following year; but were, in several successive battles, overcome and put to flight by the emperor's lieutenants, *Alexius* himself being prevented, by the gout and other distempers, that usually attend

Bohemond lays siege to Dyrrbachium.

A peace concluded.

^e ANN. COMNEN. l. ii. c. 6, & l. xi. c. 1, 2, 3. GLYC. annal. l. iii. ZONAR. in Alex.

Alexius
concludes a
peace with
the Turks.

His death
and cha-
racter.

Johannes
Comne-
nus.

old age, from heading his army in person. The *Turks*, disheartened with the great losses they had sustained, sent to sue for peace; which was readily granted them by the emperor, who thenceforth never appeared more in the field, but spent the remaining part of his life in striving to heal the divisions, which at that time rent the *Greek* church. Being seized with a violent cold, he died in the year 1118, the thirty-seventh of his reign, and twenty-second after the expedition of the western princes for the recovery of the holy land^f. There is a great disagreement among authors touching the character of this prince, the *Greek* historians, especially his daughter *Anna Comnena*, painting him as the best of princes, and those who have written the history of the holy war, representing him as the worst. However, it is agreed on all hands, that he was a man of great address and penetration, endowed with uncommon parts, and the best statesman of his time. He was grateful, generous, and liberal, as appears from his behaviour to his brother and the rest of his friends, who had been instrumental in his advancement to the throne; for on them he heaped such wealth, as quite drained the exchequer; whence, to carry on the war with the *Turks*, he was forced to seize on the riches of the churches and monasteries; which has prompted some ecclesiastic writers to paint him in the blackest colours. He seems to have been a stranger to all manner of cruelty; for though many conspiracies were formed against him during the long course of his reign, yet we read of no other punishment inflicted even on the chief authors of them, besides banishment, or the confiscation of their estates. His behaviour to the western princes, though altogether unbecoming one who professed the same religion, may in some degree be excused, in regard of the jealousy he entertained of them, especially of *Bohemond*, his old enemy, which prompted him rather to oppose and weaken, than assist them in an undertaking, which, he apprehended, might at last end in his own ruin, as well as in that of the common enemy. During his sickness, he was earnestly solicited, by the empress and his daughter *Ann*, to exclude his own son *John* from the succession, and bequeath the empire to *Bryennius*, the husband of *Ann*; but the emperor, deaf to their solicitations, declared *John* his successor, who was thereupon saluted emperor by the people, as soon as the death of *Alexius* was known, and, a few days after, crowned in the great church by the patriarch. He had scarce taken possession of the imperial throne, when some of his nearest relations, at the instigation of *Ann*, conspired against him, with a design to depose him, and place *Bryennius* in his room; but,

^f ANN. COMN. l. xv. c. 10, 11, 12,

the conspiracy being seasonably discovered, the conspirators were immediately seized, tried, and convicted. However, the good-natured emperor did not suffer them to be otherwise punished, than by confiscating their estates, which he soon after restored to them, receiving anew into favour all those, who, with his sister *Ann*, had given life to the conspiracy. After this, he removed from court such as he had reason to suspect, appointing none to succeed them but persons of known probity and distinguished characters^g. In the second year of his reign, the *Turks*, in defiance of the treaty lately concluded with his father, broke into *Phrygia*; but the emperor, marching against them in person, overthrew them in several engagements; and having recovered such cities as they had taken in *Cilicia*, and among the rest *Laodicea*, he laid siege to *Sozopolis*, a strong town in *Pamphylia*, which he took by a stratagem, having enticed the *Turks* out by a pretended flight, and cut off their retreat into the city. The *Turks*, alarmed at the success that attended his arms, renewed the peace, which they had concluded with his father *Alexius*. Hereupon the emperor returned in triumph to *Constantinople*, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the *Scythians*, having passed the *Danube* and broken into *Thrace*, were destroying all before them with fire and sword. Against them the emperor led the flower of his army, and falling upon the barbarians before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, took many prisoners, and obliged the rest to save themselves beyond the *Danube*. He then turned his victorious arms, first against the *Servii*, whom he easily overcame, and afterwards against the *Hunns*, who had invaded the empire, but were driven beyond the *Danube* with great slaughter. The emperor, crossing that river after them, carried the war into their country; and having taken several of their strong-holds, and forced them to conclude a peace upon his own terms, he returned the second time in triumph to *Constantinople*^h. While the emperor was thus employed against the barbarians, the *Turks*, without any regard to the late treaty, entered unexpectedly *Galatia* and *Cilicia*, and made themselves masters of several cities in those two provinces. The emperor therefore, having allowed his men a few days to refresh themselves at *Constantinople*, led them afterwards into the east, where he soon made himself master of all *Armenia*, driving every-where the *Turks* before him. The castle of *Baca*, and the cities of *Castamona*, *Anazarba*, *Serep*, *Capharda*, *Istria*, and *Sezer*, made a vigorous resistance; but were in the end obliged to submit. However, having laid

*An instance
of his good-
nature.*

*His wars
with the
Turks.*

*With the
Scythians,
the Servii,
and the
Hunns.*

*He reco-
vers Ar-
menia.*

^g NICET. l. i. c. 1.

^h Idem, c. 2—5.

*He forms
a design of
recovering
Antioch
from the
Latins.*

*The empe-
ror wound-
ed with a
poisoned
arrow.*

siege to *Beræa* in *Syria*, he was forced by the numerous garison to raise it, and drop that enterprize. On his return homewards, he was reconciled to his brother *Isaac*, who, in the beginning of his reign, having taken some disgust, had fled to the *Turks*, and assisted them with his advice in all their undertakings against the christians. Soon after, *John*, *Isaac's* son, deserted to the enemy, and, renouncing the christian religion, embraced the superstition of *Mohammed*. The emperor, having spent three years in the east, and recovered from the *Turks* the several cities and strong-holds which they had lately taken, returned to *Constantinople*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. Having settled his domestic affairs, he resolved to return once more into the east; and accordingly began his march early in the spring of the year 1140, attended by his three sons, *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Manuel*, giving out, that he had nothing else in view but to secure his conquests in *Armenia*, and confirm the cities, that had lately submitted to him, in their obedience; but his real design was to recover, if possible, the city of *Antioch*, held by the *Latins*, and reunite that stately metropolis to the empire. Heaven seemed to be offended at this undertaking; for soon after he had left *Constantinople*, his two eldest sons, *Alexius* and *Andronicus*, died in the prime of their years, to the inexpressible grief of the afflicted father, who was ready to sink under the weight of so unexpected a calamity. However, he pursued his march, and entering *Syria*, acquainted the inhabitants of *Antioch* with his arrival; who thereupon sent some of the chief men in the city to meet him. But when he drew near, they refused to admit him within the gates, till he had solemnly sworn he would attempt no innovation, but quietly depart, after a short stay in the city. He had entertained hopes of gaining over the citizens, and by that means making himself master of the city; but finding them inviolably attached to the *Latins*, he retired in a great rage, ordering his soldiers, at their departure, to plunder the suburbs. From *Antioch* he bent his march to *Cilicia*, where, while he was one day hunting, he was accidentally wounded in the hand with a poisoned arrow, which he carried in his quiver. Tho' the wound was slight, yet, as the proper remedies were not applied in due time, it caused such a swelling in his arm, that the physicians were for cutting it off; but he peremptorily refusing to submit to the operation, the strength of the poison prevailed to such a degree, that he was in a short time brought to the point of death; when, summoning the chief of the nobility to his chamber, he named in their presence his youngest son *Manuel* to succeed him, as better qualified in every respect for that eminent station, than his other son *Isaac*. Hereupon *Manuel* was immediately

immediately proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the nobility and the chief officers of the army, who bound themselves by a solemn oath to obey no other. The emperor died soon after, *He dies.* on the eighth of April 1143, having reigned twenty-four years and eight months. It is observable of him, that he put none to death during the whole time of his reign; whence he was no less beloved by his subjects for his humanity and good-nature, than feared by the enemies of the empire, on account of his courage, experience in war, and the success that attended him in all his expeditions¹.

THE emperor no sooner expired, than *Manuel* dispatched *Manuel Axuchus*, who had been prime minister to his father, to *Con-* *Comne-*
stantinople, with orders to secure *Isaac*; who was accordingly *nus,*

seized before he had time to assert his right to the empire, and confined to a monastery. Soon after, the new emperor arrived; and being received with loud acclamations by the people, who hated *Isaac*, he was crowned with great solemnity by the patriarch. Having settled his domestic affairs, and set his brother *Isaac* at liberty, upon his promising to attempt no innovations during his absence, he passed over into *Asia*, at the head of a *His war with the*
Turks.

mighty army; and having recovered several cities in *Phrygia*, lately taken by the *Turks*, he sat down before *Iconium*; but not being able to master that important place, he returned to *Con-*
stantinople, leaving sufficient garisons in the frontier-towns to restrain the incursions of the *Turks*. During his stay in the imperial city, he married *Gertrude*, sister-in-law to *Conrade*, the *German* emperor; but slighting her, tho' endowed with every perfection becoming a person of her sex and quality, he maintained a criminal conversation with his own niece *Theodora*; which greatly estranged from him the minds of his people. But nothing *His trea-*
cherous be-
haviour to
the west-
ern princes. has rendered his name more odious to posterity, than his treacherous behaviour to the western princes; for having promised to supply the army of *Conrade*, who in the year 1146 undertook an expedition into the holy land, with forage and provisions, instead of that, he caused the countries, through which they were to pass, to be laid waste, and the gates of the towns to be shut; nay, we are told, that the *Greeks*, inspired by the emperor with an irreconcilable hatred to those adventurers, mixed the flour they sold them with quick-lime; which occasioned a dreadful mortality in the christian army. Besides, the emperor privately acquainted *Mamut*, sultan of *Iconium* in *Asia Minor*, with the designs of *Conrade* and the other princes. Whereupon the sultan alarming all the princes of his nation, a formidable army was raised in defence of their common interest, and sent to protect their territories,

¹ NICET. c. 7—12.

His wars
with
Roger
king of
Sicily.

before the christian princes were in a condition to attack them. By this means the designs of the western princes were defeated, and an army, which otherwise might have easily triumphed over all the east, in a great measure destroyed *. Roger, king of Sicily, highly provoked at Manuel's treachery, took advantage of some disturbances raised by the inhabitants of *Corcyra*, who thought themselves oppressed by too heavy exactions, and made himself master of that island. From thence he sailed to *Corinth*, which he likewise took and plundered, with *Thebes*, and most of the principal cities of *Bæotia*. Hereupon Manuel, having assembled all the forces of the empire and equipped a mighty fleet, proclaimed war against Roger and the Sicilians; which he began with the siege of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*. The besieged defended the place with incredible bravery; but being in the end quite tired out with repeated attacks, they surrendered upon honourable terms. In this siege the emperor, who commanded his troops in person, lost an incredible number of men, and among the rest *Stephen*, one of his chief officers. However, elated with his success, he resolved to carry the war into Sicily itself; but was overtaken by a violent storm, in which several of his ships were lost, and he himself driven, with most of the transports, to *Aulon*. Being informed, during his stay there, that the *Servians* had broken into the neighbouring provinces, he marched against them in person, committing the management of the Sicilian war to *Michael Palæologus*. Manuel gained great advantages over the *Servians*, though assisted by the *Hungarians*, whom he likewise overcame in several battles; and carrying the war into their country, took and razed some of their chief towns, and then returned to *Constantinople*, loaded with booty. As for *Palæologus*, he marched into *Calabria*, where he frequently defeated Roger's forces, and continued laying waste the country, till, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded between the two princes. The emperor, now disengaged from this war, took a progress into the east, being every-where received in a friendly manner, and entertained with shows and festivals, by the western princes, notwithstanding his unaccountable and treacherous behaviour towards them. On his return, he was attacked unexpectedly by the *Turks*, who killed several of his men, and took part of his baggage. To revenge this outrage, the emperor, after a short stay at *Constantinople*, passed over into *Asia*, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; which struck the sultan with such terror, that he sent ambassadors to sue for peace, offering to conclude it upon such terms, as the emperor himself

A peace
concluded
between
the two
princes.

* Idem in Manuel. l. i. c. 4—4.

should judge proper. But *Manuel* adhering to the young and unexperienced officers, who, pushed on with a false courage, declared with great warmth for war, the offers of the sultan were rejected, and his ambassadors dismissed with this haughty answer, *That the emperor would come and let him know his pleasure at Iconium*, which was the metropolis of the *Turkish* empire in *Asia Minor*. Hereupon the sultan, finding a war unavoidable, seized on the narrow passes of *Zibrica*, through *Manuel* which the emperor's army was to pass, and falling upon them, reduced as soon as they entered the streights, made a dreadful havock of to great them with showers of arrows from the mountains and broken streights by the cliffs. The *Romans* attempted to retire; but their retreat being the Turks cut off by a strong detachment of *Turks*, posted at the entrance of the streights, they were forced to pursue their march, being galled the whole time by the enemy's arrows showering down upon them from the eminences. In the mean time, night coming on, the *Turks*, who were well acquainted with the country, possessed themselves of all the outlets; so that the *Romans* found themselves, when light appeared, hemmed in on every side, without being able either to retire or advance. In this condition, while they looked upon themselves as lost, the sultan, to the great surprise of the emperor and the whole army, sent to *Manuel* one of his chief officers, by name *Gabras*, with *A peace* proposals for a peace; which he immediately signed, to the in- concluded with the expressible joy of the whole army, who pursued their march unmolested to *Chonas*, where the emperor distributed what money sultan. he had with him among the soldiers, and then proceeded to *Philadelphia*, in which city he continued, till his wounds were cured. One of the conditions of the peace was, that the fortifications of *Dorylaum* and *Subleum* in *Asia Minor* should be razed. This the emperor, now out of danger, refused to perform, alledging, that what had been extorted from him by force was not binding. The sultan, highly provoked at this answer, sent a body of twenty-four thousand chosen men, under the *The Turks* conduct of *Atapacus*, to lay waste all *Phrygia*; which they did invade the empire with the utmost barbarity, sparing neither sex nor age. But the anew; but emperor's forces, falling upon them as they were crossing the 24,000 of *Meander* on their way home, cut them all off to a man, and them are recovered the whole booty †. The *Turks* were so disheartened cut off. with this overthrow, that they continued quiet the remaining part of *Manuel's* reign, who having no wars to employ his thoughts, turned them to religious matters, and, by endeavouring to introduce and establish heterodox opinions, raised great disturbances and divisions in the church, some of the prelates

† NICEPH. l. vi c. 1—9.

Manuel
dies.

being prompted by their interest to embrace and maintain the doctrine he had broached, and others impugning it with great warmth. Among the latter was *Eustathius* archbishop of *Thessalonica*, famous for his learned comments on *Homer*. But the death of the emperor put an end to these disputes. He was taken ill in *March* 1180, and died in the following *September*, having near completed the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Some time before his death, he took the monastic habit, hoping thereby to atone for the debaucheries, to which he abandoned himself in times of peace¹.

Alexius
Comne-
nus.

HE was succeeded by his son *Alexius Comnenus*; but, he being only twelve years old, his mother took upon her the administration, and governing with an absolute sway, suffered the young prince to indulge himself in his pleasures and diversions, in order to indispose him for applying to the affairs of state. The ministers, whom the empress employed, made it their chief study to enrich themselves at the expence of the public, the empress herself having nothing else in view but to fill her coffers. Public affairs being thus intirely neglected, while every one studied his private interest, the *Turks*, who let slip no opportunity of enlarging their territories, breaking into the empire, made themselves masters of *Sozopolis*, and several other important places in *Phrygia*. This raised in the people a general dislike to the present administration; which being observed by *Andronicus*,

Androni-
cus re-
volts.

who was cousin-german to the late emperor, and had long aspired at the empire, he thought this the most proper time to attempt the obtaining of what he so ardently wished for. Accordingly, as he was generally beloved on account of his insinuating and popular behaviour, he left *Oeneum*, to which place he had been confined by the late emperor; and, moving with his friends and dependents towards *Constantinople*, gave out, that he had nothing else in view but to reform the abuses of the state, to assert the imperial dignity, to redress the grievances of the people, and rescue the young prince out of the hands of those, who, in a most shameful manner, abused his authority, to the oppression of those whom they were bound to protect. He was every-where received by the credulous people as their deliverer and defender; and such multitudes flocked to him from all parts, that none dared to oppose him, till he came into *Bithynia*, where the governors of *Nice* and *Nicomedia* shut their gates against him as a public enemy. However, he pursued his march to a castle called *Charace*, where he was met by a body of the imperial troops commanded by *Andronicus Angelus*, whom he put to flight; and, advancing with long marches towards Con-

And
marches
towards
Constanti-
nople.

¹ Idem, l. vi. c. 6, 7.

Constantinople, encamped at a small distance from *Chalcedon*, in sight of the imperial city. The empress had committed the whole management of affairs to *Alexius*, then president of the council, with whom she was thought to be more familiar than was consistent with her honour. As *Alexius* hoped by her means to be advanced one day to the imperial dignity, he left nothing unattempted to defeat the designs of *Andronicus*; but being universally detested by the people, on account of his tyrannical and arbitrary government, the troops he had raised fled over to *Andronicus*, and the fleet, which was committed to the conduct of *Contostephanus*, followed their example. Hereupon the people, assembling in a tumultuous manner, with repeated acclamations declared *Andronicus* guardian of the young prince, set at liberty his two sons, *John* and *Manuel*, whom *Alexius* had thrown into prison, and seizing on *Alexius* himself, carried him in a mock triumph to the sea-side, attended with the scoffs and curses of the enraged multitude, and thence conveyed him in a small boat to *Andronicus*, who after having exposed him to the insults of the whole army, caused his eyes to be pulled out. Soon after, *Andronicus*, passing the straits, went to wait on the emperor, who was then with the empress his mother, at a royal seat in the country; and being immediately admitted to his presence, fell on the ground, out of a pretended respect to his prince, repeating several texts of scripture, adapted to the present purpose. As for the empress, he saluted her with a coldness, which sufficiently betrayed the aversion he bore her. Having staid some days with the emperor, he made his entry into the city, attended with the shouts and acclamations of the people, and was by all, with one voice, declared and acknowledged the protector of the empire, during the minority of young *Alexius*. But, notwithstanding the tyrannical conduct of *Alexius* the president, the citizens of *Constantinople* had soon occasion to repent of the change, there being no kind of cruelty, which the protector did not practise upon the unhappy people, without distinction of sex or condition. Some were deprived of their sight, others banished, and many inhumanly murdered, either out of some private grudge, or because they seemed attached to the young prince. Among the rest *Mary*, daughter to the late emperor, who had been very instrumental in the late revolution, and her husband *Manuel*, *Andronicus*'s own son, were poisoned by the tyrant's orders. As for the empress, he caused her to be accused of treason, as if she had by letters invited *Bela*, king of the *Hungarians*, her brother-in-law, to invade the empire. Upon this charge, altogether groundless, she was tried, found guilty, no one daring to oppose the tyrant's pleasure, and shortly after strangled

The army
and fleet
revolt to
him.

He is re-
ceived at
Constanti-
nople, and
declared
protector
of the em-
pire.

by

Made colleague to
Alexius.

Whom he
causes to
be murdered.

Andronicus.

His cruel
and tyrannical
conduct.

William,
king of Sicily,
invades his
dominions.

by *Pterigionites* the eunuch. Soon after her death, the tyrant, pretending a great tenderness and unshaken fidelity for the young prince, caused him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch; but took care at the same time to enlarge in an eloquent speech on the dangers that threatened the empire, and required, he said, a person of wisdom and experience to avert them. He had no sooner done speaking, than his friends crying out aloud, as had been agreed on before-hand, *Long live Alexius and Andronicus Roman emperors*, the whole multitude saluted him with the title of emperor, and placed him, with the consent and approbation of *Alexius*, on the imperial throne, the tyrant affecting the whole time an utter aversion to what he had so long coveted; nay, upon receiving, as was customary, the holy eucharist at his coronation, lifting his eyes up to heaven, he solemnly swore by that venerable mystery, that he took upon him the sovereignty for no other end, but to protect the young emperor and support his authority; but notwithstanding this oath, as he had now both the emperor and the empire in his power, he resolved a few days after to dispatch his colleague, and take the whole authority into his own hands. Pursuant to this wicked resolution, one *Stephanus Hagiochristophorites*, with some others, entering, by the tyrant's orders, the unhappy prince's chamber in the night, strangled him with a bow-string. Such was the miserable end of *Alexius II.* in the third year of his reign, and fifteenth of his life^m.

Andronicus, now sole master of the empire, made it his chief study to establish the power he had usurped, raging without distinction against persons of all ranks, whom he imagined in the least affected to *Manuel's* family, or capable of revenging his death. No day passed without some cruel execution; insomuch, that in a short time the flower of the nobility was utterly cut off, the merciless tyrant complaining all the while of the severity of the law, which did not allow him to shew pity to so many deserving men. Some, however, found means to make their escape, and among the rest *Isaac Comnenus*, *Manuel's* near kinsman; who, taking refuge in *Cyprus*, made himself master of that island, and is said to have exceeded even *Andronicus* himself in all manner of barbarities. *Alexius Comnenus*, brother to the late emperor *Manuel*, fled to *Sicily*; and having persuaded *William*, king of that island, to make war upon *Andronicus*, he attended him to *Dyrrhachium*, which city the king soon reduced; and marching from thence into *Macedon*, laid waste that province without opposition, and sat down before *Thessalonica*, where his fleet had been ordered to

^m NICET. in Alex Comnen. c. 3—16.

attend him. The city was taken by storm, after a few days siege, through the indolence and cowardice of the governor, and with the utmost cruelty plundered by the *Sicilians*, who, without distinction of sex or age, put all they met to the sword, not sparing even those who had taken refuge in the churches. *Andronicus*, having assembled his troops, ordered them to march, under the conduct of the best generals in whom he could confide, against the enemy. But they were defeated and put to flight at the first onset; which inspired the *Sicilians* with such courage, that they began to look upon themselves as already masters of the imperial city itself. In the mean time, the tyrant, finding the number of the malecontents increased at home, in proportion to the success of the enemy abroad, began to rage with more cruelty than ever, not sparing even his own favourites, who had been hitherto the executioners of his tyranny against others. Among the many who were destined to slaughter was *Isaac Angelus*, a person of great distinction, being descended from one of the most antient families in *Constantinople*.

Hagiochristophorites, *Andronicus's* prime minister, was ordered to seize him; but *Isaac*, having killed the assassin with his own hand, made his escape to a neighbouring church, whither he was followed by his uncle *John Ducas*, by his son *Isaac*, and by several other persons of the first quality. As *Isaac* was generally beloved, on account of his popular and engaging behaviour, multitudes of people flocked from all parts of the city to see him in his asylum. As *Andronicus* was then absent from the city, *Isaac* laid hold of that opportunity to stir up the populace against him; which he did so effectually, that, on a day appointed, they flocked in crowds to the church of *St. Sophia*, and there, with one voice, saluted *Isaac* emperor, declaring at the same time *Andronicus* a public enemy. The tyrant, informed of what had happened in the city, and despairing of being able to appease the enraged multitude or make head against them, fled to *Meludium*, a royal palace on the east side of the *Propontis*, and from thence attempted to escape into *Scythia*; but being several times driven back by contrary winds, and pursued, as it were, by divine vengeance, he was apprehended and presented in chains to *Isaac*; who, having caused his right hand to be cut off and one of his eyes to be pulled out, delivered him up to the enraged populace, from whom he suffered indignities answerable to the injuries with which he had provoked them; for having led him, as it were, in triumph, through the most frequented streets of the city on a camel, with his face towards the tail, amidst the reproaches and insults of the incensed multitude, they hung him up by the feet between two pillars, stripped off his cloaths, cut off his private parts, and tormented

Isaac Angelus takes refuge in the church.

Is proclaimed emperor.

Andronicus taken, and cruelly tormented by the populace.

Is murdered.

Isaac Angelus.

He defeats the Sicilians.

Attempts in vain to recover Cyprus.

him for three days together, he bearing the whole time with an invincible courage all the torments, the incensed and relentless mob could inflict upon him, sometimes repeating, *Lord have mercy upon me*, and sometimes addressing the multitude with these words, *Why do you break a bruised reed?* At length one, touched with compassion at the sight of an object, which might have drawn tears from cruelty itself, by a mortal wound in his throat, put an end at the same time to his life and torments, after he had lived seventy three years and reigned twoⁿ. He was the last emperor of the *Comnenian* family.

Isaac, thus raised to the imperial dignity, gained, in the beginning of his reign, the affections of his subjects, by his lenity and moderation, not only recalling and restoring to their estates such as had been banished by *Andronicus*, but relieving several decayed families out of his private estate. When he thought himself sufficiently established on the throne, he dispatched the flower of the army, under the conduct of *Branas*, an officer of great experience, against the *Sicilians*; who, being surprised by him as they were roving about the country in quest of plunder, were put to flight, and cut off almost to a man, either by the emperor's troops, or the natives, whom they had provoked with their barbarities. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred sail, on their return home, being overtaken and dispersed by a violent storm, most of their ships were taken by the emperor's admiral, and great numbers of prisoners sent to *Constantinople*, where most of them perished with famine, the emperor, who was naturally addicted to cruelty, not suffering them to be relieved even with bread and water. Having thus put an end to the *Sicilian* war, he resolved to drive, if possible, *Isaac Comnenus*, of whom we have spoken above, out of *Cyprus*, where he oppressed the inhabitants in a most tyrannical manner. In order to this, he equipped a mighty fleet, which he sent under the command of *John Contostephanus*, and *Alexius Comnenus*, to make a descent upon that island; which they did accordingly, landing without the least opposition. But while the forces were ashore, *Margarites*, a famous pirate, who had joined *Isaac Comnenus*, falling upon the fleet, seized or burnt all the ships, while the tyrant, attacking the forces that were landed and could not retreat, cut them off all to a man. This misfortune encouraged the *Messians*, whom the emperor oppressed with heavy taxes, to revolt, and return to the protection of the *Scythians*; who, having raised a numerous army, over-ran the neighbouring provinces. Against them the emperor dispatched his uncle *John Ducas*, who gained several advantages over the

ⁿ Nicet. in Andronic. l. i. c. 5—11.

enemy.

enemy, and would in all likelihood have put an end to the war, had he not been recalled by the jealous emperor. *John*, surnamed *Cantacuzenus*, being appointed to succeed him, was, through his rashness and indiscretion, often worsted by the enemy. Whereupon *Branas Alexius*, the greatest commander of his age, was entrusted with the whole management of the war. *Branas*, seeing himself at the head of a powerful army, after having gained some advantages over the enemy, returned on a sudden to *Adrianople*, the place of his nativity; and, having caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there, led his troops without loss of time to the imperial city, hoping to surprise the emperor, who had scarce received intelligence of his revolt; but the citizens putting themselves, upon his approach, in a posture of defence, and harassing his troops with frequent sallies, he resolved to encamp at some distance from the city, and, by cutting off all communication with the neighbouring country, to reduce it by famine. The emperor, in the mean time, reposing all his confidence in the virgin *Mary*, (whose image he caused to be placed on the walls) and the prayers of the monks, continued inactive in his palace, till he was roused by *Conrade*, son to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who, happening to be then at *Constantinople*, encouraged him to draw together his troops, and march out against the enemy; which he did accordingly, being attended by *Conrade*, who commanded the main body of the imperial army. *Branas* received him with his men in battle-array; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the dispute was maintained for a considerable time on both sides with great obstinacy; but in the end the emperor's forces, though a handful in comparison of the enemy's, prevailing, *Branas* himself was killed on the spot, and most of his chief officers either slain in the pursuit or taken prisoners. This victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Conrade*, by whose hand *Branas* fell, while he was encouraging his men to return to the charge°. The rebellion being thus happily quelled, the jealous emperor resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against the celebrated emperor of Germany, *Frederic Barbarossa*, who was marching, at the head of a mighty army, to the assistance of the princes of the crusade. He had promised to grant *Frederic* a free passage through his dominions, and supply his army with all manner of provisions; but being in the mean time gained over by *Saladin*, the Turkish sultan, who promised to restore *Palestine* to him, instead of assisting the German army, pursuant to his engagement, he no sooner heard of their arrival on the borders, than he

And lays
siege to
Constantinople.

He is defeated and killed.

The emperor's treacherous conduct towards *Frederic the German emperor*.

° Idem in *Isaac. Ang.* l. i. c. 7—9; & l. ii. c. 1, 2.

Frederic
defeats the
emperor's
forces.
Takes
several
places.

Oligothe
emperor to
submit to
Frederic
all terms.

dispatched his cousin *Manuel*, with a powerful army, to obstruct their passage and intercept their provisions, having first, without any regard to the law of nations, thrown into prison the bishop of *Münster*, the earl of *Nassau*, and count *Walram*, *Frederic's* ambassadors. The *Germans*, justly provoked at the emperor's treachery and perfidiousness, passed, in spite of the opposition they met with from the cowardly *Greeks*, into *Thrace*, and there seized on the corn, of which they found great plenty in the fields, before the inhabitants had time to remove it into the fortified towns, pursuant to the orders they had received from court. As they approached *Philippopolis*, the inhabitants abandoned the place; and *Frederic*, taking possession of it, halted there a few days to refresh his troops. In the mean time, the emperor, highly incensed against *Manuel*, whom he accused of cowardice, sent him peremptory orders to engage the *Germans*; pursuant to which, the *Greek* general advanced within six miles of *Philippopolis*. But his whole army being shamefully put to flight by a party of *Germans*, whom *Frederic* had sent out to scour the country and watch the enemy's motions, the cities of *Nicopolis* and *Adrianople*, with all the places between the *Ægean* and *Euxine* seas, opened their gates to the victorious army, without attempting to make the least opposition. Hereupon the emperor, having set *Frederic's* ambassadors at liberty, began to sue for peace, offering to supply the *Germans* with provisions and the necessary ships to transport them into *Asia*, provided they delivered hostages to him for his security, and crossed the straits without delay. *Frederic*, now master of the whole country to the very gates of *Constantinople*, thought it became him to chastise the pride of the presumptuous, but cowardly, *Greeks*, and therefore returned the following answer to the emperor's deputies; That he had conquered *Thrace*, and therefore would dispose of it at his pleasure; that he was determined to winter there, since the emperor had by his perfidiousness retarded his march, till it was too late in the year to pass the straits; that he was resolved to treat the emperor as an enemy, if he had not a sufficient number of ships ready against *Easter* to transport his troops; and since he could not depend upon his faith, he commanded him to send without delay twenty-four of the principal lords and officers of his court, with eight hundred persons of inferior quality, as hostages for the performance of what he required. To these shameful conditions the emperor readily submitted, sending immediately the hostages with rich presents to *Frederic*, who, having wintered at *Adrianople*, removed early in the spring to *Callipolis*, where he found a great number of vessels ready to transport his army into *Asia*. In the year 1192,

^p NICET. ibid. l. ii. c. 4. 5.

the eighth of *Isaac's* reign, an impostor, pretending to be the son of the emperor *Manuel*, laid claim to the empire; and, being encouraged by the sultan of *Iconium*, raised in a short time an army of eight thousand men, made himself master of all the cities in the *Meander*, in spite of the opposition he met with from *Alexius*, the emperor's brother, who was sent against him, and would in all likelihood have in the end driven the emperor from the throne, multitudes flocking to him from all parts, had not a priest put an end to his conquests, by stabbing him with his own sword, while he lay asleep, after having drunk to excess ⁹. The *Scythians*, encouraged by these domestic commotions, renewed their incursions, and, over-running the neighbouring provinces, destroyed all with fire and sword. Against them the emperor marched in person; but having passed the summer without daring to attack them, they fell upon him in his retreat, and cut the greatest part of his army in pieces, the emperor himself having with much-ado made his escape. After this, the barbarians roved about the country without controul, plundering the cities, and carrying the inhabitants into captivity. The emperor dispatched against them first *Alexius Guido*, and afterwards *Batatzes Basilius*; but both these generals being defeated, and the latter killed upon the spot with the flower of his army, the emperor, having raised new forces, resolved to march against them once more in person. Accordingly, he set out from *Constantinople* early in the spring, and arriving at *Cypsellæ* on the frontiers of the empire, he halted there, till the troops that were marching from all parts joined him. In the mean time, his brother *Alexius Angelus*, who had long aspired at the empire, observing the general discontent that reigned among the soldiery, resolved to lay hold of the present opportunity of attaining what he had so long wished for. Accordingly, having imparted his design to some of the chief officers of the army, and found them ready to espouse his interest and combine against *Isaac*, while the emperor was one day diverting himself with the chase, the conspirators, seizing *Alexius*, as had been agreed on before-hand, carried him to the imperial pavilion, and, with repeated acclamations, saluted him emperor, being therein followed by the whole army. *Isaac*, judging it impossible to reclaim the revolted army to their duty, fled with great precipitation to *Macra*, where he was overtaken by those whom his brother had sent after him, and by his orders deprived of his sight and thrown into prison, after he had reigned nine years and eight months ^r.

The emperor defeated by the Scythians.

Alexius Angelus revolts.

⁹ Idem, l. iii. c. 1.

^r Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 9.]

Alexius
Angelus.

His bad go-
vernment.

Isaac, the
late em-
peror, set
at liberty.

His son
Alexius
recurs to
the western
princes.

A treaty
concluded
between
them and
Alexius.

Alexius Angelus, thus raised to the throne, abandoned himself to the same vices, for which he pretended to have removed his brother, spending his time in riot and luxury, while the *Scythians* on one hand, and the *Turks* on the other, made themselves masters of several important places, and laid waste whole provinces. As he was an utter enemy to all application, he committed the whole management of affairs to his wife *Euphrosyne* and his favourites, who oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner, selling the first employments of the state to the highest bidder, without any regard to their birth or abilities, and using all other means, how unjust soever and dishonourable, to fill their private coffers. In the year 1202, *Alexius*, reflecting on the great kindness his brother had shewn him during his reign, and thinking himself now firmly established on the throne, ordered the unhappy *Isaac* to be set at liberty, and called his son *Alexius*, at that time about twelve years old, to the court, treating him as his own child. But *Isaac*, still mindful of the indignity that had been offered him, and the injustice done both to himself and his son, began to entertain thoughts of recovering his former dignity, and asserting his undoubted right to the imperial crown. With this view he maintained a private correspondence with the *Latins*, and by their means with his daughter *Irene*, wife to *Philip* emperor of *Germany*, earnestly pressing her to persuade the emperor to undertake the protection of her unfortunate father and brother. *Irene* giving them hopes of a speedy and powerful assistance, young *Alexius* made his escape from *Constantinople*; and, imbarquing in a ship belonging to a merchant of *Pisa*, riding then at the mouth of the *Hellepont*, landed safe in *Sicily*, where he spent some days in private conferences with his sister, who was then in that island, and from thence pursued his journey to *Rome*, to solicit the assistance of the pope, by whom he was kindly received and warmly recommended to *Philip*. That prince received young *Alexius* with the greatest demonstrations imaginable of kindness and esteem, and was sensibly touched, as he had an intire affection for *Irene*, with the misfortunes of her family; but being then engaged in a troublesome war with *Otho*, who disputed the empire with him, he could not espouse the young prince's cause. However, by means of his ambassadors, he engaged the *French* and *Venetians*, who had then a powerful army in *Dalmatia*, ready to march against the *Turks*, to attempt the restoration of his brother-in-law, and employ their whole strength against the usurper. The treaty, after some warm disputes, was concluded; in virtue of which the *French* and *Venetians* were to establish *Alexius* on the imperial throne, and *Alexius*, upon his restoration, to pay two hundred thousand marks in silver

silver towards the expences of the holy war, maintain ten thousand men one year to be employed in the conquest of *Egypt*, and, during his life, five hundred knights well armed, for the defence of such places as they should conquer in the holy land. The treaty being ratified with mutual oaths, the army embarked and sailed for *Corfu*, the place of the general rendezvous. As they appeared before *Dyrrhachium*, the inhabitants were no sooner informed, that the young prince was on board the fleet, than they presented him with the keys of the place, and swore allegiance to him. Encouraged with this happy presage, they pursued their course to the island of *Corfu*, and from thence, after a short stay, to the port of *St. Stephen*, on the *Propontis*, where they refreshed themselves, and then sailed to *Chalcedon*, opposite to the imperial city, where they landed their troops. In the mean time, the emperor, having drawn together all his forces, encamped on the *Bosporus*, over-against the confederates, who nevertheless passed the streights, the emperor having but twenty galleys to oppose them, and landed in sight of the emperor's army, who, at their approach, retired in great disorder. The next day, the *French* made themselves masters of the castle of *Galata*, and the *Venetians*, being favoured by an easterly wind, sailed up to the chain that locked up the mouth of the harbour; and having cut it with sheers of steel, that opened and shut by means of an engine, they took or sunk all the *Greek* vessels in the haven. After this, the *Venetians* having battered the walls for ten days together by sea and the *French* by land, a general assault was given on the seventeenth of *July*. The *Greeks* made a more vigorous opposition than was expected; and, being assisted both by the advantage of the place and their numbers, often repulsed the aggressors. But at length the celebrated *Henry Dandolo*, duke of *Venice*, though then above eighty years old, putting himself at the head of his countrymen, whom he encouraged more with his example than his words, broke in, maugre all opposition; and having seized on one of the towers, planted on the top of it the great standard of *St. Mark*. The emperor, finding part of the enemy's troops was got into the town, sallied out with a design to charge them in the rear, and by that means oblige them to draw off their men from the attack; but being repulsed with great slaughter, and the brave *Dandolo* having by this time made himself master of twenty-five towers on the side of the haven, the cowardly prince, abandoning his people, went privately on board a small vessel, kept ready for that purpose, and escaped, with his treasures and the imperial ornaments, to *Zagara*, a city of *Thrace*, at the foot of mount *Hemus*. It was no sooner known, that the tyrant had fled, than the people, crowding to the prison, where *Isaac* had been detained ever since

Dyrrhachium submitted to Alexius.

Constantinople besieged.

The usurper makes his escape.

Isaac re-
stored.

since the flight of his son *Alexius*, saluted him anew with the title of emperor, placed him upon the imperial throne, from which he had been driven about eight years before; and acquainting the confederates with the flight of the usurper, and the re-establishing of *Isaac*, invited the young prince to share the empire with his father. The confederates were transported with joy at the news of so sudden and unexpected a revolution; however, as they had been but too often deceived by the *Greeks*, they refused to acknowledge *Isaac*, till he had ratified the treaty concluded with his son; which he had no sooner done, tho' not without some reluctance, the articles appearing to him very hard, than the confederates owned him for emperor, and conducted the young prince in great triumph into the city, where he was associated with his father in the empire, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and solemnity on the first of *August* 1203^s. As the usurper continued still in *Thrace*, supported there by a strong party, and *Theodorus Lascaris*, his son-in-law, was at the head of a numerous body of troops on the other side of the *Bosporus*, the two emperors earnestly intreated the confederates to put off their expedition to the holy land, till they had completed the work, which they had so happily begun. To this they readily agreed; and marching against the tyrant, who had seized on *Adrianople*, drove him from thence, and obliged him to fly for refuge to the neighbouring barbarians. *Theodorus Lascaris* no sooner heard, that the confederates were preparing to cross the streights, in order to attack him, than he disbanded his army, and withdrew to the territories of the *Turks*. The confederates, having thus established the two princes on the throne, returned about the middle of winter to *Constantinople*, where they were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable; and from thence passed early in the spring over into

A dreadful *Asia*. The same year, 1203, happened a dreadful conflagration at *Constantinople*, occasioned by some *Latin* soldiers, who having plundered a mosque, which the late emperor had suffered the *Mohammedans* to build in the imperial city, and being on that account attacked by the *Turks*, who were much superior to them in number, set fire to some wooden houses, the better to favour their escape. The flame, spreading in an instant from street to street, reduced in a short time great part of the city to ashes, with the capacious store-houses, that had been built at a vast expence on the quay^t. The emperor *Isaac* died soon after the departure of the *Latins*, leaving his son *Alexius* sole master of the empire. The young prince, to discharge the large sums he had promised to the *French* and *Vene-*

fire at
Constan-
tinople.

^s NICET. l. iii. c. 2—12.

^t Idem, l. iii. c. 12.

tians,

tians, was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his subjects, which, with the great esteem and friendship he shewed to his deliverers, raised a general discontent among the people, who were sworn enemies to the *Latins*. This encouraged *John Ducas*, sur-named *Murtzuphlus*, from his joined and thick eye-brows, to attempt the sovereignty. As he was a person of great address and uncommon parts, he not only ingratiated himself with the multitude, by exclaiming against the *Latins*, as the only authors of the present miseries; but having found means to gain the young prince's confidence, he by degrees brought him to disoblige the *Latins*, and even to treat them as enemies. As the hostilities were returned by the western princes, *Murtzuphlus* dispatched in the emperor's name one of his friends to the marquis of *Montferrat*, with proposals for an accommodation, offering to deliver up to him the fortress and palace of *Blachernæ*, within the walls of *Constantinople*, provided he would come and deliver him from the enraged populace, who, he said, had revolted, and proclaimed another emperor. The marquis, giving credit to the ambassador, prepared to march to *Constantinople*: but, in the mean time, the treacherous *Murtzuphlus*, having stirred up the people by giving out, that *Alexius* had sold the city to the *Latins*, who were in full march to take possession of it, entered, in the height of the tumult, the prince's chamber, and strangled him with his own hands. After this, he presented himself to the people, acquainted them with what he had done to secure their liberties, and earnestly intreated them to chuse an emperor, who had courage enough to defend them against the *Latins*, who were ready to oppress and enslave them. He had no sooner ended his speech, than those who were privy to his wicked design saluted him with the title of emperor, and were followed by the whole multitude, who, with loud acclamations, placed him on the imperial throne, as one capable of defeating the pretended designs of the *Latins*. The princes of the crusade no sooner heard of the death of *Alexius* and the promotion of the treacherous assassin, than they unanimously agreed to turn their arms against the usurper, to revenge the murder of a prince, whom they had placed upon the throne; and since they had been so often betrayed, and retarded in their several expeditions to the holy land by the *Greek* emperors, to make themselves masters of *Constantinople*, and seize on the empire for themselves. Pursuant to this resolution, having mustered all their forces in *Asia*, they crossed the streights, and closely besieged the imperial city both by sea and land. The tyrant, who was a man of courage and great experience in war, made a vigorous defence. However, the *Latins*, after having battered the walls for several days together with an incredible number of engines,

Murtzuphlus betrays the young prince.

And murders him.

The Latins resolve to revenge his death.

They besiege Constantinople.

Which is
taken and
plundered.

gave a general assault on the eighth of *April*, which lasted from break of day till three in the afternoon, when they were forced to retire, after having lost some of their engines and a great number of men. It was nevertheless resolved the same night in a council of war, that the attack should be renewed, which was done accordingly on *Monday* the twelfth of *April*, when, after a warm dispute of several hours, the *French* planted their standard on one of the towers; which the *Venetians* observing, they quickly made themselves masters of four other towers, where they likewise displayed their ensigns. In the mean time, three of the gates being broke down with the battering rams, and those who had scaled the walls having killed the guards and opened the gates between the towers they had taken, the whole army entered, and drew up in battle-array within the walls. But the *Greeks* flying up and down in the greatest confusion, several parties were detached to scour the streets, who put all they met to the sword, without distinction of age or condition. Night put a stop to the dreadful slaughter, when the princes, founding the retreat, placed their men in the different quarters of the city, with orders to stand upon their guard, and fortify themselves, not doubting but they should be attacked early next morning. They were therefore greatly surpris'd, when, instead of an armed enemy, they saw by break of day processions of suppliants advancing to them from every quarter of the city, with crosses, banners, images of saints, relics, &c. to implore mercy. The princes, touched with compassion, promised them their lives, but at the same time ordering them to retire to their houses, they gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiery for that day, strictly injoining them to abstain from slaughter, to preserve the honour of the women, and to bring the whole booty into one place, that a just distribution might be made according to the rank and merit of each particular. The *Greeks* had, without all doubt, removed and concealed their most valuable effects during the night; the most eminent persons had made their escape, and carried with them infinite treasures; most of the soldiers had, in all likelihood, reserved several things of great value for themselves, as it commonly happens, notwithstanding all prohibitions to the contrary; and yet the booty, without the statues, pictures, and jewels, amounted to a sum almost incredible. As for *Murtzuphlus*, he made his escape in the night, imbarquing on a small vessel with *Euphrasyne*, the wife of the late usurper *Alexius Angelus*, and her daughter *Eudoxia*, for whose sake he had abandoned his lawful wife. This great revolution happened in the year 1204 of the christian æra, eight hundred and seventy-four years after the removal of the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXVI.

The Roman history, from the expulsion of the Greeks, to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the utter destruction of the Roman empire.

THE *Latins*, now masters of the imperial city, proceeded Baldwin, to the election of a new emperor; when *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*, a prince in every respect equal to that high trust, was, after some deliberation, chosen, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and magnificence in the church of *St. Sophia*. To him was allotted the city of *Constantinople* and the country of *Thrace*, with a limited sovereignty over the other provinces, which already were, or should hereafter be, taken from the *Greeks*. To *Boniface*, marquis of *Montferrat*, they assigned *Thessaly*, which was erected into a kingdom. The *Venetians* had for their share the islands of the *Archipelago*, part of *Peloponnesus*, and several cities on the *Hellepont*. But while the *Latins* were thus dividing their new acquisitions, *Theodorus Lascaris*, son-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, having, at the taking of *Constantinople*, made his escape into *Bithynia*, was there joyfully received by the inhabitants; and possessing himself not only of that country, but of *Phrygia*, *Myfia*, *Ionis*, and *Lydia*, from the *Meander* to the *Euxine* sea, took upon him the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial seat in the famous city of *Nice*. At the same time, *David* and *Alexius Comneni*, grand-children to the late tyrant *Andronicus*, seizing on the more eastern countries of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, erected a new empire at *Trapezus* or *Trapezond*, where their posterity reigned, till their empire, as well as that of *Constantinople*, fell into the hands of *Mohammed the Great*, as we shall relate in a more proper place. Thus the *Greek* empire was no longer one, but divided into several empires, *Baldwin* reigning at *Constantinople*, the marquis of *Montferrat* in *Thessaly*, *Theodorus Lascaris* at *Nice*, the *Comneni* at *Trapezond*, and the *Venetians* in the islands, not to mention several other toparchies or principalities erected on the ruins of the *Constantinopolitan* empire. But to resume the thread of our history; *Baldwin*, the new emperor of

Baldwin's
army de-
feated by
the Bulga-
rians.
Baldwin
taken and
put to a
cruel
death.

Constantinople, having, with the assistance of the other princes, reduced all *Thrace*, except *Adrianople*, whither great numbers of *Greeks* had fled for shelter against the prevailing power of the *Latins*, resolved to lay siege to that important place, and accordingly sat down before it with all his forces. The *Greeks* defended themselves with great resolution, and at the same time, by means of some of their nation, who had withdrawn into *Bulgaria*, prevailed upon *John*, king of that country, to espouse their cause, who marching at the head of a powerful army, consisting partly of *Bulgarians* partly of *Scythians*, to the relief of the place, drew the emperor, by a pretended flight, into an ambuscade, cut off most of his men, and took *Baldwin* himself prisoner. After this victory the *Bulgarians* over-ran all *Thrace*, plundering the cities, laying waste the country, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. As for the unhappy emperor *Baldwin*, he was sent in chains to *Ernee*, or *Ternova*, the capital of *Bulgaria*, where, after his hands and feet had been cut off by the king's orders, he was carried into a desert, and there left exposed to the wild beasts and birds of prey. In that miserable condition he lived three days, and then expired. The *Greek* historians themselves, who, we may well imagine, were no-ways prejudiced in his favour, allow him to have been a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a person in his high station^a.

Alexius
Angelus
stirs up the
Turks
against
Theodo-
rus Lasca-
ris.

In the mean time, *Alexius Angelus*, the late usurper, hearing that *Theodorus Lascaris*, his son-in-law, reigned in *Asia*, left *Greece*, where he then lay concealed; and passing over into *Asia*, went privately to the court of *Jathatines*, sultan of *Iconium*, his antient friend and ally; and laying before him the miserable condition to which he was reduced, with tears in his eyes, implored his assistance for the recovery of his empire, especially of that part of *Asia Minor*, which was, with the utmost injustice, withheld from him by *Theodorus Lascaris*. *Jathatines*, at this time sultan of *Iconium*, was the younger son of sultan *Aladin*, who at his death, divided his kingdom between his two children *Aratines* and *Jathatines*. But, they quarrelling about the sovereignty, the latter was driven out by the former, and forced to fly for refuge to *Constantinople*, where he was kindly received, and entertained in a manner suitable to his rank by *Alexius*, then emperor. *Jathatines* therefore espousing, out of gratitude, the cause of his unfortunate friend, sent ambassadors to *Lascaris*, requiring him, in a threatening manner, to deliver up the country he unjustly possessed, to the lawful owner *Alexius*, his father-in-law. Before the return of

^a NICET. in Bald. c. 1—11.

the ambassadors, the sultan, attended by *Alexius*, advanced at the head of twenty thousand men to *Antioch* on the *Meander*, and laid siege to that place; which *Lascares* no sooner understood, than he marched with two thousand men, the most he was able in that exigence to raise, to the relief of the besieged city, being well apprised, that if he suffered it to fall into the enemy's hands, as it stood on that river and was the boundary of his empire, it would open a way for them into the heart of his dominions. The sultan at first could scarce give credit to those who brought him intelligence of the approach of *Lascares* with so small a force. However, he drew up his army in the best manner the narrowness of the place would allow of; which he had scarce done, when eight hundred *Italians*, of *Lascares*'s army, charging the *Turks* with incredible resolution, broke through the sultan's army, disordered his ranks, and put his men into the utmost confusion. As the *Greeks* had not courage enough to follow them, they were separated from the rest of the army, and on their return surrounded by the *Turkish* cavalry, and all to a man cut in pieces. The *Greeks*, disheartened at so great a loss, were upon the point of turning their backs, when the sultan, now, as he imagined, sure of the victory, singling out the *Greek* emperor, and trusting to his own strength, engaged him in person, and at the first blow struck him off his horse. But *Lascares*, quickly recovering himself, *They are* unhorsed the sultan, and, before he could put himself in a posture of defence, cut off his head; and fixing it upon the point *defeated,* of a spear, in sight of the enemy's army, struck such terror into *sultan* them, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous *slain.* and disorderly flight, leaving the *Greeks*, who before were ready to fly, masters of their camp and baggage. *Alexius*, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried to *Nice*, where he was confined to a monastery, in which he ended his days some years after ^w. This victory was followed by a peace, concluded with the *Turks* upon the *Greek* emperor's own terms, who being now at leisure to secure his dominions against *Henry*, brother to the late emperor *Baldwin* and his successor in the *Constantinopolitan* empire, a bloody war was continued for several *War be-* years between these two princes, with various success; but the *Greeks* being divided among themselves, and several princes *tween the* of the imperial family erecting, in different provinces, independent principalities, *Latin and* *Lascares* was in the end obliged *Greek em-* to acknowledge the authority of *Henry*, and conclude a peace *perors.* with him. After this, *Henry* turned his arms first against the

^w Idem ibid. c. ult.*Bulgarians,*

Bulgarians, whom he drove out of *Thrace*, and afterwards against *Michael Angelus*, a Greek prince of the imperial family, who having seized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, during the confusion that ensued upon the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, caused himself to be acknowledged despot or lord of that country. The emperor waged war with him and his brother *Theodorus*, a warlike prince, during the greater part of his reign; but was not able to recover the countries which he held. Henry, the Latin emperor, succeeded by Peter. after having reigned ten years, nine months, and twenty days, with great glory and success, died at *Thessalonica* in the fortieth year of his age. He was succeeded by *Peter*, count of *Auxerre*, who had married his sister, and signalized himself upon several occasions. This prince, arriving at *Rome* on his way from *France* to *Constantinople*, was solemnly crowned there by pope *Honorius III.* on the ninth of *April* 1217. From *Rome* he proceeded to *Venice*, where he entered into an alliance with that republic against *Theodorus*, who had succeeded his brother *Michael* in the principality of *Ætolia* and *Epirus*. Leaving *Venice*, he entered that prince's dominions, and laid siege to *Dyrrhachium*, which *Theodorus* had lately taken; but not being able to reduce it, he was forced to abandon the enterprise, and soon after to come to an agreement with *Theodorus*, who promised him a free passage through his dominions; but nevertheless fell upon him unexpectedly, cut most of his forces in pieces, and, having taken the emperor himself prisoner, put him to death soon after *. Upon his death, the *Latins* named his eldest son *Philip*, count of *Namur*, to succeed him; but he declining that burden, *Robert*, the deceased emperor's second son, was, with much-ado, prevailed upon to submit to it. In the third year of his reign died *Theodorus Lascaris*, after having governed, for the space of eighteen years, that part of the empire, which the *Greeks* still retained in *Asia*, and defended it with no less courage than success against the *Turks* on one side, and the *Latins* on the other. He left behind him one son and three daughters; but the son being yet an infant, he bequeathed the empire to *John Ducas*, surnamed *Vataces*, who had married his eldest daughter *Irene*, and was by the dying emperor not undeservedly judged more capable than his own brothers, *Alexius* and *Isaac*, of defending, and even enlarging the empire, which he had founded. *John Ducas* was crowned in the year 1222, by *Manuel*, patriarch of the *Greeks*, at *Nice*. *Alexius* and *Angelus*, the late emperor's brothers, thinking the empire belonged of right to them, withdrew to *Constantinople*, to implore the protection of the *Latins* against one, whom they

Who is treacherously put to death by Theodorus, prince of Epirus. Robert, Latin emperor of Constantinople.

looked upon as no other than an usurper. *Robert*, the *Latin* emperor, readily espoused their cause; and having raised a considerable army, committed it to their conduct. But *John*, having assembled in the mean time all his forces, met the two brothers at a place called *Poemaneum*; and having engaged them, gained a complete victory, the flower of the *Latin* army being cut off, and the two commanders taken prisoners. The *Greek* emperor, encouraged with this success, built with incredible expedition a great number of galleys in the several ports of *Asia*; and falling unexpectedly upon the islands in the *Archipelago*, reduced most of them, driving every-where the *Latins* before him. The fame of his exploits reaching *Affan* or *Azen*, king of *Bulgaria*, that prince, courting his friendship, proposed a match between his daughter *Helena* and *Theodore*, the emperor's son, which was readily embraced by *Ducas*, who well knew how advantageous to his affairs an alliance would prove with so powerful a prince. At the same time, the sultan of *Iconium*, apprehending an irruption of the *Tartars*, who had already driven the *Turks* out of *Persia*, sent ambassadors to *Nice*, to confirm and prolong the truce between the two crowns; which *Ducas* readily agreed to, and then, employing his whole strength against the *Latins*, made himself master of all the places held by them on the *Bosporus* and the *Hellepont*. While the *Latins* were thus distressed on the other side of the streights by *John Ducas*, *Theodorus*, prince or despot of *Epirus*, invading *Theffaly* and *Thrace*, made himself master of those countries; and, assuming the title of emperor, caused himself to be crowned with great solemnity by *Demetrius*, patriarch of *Bulgaria*. He had lately concluded a peace with *John*, the son and successor of *Azen*, in the kingdom of *Bulgaria*; but elated with his success against the *Latins*, and desirous of enlarging his dominions with new conquests, in defiance of the late treaty, he broke into *Bulgaria*. But *John*, whom he looked upon as no ways a match for so renowned a conqueror, having raised a mighty army, engaged him; and having, after a long and bloody dispute, put his forces to flight, took the despot himself prisoner, and caused his eyes to be pulled out ^v. Not long after, that is, about the year 1228, died *Robert*, emperor of the *Latins* in *Constantinople*, in the ninth year of his reign. He died in *Achaia*, as he was returning from *Rome*, which city he had visited, according to some writers, in order to be crowned there in a more solemn manner by the pope. He had married the daughter of *Baldwin* of *Neville*, though she had some time before been betrothed to a *Burgundian* lord, who, highly provoked at her for-

His troops defeated by John Ducas, the Greek emperor,

Who recovers several places from the Latins.

Robert dies.

^v Idem, c. 3 — 9.

Baldwin
II.

John, earl
of Brienne,
regent of
the empire.

He defeats
the united
forces of
Azen and
Ducas.

Constanti-
nople be-
sieged.

faking him to marry the emperor, seized on her and her mother, during the prince's absence; and having caused the ambitious mother to be thrown into the sea, ordered the nose, ears and lips of her beautiful daughter to be cut off. The sense of this barbarous outrage sunk so deep into the emperor's mind, that it was thought to have occasioned his death. He was succeeded by Baldwin II. his brother, or, as some writers will have it, his son, who being but eight years old, John of Brienne, formerly king of Jerusalem, and one of the greatest captains of his time, was appointed regent and guardian of the empire during his minority. Some writers reckon him among the Latin emperors of Constantinople, and tell us, that it was agreed among the Latin princes, that he should be honoured with the title of emperor during his life, he being then near eighty years of age; and that upon his death the empire should return to Baldwin, who was to marry Martha, or, as some style her, Mary, the daughter of John, by his second wife Bevangaria, the daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile. Be that as it will, it is certain, that John governed with an absolute and uncontrouled power, and was by all respected and obeyed as emperor. In the beginning of his administration, John Azen, king of Bulgaria, and John Ducas, the Greek emperor, entering into an alliance, fell with their united forces upon the territories of the Latins, and laid close siege to Constantinople itself. But the regent, behaving with a courage and resolution equal to his former reputation, sallied out with no more than two hundred horse and a handful of foot, put the enemy's army, though an hundred thousand strong, to flight; and having obliged them to raise the siege, and pursued them with great slaughter, returned to the metropolis loaded with booty. However, the following year 1236, the confederate princes, depending upon their numbers, appeared anew before the imperial city; but were attended with no better success, being a second time defeated and put to flight. But the enemy receiving daily new supplies, and the Latin army being in time greatly weakened and diminished, partly by sickness, and partly by frequent battles and skirmishes, the regent was at length obliged to shut himself up in the imperial city, having no more men left alive than were necessary to defend the walls. The enemy, well apprised of the state of his affairs, returned once more, and renewed the siege; whereupon John, knowing he could not rely upon the Greeks, who abhorred a foreign yoke, and were intirely devoted to the families at Nice and Trapezond, sent the young emperor Baldwin to solicit succours in person from the western princes. During his absence, the Venetians, arriving with a powerful fleet at Constantinople, obliged the confederate forces

forces of *Azen* and *Vataces* to raise the siege. But *John* of *The siege Brienne* dying soon after, that is, in 1237, the ninth year of ^{raised.} his administration, the loss of so great a man would have proved ^{John of Brienne} fatal to the *Latins*, but for a misunderstanding that arose be- ^{dies.} tween the *Greek* emperor and the king of *Bulgaria*, and was carried to such a height, that the latter having by a stratagem recovered his daughter, whom he had married to the emperor's son, joined the *Latins* against him, and with them laid siege to the city of *Chiorli*. But, in the mean time, news being brought him of the death of his wife *Ann*, daughter to the king of *Hungary*, he dropped that enterprize and returned home, where he soon after married the daughter of *Theodorus Angelus*, the late despot of *Epirus*, whom he had taken prisoner a few years before and deprived of his sight, as we have related above. This alliance produced a great change in the affairs of *Theodorus*; for *Azen* not only set him at liberty, but assisted him in the recovery of his dominions, which had been usurped by his brother *Manuel*. Being thus restored to his former power, he appointed his son to govern in his room, causing him to be acknowledged ^{The despot} as emperor. This gave no small umbrage to *John Vataces*, ^{of Epirus} who pretended to be the sole emperor of the *Greeks*; and there- ^{restored.} fore, upon the death of *Azen*, which happened soon after, he passed over into *Thrace*; and entering into an alliance with the *Scythians*, who had lately settled in *Macedon*, he entered the mock emperor's territories, stripped him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to renounce the title of emperor, and content himself with that of despot. In 1239, the emperor *Vataces Baldwin*, returning from the west, arrived at *Constantinople*, ^{reduces several} and was there crowned by the patriarch in the church of *St. Sophia*. He concluded an alliance with the *Comneni* reigning ^{places in} at *Trapezond*, and, with their assistance, besieged and took the *Thrace*. city of *Chiorli*, which, however, was soon after retaken by *Vataces*, together with the island of *Rhodes*, surprised a few years before by the *Genoese*. *Vataces*, having thus recovered such places as had been by the *Latins* dismembered from his empire, and not only made himself master of the greater part of *Asia*, but extended his conquests in *Europe* almost to the very gates of *Constantinople*, died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, ^{Vataces} being then in the sixty-second year of his age ^{dies.}.

Vataces was succeeded by his son *Theodorus Lascaris*, who, ^{Theodo-} having renewed the antient alliance with the sultan of *Iconium*, ^{rus Lascaris.} passed the *Hellepont* at the head of a powerful army, and made war upon the king of *Bulgaria* and the despot of *Epirus*, who had invaded his dominions in *Macedon* and *Thrace*, with such

† Acrop. in Vat. c. 12—21.

Michael
Palæolo-
gus with-
draws to
the Turks.

success, that they were forced to sue for peace, which he granted them upon his own terms. While he lay at *Theſſalonica*, he received letters from *Nice*, informing him, that *Michael Palæologus*, whom he had left governor of *Asia* during his absence, had secretly withdrawn to the *Turks*, under pretence, that his enemies at court, by misrepresenting his conduct, had rendered him suspected to the emperor, whose displeasure he feared. As *Michael* was an officer of great courage and experience in war, the sultan of *Iconium* received him with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and gave him the command of a body of *Greeks* in the *Turkish* pay, at the head of which he distinguished himself soon after in a battle between the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and would have gained a complete victory, had not the sudden revolt of a chief officer, who was nearly related to the sultan, turned the fortune of the day. The *Turkish* army being almost intirely cut off, the victorious *Tartars*, who had already driven the *Turks* out of *Persia*, and the more eastern provinces, ravaged without controul the countries belonging to them in *Asia*, and reduced the sultan to such straits, that he was forced to fly for refuge to the emperor *Theodorus*, who received him in a very obliging manner, and sent him back with a body of chosen troops, under the command of *Isaac Ducas*, an officer of great reputation, and the emperor's chief favourite. The sultan, in his turn, delivered up to the emperor the city of *Laodicea*. In the mean time, *Theodorus*, unwilling to lose a subject of such extraordinary parts as *Palæologus*, wrote to him a most kind and obliging letter, inviting him home, and promising to receive him anew into favour, and restore him to his former honours and employments. With this invitation *Palæologus* readily complied, and was, upon his return, reinstated in the emperor's favour, after having taken an oath of allegiance to *Theodorus* and his son. The emperor died soon after, having scarce reigned three years complete, leaving his son *John*, then about nine years old, to succeed him. Some time before his death, he took the monastic habit, distributed great sums among the poor, and applied himself with exemplary piety to acts of devotion. On his death-bed, he appointed *Arsenius*, the patriarch, and *George Muzalo* guardians to the young prince. *Muzalo* was a person of a mean descent, but had, by his great fidelity and inviolable attachment to the emperor, deserved to be raised to the highest employments in the state, which he had ever discharged with wonderful integrity, and a character altogether unblemished. However, the nobility, thinking the care and tuition of the young prince belonged of right to them, began to complain

He is re-
called
home.

The empe-
ror dies.

John Laf-
caris.

complain of his conduct, and malign all his measures. Here-upon *Muzalo*, who sincerely desired to retire, and lead a private life, having assembled the nobility, offered to resign the administration to such as they thought the best qualified for the discharge of so great a trust. But they all declining it, he obliged them to renew their allegiance to the emperor, and bind themselves under a solemn oath to obey him, and, during his minority, those whom the deceased emperor judged proper to entrust with the care of his son, and the government of the state. But, notwithstanding this oath, the leading men among the nobility, conspiring against *Muzalo*, on the day appointed for the obsequies of the late emperor, repaired to the abby of *Sofandra*, where he was to be interred; and mixing with the croud, in the midst of the service, fell upon *Muzalo* with their drawn swords, and dispatched him at the very altar, whither he had fled for refuge, with his two brothers *Andronicus* and *Theodorus*, men of distinguished characters. *Muzalo* being thus removed, the conspirators, without any regard to the patriarch, who was a man of learning, but an utter stranger to state-affairs, declared *Michael Palæologus* guardian to the young prince, and protector of the empire. He signalized the beginning of his administration with a signal victory over *Michael Angelus*, despot of *Epirus*, who, taking advantage of the distractions of the state, after the death of *Vataces*, had broken into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, at the head of a numerous army; but was obliged to retire into his own dominions by *John Palæologus*, the protector's brother, after having lost, in a bloody engagement, the flower of his army: When news of this victory was brought to *Magnesia*, where *Palæologus* then resided, he was, by the most powerful among the nobility and the populace, saluted with the title of emperor, which he did not reject. The patriarch threatened at first to cut off from the church both *Palæologus* and his adherents; but the protector binding himself, by a solemn oath, to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he should be of age, the credulous patriarch was prevailed upon to place the crown upon his head. *Palæologus*, thus raised to the empire, dispatched his brother *Constantine* with a considerable army into *Peloponnesus*, which was then held partly by the despot of *Epirus*, and partly by the *Latins*, but soon recovered by *Constantine*. After this, *Michael* passed in person with a numerous army into *Thrace*, having nothing less in view than the reduction of *Constantinople* itself, the dominions of the *Latins* being now so dismembered, that scarce any thing was left to the inactive and slothful *Baldwin* besides the imperial city. However, *Palæologus* apprehending the difficulty and dangers of such an extraordinary undertaking, resolved to put it off to a more

Muzalo,
the young
prince's
governor,
murdered.

Michael
Palæolo-
gus guar-
dian to the
young
prince.

He is
crowned.

*Attempts
the reduc-
tion of Pe-
ra in vain.*

*Alexius
Stratego-
pulus sur-
prises Con-
stantino-
ple, and
expels the
Latins.*

favourable opportunity, and in the mean time to make himself master of the castle of *Pera*, in order to distress the *Latins* more effectually. But, being in several successive assaults repulsed with great loss, he was obliged to give over the enterprize and retire. However, as he was master of the neighbouring country, before his departure, he disposed his troops in such manner, that the city being in some degree blocked up, the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost extremity. In the mean time, *Alexius Angelus*, despot of *Epirus*, attempting, in defiance of a late treaty with *Palæologus*, to recover the places he had lost in *Thessaly* and *Greece*, *Alexius Strategopulus*, a person descended of an illustrious family, and for his eminent services distinguished with the title of *Cæsar*, was sent against him, with orders to try whether he could on his march surprise *Constantinople*. *Alexius*, having passed the straits, encamped at a place called *Rhegium*, where he was informed by the natives, that a strong body of the *Latins* had been sent to the siege of *Daphnusa*; that the garison was in great want of provisions; and that it would be no difficult matter to surprise the city. Hereupon the *Greek* general resolved at all events to attempt it; and being encouraged by some of the inhabitants, who, coming privately to his camp, offered themselves to be his guides, he approached the walls in the dead of the night, which some of his men scaled without being observed; and killing the centries, whom they found asleep, opened one of the gates to the rest of the army, who rushing in, put all they met to the sword; and at the same time, to create more terror, set fire to the city in four different places. The *Latins*, concluding from thence the enemy's forces to be far more numerous than they really were, did not so much as attempt either to drive them out, or to extinguish the flames; but, struck with terror and amazement, suffered themselves to be cut in pieces in the streets or their houses, which were soon filled with blood and slaughter. In this general confusion, the emperor *Baldwin*, quitting the ensigns of majesty, fled with *Justinian*, the *Latin* patriarch, and some of his intimate friends, to the sea-side; and there embarquing on a small vessel, sailed first to *Eubæa*, and from thence to *Venice*, leaving the *Greeks* in possession of the imperial city, after it had been held fifty-eight, or, as some will have it, sixty, years, by the *Latins*. This happened in the year 1261 of the christian æra, the second of the reign of *Michael Palæologus* *. When news of the surprising, and altogether unexpected, success of *Alexius* was first brought to *Palæologus*, residing then at *Nymphæum*, he gave no credit to it; but receiving soon after letters from *Alexius* himself,

* PACHYM. l. i. c. 1—22. & l. ii. c. 27.

with a particular account of so memorable an event, transported with joy, he ordered public thanks to be returned in all the churches with great solemnity, appeared in public in his imperial robes, attended by the nobility in their best apparel, and ordered couriers to be immediately dispatched with the agreeable tidings into all the provinces of the empire. Soon after, the emperor, having settled his affairs at *Nice*, set out for *Constantinople* with the empress, his son *Andronicus*, the senate, and the nobility, to take possession of the imperial city, and fix his residence in the place, which, at first, had been destined for the seat of the western empire. Having passed the straits, he advanced to the *Golden gate*, and continued some days without the walls, while the citizens were busied in making the necessary preparations to receive him with a magnificence suitable to the occasion. On the day appointed, the *Golden gate*, which had been long shut up, was opened, and the emperor entering it, amidst the repeated acclamations of the multitude, marched on foot to the great palace, being preceded by the bishop of *Cyzicus*, carrying the image of the virgin *Mary*, supposed to have been done by *St. Luke*, and followed by all the great officers, the nobility, and the chief citizens, in their most pompous apparel. Public thanks were again returned in the church of *St. Sophia*, at which the emperor assisted in person, with the clergy, the senate, and the nobility. The exercises of piety were succeeded by all sorts of diversions, which lasted several days, the nobility, and chief citizens, striving to excel each other in testifying their joy by banquets and public sports, on such an extraordinary occasion. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor carefully surveyed the imperial city, which allayed in great measure the sense of his present good fortune; for he observed the stately palace of *Blachernæ*, with the other magnificent dwellings of the *Roman* emperors, lying in ruins; the many capacious buildings, that had been erected by his predecessors at an immense charge, destroyed by fire and other unavoidable accidents of war; several streets quite abandoned by the inhabitants, and choaked up with the rubbish of the ruined houses, &c. These objects gave the emperor no small concern, and kindled in him a desire of rebuilding the city, and restoring it to its former lustre. In the mean time, looking upon *Alexius* as the restorer of his country, he caused him to be clad in magnificent robes, placed with his own hand a crown upon his head, ordered him to be conducted through the city, as it were in triumph, decreed that for a whole year his name should in the public prayers be joined to his own, and, to perpetuate the memory of so great and glorious an action, he commanded his statue to be erected on a stately pillar of marble before the church of the apostles.

The emperor removes his court from Nice to Constantinople.

His entry, and public rejoicings.

The Latins
encouraged
to continue
in the city.

Palæolo-
gus puts
out the eyes
of the
young em-
peror, and
causes him-
self to be
acknow-
ledged sole
emperor.

He is in-
volved in
great
troubles.

apostles. His next care was to repeople the city, many *Greek* families having withdrawn from it, while it was held by the *Latins*, to settle elsewhere, and the *Latins* now preparing to return to their respective countries. The former were recalled home; and the latter, in regard of the great trade they carried on, prevailed upon with many valuable privileges not to remove. The *Genoese* were allowed to live in one of the most beautiful quarters of the city, to be governed by their own laws and magistrates, and to trade without paying customs or taxes of any kind. Great privileges were likewise granted to the natives of *Venice* and *Pisa*, which encouraged them to lay aside all thoughts of removing, and carry on a trade, which proved highly beneficial and advantageous to the state. The emperor being soon after informed, that *Baldwin* had married his daughter to *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, and given him by way of dowry the city of *Constantinople*, which that warlike prince was making great preparations to recover, he ordered the *Genoese*, who were become very numerous, and might have done great mischief, if the city had been attacked, to remove first to *Heraclea*, and afterwards to *Galata*, where they continued. As for the *Pisans* and *Venetians*, who were not so numerous and wealthy, they were allowed to continue in the city². The emperor, having thus settled the state, and gained the affections both of the natives and foreigners, began to think of securing to himself and his posterity the sovereignty, which he only held as it were in trust, and was to resign to the young prince as soon as he came of age. Having therefore caused himself to be crowned anew in the imperial city, he soon after ordered the young prince to be deprived of his sight, pretending, that no one but himself had any title to the city or empire of *Constantinople*, which he alone had recovered from the *Latins*. This treason and barbarity involved him in endless troubles and dangers. For *Arsenius*, the patriarch, immediately excommunicated him and all those who had been any-ways accessory to his crime, which occasioned great disturbances in the city. At the same time, *Michael*, despot of *Epirus*, and *Constantine*, king of *Bulgaria*, who had married the young emperor's sisters, breaking into *Thrace*, laid waste that country, destroying all with fire and sword. *Palæologus* marched against them in person; but as he was returning home without performing any thing worthy of notice, he was attacked unexpectedly by the *Bulgarians*, and had unavoidably fallen into their hands, had he not escaped by sea on board a small vessel, which conveyed him safe to *Constantinople*. The troops he had with him were for the most part cut in pieces

² PACHYM. l. ii. c. 27—35.

or taken prisoners; and the *Bulgarians*, being reinforced with twenty thousand *Tartars*, roved about the country without controul, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. The *Venetians*, observing the distracted state of the empire, laid hold of that opportunity to recover the islands in the *Archipelago*, which *Palæologus* had seized after the reduction of *Constantinople*. The *Venetians* were joined by the king of *Sicily* and most of the western princes, who combining against *Palæologus*, would, in all likelihood, have driven him from the throne, had he not engaged pope *Urban IV.* to espouse his cause, by promising to submit himself and his dominions to the *Latin* church, and by that means diverted the storm that threatened him. The pope persuaded *Charles*, count of *Anjou* and king of *Sicily*, to conclude a peace with him; and *Palæologus*, on his side, did all that lay in his power to bring about an union between the two churches, acknowledging by his ambassadors, or in person, *The union* as some will have it, the supremacy of the pope in the famous *of the* council of *Lyons* held in the year 1274. This occasioned great Greek and disturbances at *Constantinople* and throughout the empire, *Jo-* Latin *seph* the patriarch, and with him most of the clergy, openly *churches.* inveighing against these innovations; which provoked *Palæologus* to such a degree, that he caused such as appeared most obstinate to be imprisoned and cruelly racked, and banished the rest with the patriarch *Joseph*, in whose room *Veccus* was chosen. However, not long after, *Simon* of *Bire*, a native of *France*, being, by the interest of *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, chosen pope, on which occasion he took the name of *Martin IV.* he solemnly excommunicated *Michael* for having contributed to the famous massacre of the *French* in *Sicily*, which happened on *Easter-day*, the thirtieth of *March* 1282, and is commonly known by the name of the *Sicilian vespers*. At length the unhappy prince, oppressed with cares, was taken ill as he was marching against the *Turks*, who had broken into the eastern provinces; and, his distemper increasing daily, he was obliged to halt at a place called *Allogium*. There he received the ambassadors of the *Tartars*, whom he had invited to his assistance, and soon after died, having lived fifty-eight years, and *The emper-* reigned twenty-four, wanting one month ^a. He was suc- *ror dies.* ceeded by his son *Andronicus Palæologus*, who, thinking he *Androni-* could not begin his reign by a more popular act than by re- *cus Palæo-* storing the ceremonies of the *Greek* church, and refusing to ac- *logus.* knowledge the supremacy of the pope, annulled whatever his father had done with respect to the union of the two churches. But such as had received the *Latin* ceremonies defending them

^a Idem, l. vi. c. 30. & ultim.

Jealous of
his brother
Constantine.

Alexius
Philanthropenus
revolts;

But is betrayed by
his own
men.

with great obstinacy, and those of the contrary faction, now countenanced by the emperor, returning the evil treatment they had met with in the late reign, the schism was revived, and such animosities raised in the state, as threw the whole empire into a ferment. However, his endeavouring to restore the antient ceremonies disoblighd such only as were addicted to the *Latin* church; but his conduct towards his brother *Constantine* estranged from him the minds of both parties. *Constantine* was the darling of the people; and being sent by the late emperor his father into *Asia*, to defend the frontiers of the empire, he had there in several battles overthrown the *Turks*. His great popularity, and the reputation he had gained by his victories, rendering him suspected to the emperor, he was by his orders seized and thrown into prison, with several other persons of great distinction, amongst whom was *Michael Strategopulus*, son to the celebrated *Alexius*, who had recovered *Constantinople* from the *Latins*. Upon the removal of these two brave officers, the *Turks*, under the conduct of the famous *Othoman*, made themselves masters of several places in *Phrygia*, *Caria*, and *Bithynia*, and among the rest of the city of *Nice*. To put a stop to their conquests, the emperor dispatched into *Asia*, *Philanthropenus* and *Libadarius*, two officers of great reputation and experience in war, appointing the latter governor of the cities of *Ionia*, and committing to the former the defence of the frontiers on the *Meander*. *Philanthropenus* gained several advantages over the *Turks*; but, elated with his success, he assumed the purple, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor, marched against *Libadarius*, who had declared him a public enemy, and set a price upon his head. As the two armies were ready to engage, the *Cretans*, who served under *Philanthropenus*, and had been before-hand gained over by *Libadarius*, seizing their leader, delivered him up to his adversary, who caused his eyes to be put out. In the mean time, the *Turks*, taking advantage of these intestine disturbances, not only extended their dominions in *Asia*, but conquered most of the islands in the *Mediterranean*; and, being masters at sea, infested the coasts of the empire, to the utter ruin of trade and commerce. In this distracted state of affairs, the emperor, distrusting his own subjects, took into his pay ten thousand *Massagetes* or *Alans*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Tartars*, had passed the *Danube*. These being sent over into *Asia*, under the conduct of *Michael*, the emperor's eldest son, whom he had lately declared his colleague in the empire, the *Turks*, at their approach, retired to the mountains; whence soon after they came suddenly down, and falling upon the *Massagetes*, while they lay in their camp, without the least apprehension of danger, put them to flight, in spite of

of all the efforts of the young emperor, who, on that occasion, distinguished himself in a most eminent manner, but was in the end obliged to fly with the rest, and take refuge in the strong castle of *Magnesia*. The *Massagetes*, abandoning him, marched directly to the *Hellepont*, ravaging the countries through which they passed, and thence crossed over into *Europe*. The *Turks*, pursuing them, made themselves masters of all the strong-holds to the sea-side. As for *Michael*, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands, he got in the end safe to *Constantinople*. The emperor, notwithstanding the shameful conduct of the *Massagetes*, reposing still greater trust in strangers than in his own subjects, of whom he was grown jealous since the rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, took into his service a body of *Catalans*, under the command of one *Ronzerius* or *Rouzerius*, who had formerly served in the wars between the kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*; and, having conferred extraordinary honours upon him, sent him with his troops to the relief of *Philadelpia*, then closely besieged by the *Turks*, whom, upon his arrival, he obliged to abandon the enterprize and retire. Upon their retreat, he turned his arms against those whom he was sent to protect; and roving about the country, committed everywhere unheard-of cruelties, subjecting all to the rage and lust of those dissolute vagabonds. Having plundered the few places that were left to the emperor in *Asia*, he returned with his *Catalans* to *Europe*, and leaving the rest at *Callipolis*, went with two hundred chosen men to demand of the young emperor *Michael*, lying then at *Orestias* in *Thrace*, the arrears which he pretended to be due to himself and his men. *Michael*, justly provoked at his late conduct in *Asia*, and now incensed against him on account of his insolent carriage, ordered his guards to fall upon him, who accordingly cut him and most of his men in pieces. Those, who escaped, flying to *Callipolis*, acquainted their countrymen with the death of their general, who thereupon, transported with rage, first put all the citizens to the sword, and then, fortifying themselves in the best manner they could, prepared for a vigorous defence. However, as they distrusted their own strength, they sent for assistance to the *Turks* dwelling over-against them in *Asia*, who immediately conveyed over the straights five hundred chosen men to reinforce them. These were soon followed by others, who joining the *Catalans*, laid waste the neighbouring country; and having, with great expedition, equipped and manned eight galleys, plundered all the merchant-ships in the straights, and would have greatly distressed the imperial city itself, had not their small fleet been encountered and destroyed by the *Genoese*. On this occasion the *Turks* came first into *Europe*; an event which we may deservedly reckon

The emperor's forces defeated by the Turks.

The Catalans revolt.

Their leader is killed by the emperor's orders. They seize on Callipolis.

The Turks first in Europe.

Thrace
ravaged by
the Catal-
ans and
Turks.

one of the most fatal that ever happened to the empire. The young emperor *Michael* marched against the *Catalans* and *Turks*, with a considerable army, consisting of *Greeks*, *Massagetes*, and other auxiliaries; but the auxiliaries withdrawing, as soon as the signal for battle was given, and standing at a small distance as idle spectators, at whose instigation was never known, the *Greeks* were so discouraged, that the emperor could neither by threats or promises stop their flight. He performed in person all that could be expected from an experienced officer and valiant soldier; but not being able to encourage his men, either with his words or example, and his horse being killed under him, he was forced to retire, and make his escape to *Didymothicum*, where his father lay encamped. After this victory the *Catalans* and *Turks* over-ran all *Thrace*, destroying every thing with fire and sword, till finding it impossible for them to subsist longer there, the *Catalans* resolved to invade *Thessaly*; but the *Turks*, desirous of returning home with their booty, separated from them, being then thirteen thousand horse, and eight hundred foot; and bending their march through *Macedon*, acquainted the emperor, that they were ready peaceably to depart, provided he would allow them a safe passage through his dominions, and supply them with ships to transport them into *Asia*. To this the emperor, willing to get rid of such troublesome guests, readily condescended, and accordingly ordered the necessary vessels to be got ready with the utmost expedition. But the *Greek* officers, observing the immense booty with which they were loaded, began to contrive how they should make themselves masters of it, and in the end resolved to fall upon the *Turks* in the night; and by cutting them all off, revenge the injuries they had done to the subjects of the empire, and enrich themselves with the booty. The matter was not managed with such secrecy, but the *Turks* had timely intimation of it. Hereupon, having surprised a strong castle in that neighbourhood, they prepared for a vigorous defence, and at the same time found means to acquaint their countrymen on the other side the straits with the danger that threatened them, who, enticed with the hopes of booty, hastened to their assistance; and crossing the *Hellepont*, ravaged the adjacent country, making excursions to the very gates of *Constantinople*. The emperor, awaked at length by the daily complaints of his people, resolved to root them out; and accordingly marched against them with all his forces, the country-people flocking to him from all parts with their spades, mattocks, and other instruments of husbandry, in order to assist him in the reduction of the castle. The *Turks* were greatly alarmed at their approach, and began to look upon themselves as inevitably lost; but afterwards observing, that the *Greeks*, who had closely besieged

besieged the place, confiding in their strength and numbers, utterly neglected all discipline, they took courage, and sallying out with no more than eight hundred chosen horse, penetrated almost without opposition to the emperor's tent; which struck the undisciplined peasants with such terror, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. Their example was followed by the rest of the army, tho' the emperor, and some of the officers, made several bold stands, hoping thereby to stop the flight of the disheartened multitude; but the cowardly *Greeks* could not by any means be prevailed upon to stand before the enemy, who, after having made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, and taken some of the chief officers prisoners, made themselves masters of the emperor's camp, in which they found a large sum, designed for the payment of the troops, several standards, the imperial crown, enriched with precious stones of an inestimable value, and all the baggage of the army. After this unexpected victory, the *Turks* roved up and down *Thrace* for two years together, without controul; which brought unspeakable calamities upon the inhabitants, confined within their walled towns, without daring to stir out to till their ground. At length *Philes Palæologus*, a person nearly related to the emperor, touched with the calamities of his country, desired leave to march against the enemy, with such officers and soldiers as the emperor should think fit to appoint for that service, not doubting, he said, but with the assistance of Heaven, he should revenge the injuries done to his country, and return in triumph. As *Philes* was an utter stranger to the art of war, but remarkable for his piety and the integrity of his life, the emperor, looking upon him as one chosen by providence for the relief of his oppressed country, readily complied with his request. *Philes's* first care was to establish good discipline among his soldiers, exhorting them to live with temperance and sobriety, encouraging them with frequent donatives, and promising to reward each of them at the end of the war according to his deserts. Having thus modelled his small army according to his desire, he took the field, attended by the prayers and good wishes of the emperor and the whole people. Being informed, soon after his departure from *Constantinople*, that *Chaleb*, the *Turkish* commander, was ravaging the country about *Bizia*, with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, he marched immediately against him; and encamping the third day in a large plain near a little river called *Xerogipsum*, he received at midnight certain intelligence, that the enemy with their booty were at hand. Hereupon having drawn up his men in battle-array, and, with a pathetic speech, encouraged them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, he waited the enemy's arrival, who began to appear at sun-rising.

The emperor's forces defeated by the *Turks*;

Who are
over-
thrown by
Philes Pa-
laologus.

And are
shut up in
the Cher-
sonesus.

They are
all cut in
pieces or
taken.

The *Turks*, not in the least terrified with the surprise, having formed a strong barricade with their waggons, and secured their prisoners, advanced in good order against the imperial troops, who received them with great resolution and intrepidity. *Philes*, having first invoked the divine assistance, charged at the head of the right-wing the enemy's cavalry, who began to give way; but his horse being killed under him, he was obliged to withdraw, which somewhat damped the courage of his men. However, he quickly appeared again at the head of the army; and falling with fresh vigour upon the enemy with the most resolute of his men, put their horse to flight; and, then dismounting, charged their foot at the head of his infantry with such resolution, that the *Turks*, no longer able to withstand them, betook themselves to a precipitous flight. *Philes* pursued them with great slaughter to the entrance into the *Chersonesus*, and there encamped, with a design to cut off their communication with the neighbouring country. The emperor, transported with joy at the news of this victory, dispatched immediately five galleys, which were reinforced with eight more sent by the *Genoese* of *Peræ*, to guard the straits, and prevent their receiving any assistance out of *Asia*. At the same time, *Philes's* army was strengthened with two hundred chosen horse, sent him by *Crales* king of *Servia*, who had married the emperor's daughter. The *Turks* being thus shut up both by sea and land, *Philes* advancing with his forces to the castle they had seized, began to batter it with an incredible number of engines; which did great execution. The *Turks*, now despairing of relief, and weakened by daily skirmishes, resolved to use an utmost effort, and attempt to break through the *Greeks* sword in hand; but finding them, when they first sallied out, upon their guard, and ready to receive them, they returned to their castle; but not so discouraged as not to attempt a few days after to open themselves a way thro' the *Servians*; which attempt proving equally unsuccessful, they began utterly to despair. Having therefore cast away their arms, and taken with them their gold and silver, of which they had great plenty, in the dead of the night they made towards the sea-side with a design to surrender themselves to the *Genoese*, who, they hoped, would shew them more mercy than the *Greeks*, as they had never injured nor provoked them; but the night proving dark, many of them, mistaking the *Greek* for the *Genoese* galleys, fell into the hands of their most implacable enemies, by whom they were cut in pieces without compassion. The rest fared not much better; for the *Genoese* killed such as brought the most money with them, lest in time they should discover it to the *Greeks*, who would have claimed it. The poorer

poorer sort they loaded with chains, sending some of them to the emperor, and keeping the rest for their own slaves ^b. Thus was *Europe* delivered for the present from the *Turks*; but the time is drawing near, when we shall see them, thro' the indolence of the emperors and cowardice of the *Greeks*, firmly established on this side the straits, to the utter ruin of the empire.

THE unhappy emperor was soon after involved in far greater troubles: *Michael*, his eldest son and colleague in the empire, had two sons, *Andronicus* and *Manuel*, of whom the former was greatly beloved by his grandfather *Andronicus*, though a youth of a most untractable temper, debauched, dissolute, and abandoned to all manner of wickedness. Being greatly addicted to women, and suspecting he had some rival in the affections of his favourite mistress, he charged certain ruffians to watch her one night, and dispatch the person that should come to visit her. It unluckily happened, that *Manuel* came that very night, with little or no attendance, to the house, in quest of his brother. The assassins, not knowing him in the dark, mistook him for the prince's rival, and falling upon him, gave him several mortal wounds, of which he died a few days after. When news of his death was brought to the emperor *Michael* his father, the good prince was so affected with it, that he died soon after of grief. The grandfather *Andronicus*, notwithstanding his deep concern for the death of *Manuel*, still continued to cherish and favour *Andronicus*, who, answering his kindness with the utmost ingratitude, contracted an intimate friendship with *Syrgiannes*, *John Cantacuzenus*, *Theodorus Synadenus*, and *Alexius Apocau-cus*, all persons disaffected to the emperor, and ready to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to raise disturbances in the empire. As they were men of uncommon parts and great experience in affairs of state, they soon gained an ascendant over the young prince, and finding him a subject proper for their designs, they inspired him with a thirst after power, and an utter aversion to the aged emperor his grandfather. The court being thus rent into two opposite factions, that of the young prince grew daily more powerful. The emperor did all that lay in his power to reclaim him; but his endeavours proving, to his great grief, unsuccessful, he resolved in the end publicly to reprove him before the patriarch and the chief of the nobility. The prince, receiving timely intimation of his grandfather's design, went, when sent for, to the palace, attended by a great number of his followers and partizans, with arms under their garments,

^b GREGOR. l. iii. c. 13—17. CANTACUZEN. l. iii. PACHYM.
l. ix. c. 10, 11.

ready, if any violence was offered to the young prince, to rush upon the aged emperor with their drawn swords, and, dispatching him, proclaim *Andronicus* emperor in his room. But the emperor, who was passionately fond of him, reprov'd the youth in so tender and affectionate a manner, that, bursting into tears, he fell at his grandfather's feet, and promised an intire submission for the future. The grandfather, on his side, embracing him with paternal affection, promised to appoint him his heir, and name him for his successor in the empire. Thus they parted, thoroughly reconciled; but this reconciliation was short-lived: for the prince, returning to his favourite counsellors and companions, soon fell from the resolution he had taken, and began to entertain the same ambitious thoughts he had done before. Hereupon the emperor, perceiving he was become irreclaimable, resolved to secure him, and by that means prevent the disturbances, in which he foresaw the state would be otherwise unavoidably involved. This resolution was communicated by the emperor to *Gerasimus* the patriarch, and by him scandalously betrayed to the prince, who thereupon fled with his accomplices and partizans the very night he was to have been apprehended, and escaped to *Adrianople*. The emperor, upon the first notice of his flight, caused him to be declared a public enemy, proscribed all his adherents, and obliged the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, whose fidelity he suspected, to renew their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the prince, arriving at *Adrianople*, was there acknowledged for emperor by *Syrgiannes*, *Cantacuzenus*, and the other officers, who commanded the troops quartered in *Thrace*; so that, finding himself in a few days at the head of a considerable army, he detached a strong body of horse and foot to attempt, under the conduct of *Syrgiannes*, *Constantinople* itself, before the citizens could put themselves in a posture of defence. The emperor, alarmed at their approach, dispatched *Theoleptus*, bishop of *Philadelphia*, with other persons of distinction, to the young prince, then encamped at *Orestias*, with proposals for an accommodation; which, after a warm and long debate, was concluded on the following terms; that the empire should be divided, and the prince have *Thrace*, from *Christopolis* to *Rhegium*, and the suburbs of *Constantinople*, for his share; that his followers should enjoy, without molestation, the lands and honours he had conferred upon them; and that, on the other hand, the emperor should retain *Constantinople*, with all the cities and islands in the east, and in the west, the whole country lying between *Christopolis* and *Dyrrhachium*. In the mean time, the *Turks*, taking advantage of these intestine broils, enlarged their dominions in *Asia*, and reduced most places on the *Meander*, and among

The young
prince
makes his
escape,

And openly
revolts.

The emper-
or obliged
to divide
the empire
with him.

the rest the strong and important city of *Prusa* in *Bithynia*. *Othoman* had some years before attempted to take it by storm; but being repulsed with great loss, he had built two strong castles at a small distance from the city, and left in them numerous garisons, under the command of two of his best generals, *Aetmur* and *Balabanzuch*, who, by cutting off all communication between the place and the neighbouring country, reduced the inhabitants and the garison to such straits, that great numbers of them dying for want of necessaries, the rest, despairing of relief, were in the end obliged to capitulate, and submit to *Orchanes*, the son of *Othoman*, who was then indisposed, on the following terms; that the inhabitants and garison should be allowed to retire unmolested whither they pleased, and to take with them all the effects they could carry on their backs. These two articles were faithfully observed by *Orchanes*, who, entering *Prusa*, took possession of that important place in the year 1327, and, upon the death of his father *Othoman*, chose it for the seat of the *Turkish* empire. To return to *Andronicus*: the agreement between him and his grandson was but short-lived; for *Syrgiannes*, who had first advised the young prince to revolt, not thinking his services sufficiently rewarded, wrote letters full of submission to the emperor, and, upon promise of impunity, withdrew privately from the army in *Thrace*, and repaired to *Constantinople*, where he incensed the emperor against his grandson to such a degree, that the war was renewed on both sides. *Constantine*, the emperor's son, was sent with a considerable army to *Theffalonica*, to take upon him there the government of *Macedon*, and to invade from thence the territories lately yielded to the prince, while *Syrgiannes*, at the head of a body of *Turks*, who had entered into the emperor's service, reduced that part of *Thrace*, which lay next to *Constantinople*. Against *Syrgiannes* the prince dispatched *Synadenus*, an officer of great reputation in war; but marched in person against his uncle *Constantine*, being highly provoked against him for having seized on his mother *Xene*, and sent her prisoner to *Constantinople*. *Constantine* gained several advantages over him; which reduced him to great straits: but the prince having caused a report to be spread abroad, that his grandfather was dead, *Constantine* was so alarmed at that unexpected news, to which he gave intire credit, that he retired in the utmost consternation to *Theffalonica*. He had not been long in that city, when he was informed, that the emperor was alive; and soon after received letters from him, with orders to apprehend twenty-five of the chief citizens, suspected of maintaining a private correspondence with the prince, and send them in chains to *Constantinople*. The letters were delivered to *Constantine* with the utmost secrecy; but the

Prusa taken by the Turks.

The emperor and his grandson fall out anew.

And come to an open rupture.

citizens

citizens nevertheless, receiving timely intimation of the danger that threatened them, stirred up the populace; who, seizing on *Constantine*, delivered him up to his nephew, by whom he was kept closely confined as long as he lived. At the same time the *Turks* under *Syrgiannes*, quitting the emperor's service, retired home; which obliged that general to return in great haste to *Constantinople*. Upon his retreat, *Synadenus* reduced several places in *Thrace*, and threatened with a siege the imperial city itself; which so alarmed the emperor, that he released *Xene*, and sent her to her son, then encamped at *Rhégium*, with proposals for an accommodation; which were readily embraced by the prince, the emperor promising to take him for his colleague in the empire, and to cause him to be solemnly crowned, with his wife *Ann* of *Savoy*, whom he had lately married upon the death of *Irene* his first wife. The ceremony was accordingly performed in the church of *St. Sophia* with the utmost magnificence; but the prince, prompted by his ambition, and impatient of a colleague, resolved soon after to remove his aged grandfather, that he might reign without controul. With this view he entered into an alliance with *Michael* prince of *Bulgaria*, his brother-in-law, who was to make a diversion in *Servia*, if the prince of that country should move, as it was suspected he would do, to the assistance of the emperor. After this, the prince, withdrawing privately from *Constantinople*, seized on the public revenue in *Thrace*; of which the emperor receiving intelligence, refused to admit him on his return into the imperial city, ordering at the same time his lieutenants in *Macedon* and the neighbouring provinces to act against him, as a public enemy. The prince, in the mean time, by pretending a great readiness to comply in any thing reasonable with the emperor, gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that they could scarce be restrained in *Constantinople* itself, from openly declaring in his favour. Hereupon the emperor, to estrange from him the minds of the multitude, having summoned the patriarch and the chief of the clergy, ordered them to declare him unworthy of the empire, and exclude him from the communion of the faithful. To this most of them consented, and agreed that his name should be omitted in the public prayers of the church; but the patriarch and some others, who privately favoured him, summoning the people together, pronounced sentence of excommunication against such as should presume to omit the name of the young prince in their public prayers; which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he caused the patriarch to be deposed, and confined him to the monastery of *Mangana*. The prince, who was then at *Rhégium*, being informed of what had passed in the metropolis, approached it

The peace
renewed.

They disa-
gree again.

it with thirteen hundred chosen men, and leaving his army at some distance, rode up with *Cantacuzenus* and a guard of thirty soldiers, to one of the gates, desiring to be admitted, and allowed to confer with his grandfather. The emperor, acquainted with his demand by *Phocas Maroles*, who commanded the guards on the walls, sent him by the same officer orders to retire forthwith, without attempting to debauch his subjects, on pain of being treated as a public enemy; nay, some reviled him from the walls with most bitter language: upon which the young prince, after having solemnly declared, that he desired nothing so much as to be reconciled to his grandfather, whom he charged with all the calamities that were to follow, retired to *Selybria*, and from thence into *Macedon*, where he took, almost without opposition, several castles and strong-holds; and then marched to *Theffalonica*, being invited thither by his friends, who, at his approach, opened the gates to him, and joined him in reducing the citadel, which made a vigorous resistance, but was in the end obliged to submit, the prince having surpris'd and cut off a body of three hundred chosen men, sent by the emperor to reinforce the garison. The emperor, alarmed at the progress of his grandson's arms, applied to the king of *Bulgaria* for assistance, who immediately dispatched a considerable body of forces to his relief; but the prince, having in the mean time defeated the emperor's army on the banks of the *Melanes*, advanced with long marches to *Constantinople*. However, three thousand *Bulgarian* horse reached the imperial city before him, to the great joy of the emperor, who nevertheless, distrusting foreign troops, from whom the empire had already suffered unspeakable calamities, admitted only their commander in chief and a small number of officers into the city, assigning to the rest quarters in the suburbs. As this gave the prince, who arrived soon after, an opportunity of conferring with them, he, by rich presents to their generals, prevailed upon them to return to their own country. The *Bulgarians* being thus removed, the prince prepared for the siege of *Constantinople*; but in the mean time, two of the soldiers, who were appointed to guard the walls, coming to the prince in the dead of the night, offered to betray the city into his hands; and accordingly, being encouraged by him with the promise of a reward answerable to that important service, they returned into the city undiscovered; and the following night, while the rest of the guard were intoxicated with wine, with which they had supplied them in great plenty, they drew up by ladders of ropes about eighteen men, who, breaking open that which was called the *Roman* gate, opened an entrance for the young prince and his whole army. When day appeared, the inhabitants were so far from making any op-

*The prince
seizes on
several
places in
Macedon.*

The city of
Constanti-
nople be-
trayed to
him.

His conduct
towards
the old em-
peror.

Who is de-
prived of
all power.

Androni-
cus III.

His wars
with the
Bulga-
rians.

position, that, on the contrary, with loud acclamations they saluted young *Andronicus* emperor. *Gregoras*, tho' greatly biassed in favour of the old emperor, and not a little prejudiced against young *Andronicus*, tells us, that the prince, ascribing the success that had attended his arms ever since the beginning of the war to Heaven, upon his entering the city, issued orders, forbidding on pain of death any of his officers or soldiers to offer the least affront or injury to the emperor his grandfather. The same writer adds, that he went immediately to wait on the emperor in person, and was so affected with the speech, which the unfortunate prince made him, that falling at his feet, he tenderly embraced, and, with words full of duty and respect, endeavoured to comfort the emperor in his greatest distress. After this, he returned solemn thanks to Heaven, for having thus put an end to the war almost without bloodshed; and then, repairing to the monastery of *Mangana*, he reconducted the patriarch in a kind of triumph to his church, and restored him to his former dignity^d. Young *Andronicus*, now master of the imperial city, and universally acknowledged and obeyed as emperor, suffered his grandfather to continue in the palace, and wear the ensigns of majesty; but would not allow him the least share in the administration, which he took intirely into his own hands, governing with an absolute sway, without so much as consulting the aged emperor in what related to public affairs. He allowed him yearly twenty-four thousand pieces of gold for his maintenance, and the imperial palace for his habitation, while he himself resided in that of the despot *Demetrius*. He granted a general pardon to all those who had adhered to his grandfather, and even preferred some of his chief favourites to the first employments in the state^e.

In the very beginning of his reign, the king of *Bulgaria*, entering *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army, consisting partly of *Bulgarians*, and partly of *Scythians*, plundered several cities, and laid waste the whole country. *Andronicus*, having with incredible expedition drawn together a considerable army, appeared unexpectedly at *Byzium*, in the neighbourhood of which city the king of *Bulgaria* lay encamped. His sudden arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that the following night they decamped, and fled back into their own country, leaving behind them great part of the booty. *Andronicus* pursued them, and carrying the war into *Bulgaria*, ravaged the country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, till the king, not daring to venture an engagement, tho' at the head of

^d GREGOR. l. iv. CANTACUZEN. l. i. c. 50—59. ONUPH. & GENEB. in chron. ^e CANTACUZEN. l. ii. c. 1.

a very powerful and numerous army, sent embassadors to sue for a peace; which, after several conferences, was concluded upon terms highly honourable to *Andronicus*. After this, the two princes had an interview on horseback, when they confirmed the treaty, and renewed their antient friendship, which they agreed to cultivate by meeting yearly in such places as should be most convenient for both^f. The emperor, having nothing to fear from that quarter, turned his arms against the *Turks*, who, taking advantage of the domestic quarrels among the *Greek* princes, had greatly enlarged their dominions in *Asia*. *Othoman*, whom we may justly style the founder of the *Turkish* empire, being lately dead, the emperor laid hold of that opportunity to recover several places, which that warlike prince had reduced, and among the rest the famous city of *Nice*, with a strong castle on the *Sangarius*, which commanded the passes leading into *Bithynia*. This castle, however, was soon after retaken by *Urchan* or *Orchanes*, son and successor of *Othoman*, who, having happily settled his affairs at home, raised a formidable army, and entering *Bithynia* as soon as the emperor had left that country, made himself master of several places there, and at last sat down before *Nice*. The emperor, who was then at *Constantinople*, leaving the imperial city, hastened back into *Asia*; and advancing as far as *Philocrene*, encamped there at a small distance from the *Turks*; who, after having harrassed his men with frequent skirmishes, and sudden onsets, fell upon him at length with their whole army. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which both sides behaved with great bravery and resolution; but in the end the emperor being wounded in the foot with an arrow and obliged to withdraw, his troops, no longer animated with his example, retired in the utmost confusion to their camp. As the emperor had removed to *Philocrene*, to have his wound dressed there, a report was spread in the camp, that he was killed; which so disheartened his men, that they betook themselves to a precipitous flight, leaving their camp, arms, and baggage, to the enemy, who, after having pursued them for some time with great slaughter, seized on the rich booty which they had left, and amongst other things, on all the emperor's plate and furniture. *Andronicus*, quite dispirited at this misfortune, returned to *Constantinople*, while the *Turks*, having now no enemy to controul them, made themselves masters of all the maritime towns in *Bithynia*, and in the end of *Nice* itself, by the following stratagem: *Andronicus*, in leaving *Asia*, had promised to reinforce the garison of *Nice* with a thousand horse. *Orchanes*

He recovers Nice and other places from the Turks,

By whom he is in the end defeated.

The Turks recover Nice.

^f Idem, l. ii. c. 2, 3.

And take
Abydus
and Nico-
media.

Androni-
cus the el-
der confined
to a mona-
stery,
where he
dies.

being informed of this, armed the like number of his own men after the *Roman* manner, and marching with them in person through by-ways into the road leading from *Constantinople*, dispatched three hundred more, armed like *Turks*, to ravage the country within view of the city. As he approached the place, he pretended all on a sudden to have discovered the enemy; and leading his men against the foragers, put them to flight, and recovered the booty. As this was done in the sight of the citizens, who from the walls beheld the whole, the pretended *Romans* were received with great joy by the inhabitants; but the gates were no sooner opened, than they fell sword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three hundred, who were returned from their pretended flight, they cut the garison in pieces, and made themselves masters of the city. After this, *Orchanes*, leading his men to the sea-side, laid siege to *Abydus*; which was betrayed to him by the governor's daughter, while his two sons, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, reduced several other important places in *Asia*, and among the rest the antient city of *Nicomedia*. As the emperor was at this time seized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was despaired of, the court was in too great a confusion to think of the proper measures for putting a stop to the conquests of the *Turks* in *Asia*. Such as had been instrumental in the late revolution could not reflect, without dread and horror, on the condition to which they much inevitably be reduced, if the young emperor should die, and his grandfather be restored to his power and authority. This consideration prompted *Cantacuzenus* and some others, if *Gregoras* is to be credited, to resolve on the old emperor's death; but this resolution being generally disapproved, they all agreed at last to confine him to a monastery, and force him to take the monastic habit, and exchange the name of *Andronicus* for that of *Antony*; which was done accordingly. Thus *Gregoras* ³. But *Cantacuzenus* tells us, that the old emperor, apprehending a more severe usage from his enemies, if his grandson should die, retired to a monastery of his own accord, and, taking the monastic habit, continued there unmolested to his death, which happened two years after, that is, in 1332, he being then in the seventy-second year of his age ⁴. Young *Andronicus* intended, during his malady, to restore the crown to his grandfather; but, upon his recovery, he suffered him to continue in the monastery, retaining the whole power to himself. In the mean time, the *Turks* pursued their conquests in *Asia*, and threatened *Europe* itself with an invasion. As the emperor was no-ways in a condition to oppose so powerful and formidable an

³ GREG. I. X. C. 10.

⁴ CANTACUZ. I. II. C. 28.

enemy,

enemy, he was persuaded by *Cantacuzenus* to conclude a dishonourable peace with them, in virtue of which they were to hold all the places and countries they had conquered in *Asia*, and suffer the *Romans* peaceably to enjoy what they had not yet wrested from them. Not long after the inhabitants of *Thessaly* revolting, the emperor marched against them in person; but while he was employed in reducing them, the *Turks*, who observed the peace no longer than it suited their interest, passed over into *Europe*; and having ravaged the sea-coast, repassed the straits with an immense booty, and a great number of captives. *Andronicus* Andronicus the younger died soon after, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the thirteenth of his reign, reckoning from the time he deposed his grandfather, and 1341, of the christian æra. *Cantacuzenus*, in the history dies. he has left us, endeavours to justify his conduct towards his grandfather. Tho' the old emperor designed, as that writer pretends, to have excluded him from the succession, it was no more than the debauched life he then led well deserved. *Gregoras*, on the other hand, lays the whole blame on young *Andronicus*, and will not allow that the old emperor gave his grandson the least provocation. All the disorders in the state were owing, according to him, to the unbounded ambition of the youth, and the evil counsels of *Cantacuzenus* and his other favourites. But, after all, we cannot help concluding, that if the grandfather was to blame, the grandson was altogether inexcusable. *Andronicus* the younger left two sons, *John* and *Manuel*, of whom the eldest was, upon his father's death, declared emperor; but as he was then only nine years old, *John Cantacuzenus* was appointed his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. *Cantacuzenus* governed with great equity and moderation, took particular care of the education of the young prince and his brother, provided, as far as the weak condition of the empire would allow him, for the security of the provinces; and in short omitted nothing that could be expected from a faithful, zealous, and disinterested, minister. But as he had been declared guardian to the young prince against the will and approbation of *John* the patriarch, who thought that office belonged to him, and claimed a share in the administration, the ambitious prelate did all that lay in his power to render him suspected to the empress *Anne*, representing him as one who had nothing less in view than the imperial dignity. As the patriarch was in great credit with the empress, *Cantacuzenus*, apprehending he might in the end gain the ascendant over her to his utter ruin, was for resigning his charge, and earnestly pressed the empress for leave to retire; but she refusing to comply with his request, and assuring him, that she was fully convinced of his integrity, and consequently determined to shut her ears against the unjust calumnies and malicious informations

John Palæologus.

The patriarch an enemy to Cantacuzenus, the young prince's guardian.

Cantacuzenus declared a public enemy.

He assumes the purple.

informations of his enemies, he was prevailed upon to continue in the administration. However, the patriarch, and his faction at court, which was very powerful, by continually alarming the princess with the dangers she was to apprehend from the protector, and misconstruing all his actions, prevailed upon her at length to take such measures, as involved the empire in a civil war; for, giving intire credit to the malicious insinuations of the patriarch, who conjured her with tears in his eyes to provide for her own safety and that of her children, against the wicked designs of the protector, she began to look upon him as an enemy to herself and her family; and having caused some of his friends and relations to be apprehended, while he was absent at *Didymothicum*, she sent him orders to resign his office forthwith, and retire to a private life; which he refusing to do, till he had an opportunity of justifying his conduct, and convincing the world of his innocency, the empress, at the instigation of the patriarch, declared him a public enemy and traitor. *Cantacuzenus*, now apprised, that his enemies aimed at nothing less than his utter destruction, thought it high time to provide for his own safety. Being then at the head of a powerful army, which he had raised to oppose the *Servians*, who, upon the emperor's death, had broken into the empire, and having with him several persons of the greatest authority in the empire, who all advised him to assume the purple, as the only means of defeating the designs of his enemies, he hearkened to their advice, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor at *Didymothicum* in 1342, the second year of his administration. When news of his revolt was brought to *Constantinople*, his mother and the rest of his friends and relations in the city were immediately apprehended, and thrown into prison, his estate was confiscated, and troops levied to suppress the rebellion in its birth. Thus *Cantacuzenus* himself in his history¹; and with him most other historians agree, laying the whole blame on the patriarch and his faction, who, in a manner, forced the persecuted minister to take arms in his own defence. Having thus assumed the purple, he acquainted the nobility and soldiery in a long speech with the motives that had prompted him to take that step, which, he said, the malice of his enemies had rendered necessary. He then gave leave to all those, whose friends and relations were at *Constantinople*, to depart, lest, by continuing with him, they should occasion the ruin of their innocent friends. The rest of the army declaring themselves ready to stand by him to the last, he advanced to *Adrianople*, the inhabitants of which city had seized on all those whom they suspected to favour him, and

¹ CANTACUZ. l. ii. c. 1—27.

sent them in chains to *Constantinople*. On his march he was informed, that a numerous body of *Bulgarians* were advancing to join the imperial troops, and fall upon him with their united forces. This obliged him to lay aside the design he had formed against *Adrianople*, and retire to the sea-side, that he might with more ease receive supplies from the *Turks* in *Asia*, with whom he had entered into an alliance, upon his first assuming the imperial dignity. Tho' they offered him large supplies, yet he did not think fit to accept them, till he had tried all possible means of bringing about an accommodation. With this view he wrote to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the messenger who brought the letters was seized, and thrown into prison, *Cantacuzenus* was declared anew a public enemy, and such of his relations, as had not the good luck to make their escape, were treated with the utmost cruelty. His mother was delivered up to *Apocaucus*, his most inveterate enemy, who treated her with the utmost barbarity, telling her sometimes, that her son was taken prisoner; at others, that he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to *Constantinople*. Her concern and the cruel usage she met with, having thrown her into a violent fever, *Apocaucus* would suffer no physician to attend her, till the empress, hearing the danger she was in, and pitying her condition, recommended her to her own physicians, who nevertheless were not admitted by the patriarch and *Apocaucus* to visit her, till they had solemnly sworn not to administer any remedy to her that might relieve her. Being thus destitute of all help, and daily insulted by her enemies, she died soon after, to the great grief of the empress, who, being informed of the unspeakable miseries she had undergone, and on that account highly provoked against the patriarch and *Apocaucus*, obliged them to send deputies to *Cantacuzenus* with overtures for an accommodation; but the deputies, who were their creatures, returning, told the empress, that *Cantacuzenus* would hearken to no terms; that he was obstinately bent upon war; and determined not to lay down his arms, till he had accomplished the ruin of her two sons and the whole imperial family. A war being therefore resolved on, *Andronicus* and *Thomas Palæologi* were appointed to command the land-forces, which were to march into *Thrace*, of which country most cities had declared for *Cantacuzenus*. At the same time a fleet, consisting of sixty galleys, was equipped, to prevent the *Turks* from supplying the enemy with men or provisions. Of this fleet *Apocaucus* took upon himself the command; and having driven back the *Turks*, attempting to cross the straits and succour their ally, reduced *Cantacuzenus*, who was at the same time warmly pressed by the land-forces under the conduct of the two above-

His enemies attempt to poison him.

He is received into Constantinople.

above-mentioned *Palæologi*, to such straits, that he was forced to quit *Thrace*, and take refuge in the dominions of *Crales*, prince of *Mæsia*, who received him with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection, and sent him back at the head of a powerful army, with which he gained several considerable advantages over the emperor's forces, and made himself master of the greater part of *Thrace*. Hereupon his enemies, finding they could not suppress him by force, had recourse to treachery, and, with mighty promises, prevailed upon one *Monomachus* to try whether he could dispatch him with poison. Accordingly *Monomachus*, repairing to his camp at *Selybria*, the better to compass his wicked purpose, owned the errand on which he was come; but pretending to be touched with remorse, he fell down at his feet, and delivered to him the poison, which he was to have administered. *Cantacuzenus* received him in a most obliging manner, loaded him with presents, and taking him into his favour, reposed so great a trust in him, that the traitor would have soon found an opportunity of putting his design in execution, without incurring the least suspicion, had not *Cantacuzenus* been privately warned by his friends at *Constantinople* to be upon his guard. In the mean time, *Cantacuzenus*, having made himself master of all *Macedon* and *Thrace*, approached the imperial city, with a design to reduce it, either by force or famine; but he had not been long before it, when several citizens, apprehending the calamities attending a long siege, resolved to prevent them, by admitting him privately into the city. Accordingly, having first acquainted him with their design, they fell in the night upon the guards, and making themselves masters of one of the gates, admitted him and his whole army, saluting him, as he entered, with the title of emperor. They were joined by the generality of the people, who, flocking from all quarters of the city, attended him with loud shouts to the forum. As for the empress, she continued in the palace, which she seemed determined to defend to the last extremity, having a considerable body of troops at her devotion; but the young emperor earnestly intreating her not to expose both herself and him to the fury of the incensed multitude, she was in the end prevailed upon to hearken to an accommodation; which was happily brought about upon the following terms, viz. that *Cantacuzenus* should be declared colleague to the young prince, and have the sole administration of affairs for the space of ten years, *Palæologus* being then but fifteen; that afterwards they should both reign with equal power and authority; and that an act of oblivion should pass on both sides. This agreement being signed and sworn to by *Cantacuzenus*, *Palæologus*, and the empress *Anne*, on the eighth of *February* 1347, the new emperor was received the

the same day into the palace, and soon after crowned with the *And*
usual solemnity by *Isidore*, the new patriarch of *Constantinople*, crowned
John his predecessor being deposed, and sent into banishment. *emperor.*

That the union between the two princes might be better settled
and more lasting, *Cantacuzenus* gave his daughter *Helenä* in
marriage to young *Palæologus*, and caused her to be likewise
crowned, and acknowledged empress by the nobility and peo-
ple^k. As *Cantacuzenus* had been powerfully assisted by *Or-*
chanes the *Turkish* sultan, who had even married his daughter,
he could not help entertaining a friendly correspondence with
that prince; which gave great offence to the clergy and some
zealous christians, who, by exclaiming against so strict an alli-
ance and intimacy between a christian and a *Mohammedän*
prince, estranged by degrees the minds of the multitude from
Cantacuzenus; which proved very prejudicial to his affairs.

However, he governed the empire for the space of ten years *He governs*
with such equity and moderation, that even his most inveterate *with great*
enemies could lay nothing to his charge. In the sixth year of his *equity and*
administration, the *Genoese* of *Galata*, who were become very *modera-*
powerful, provoked at the emperor's refusing them leave to in- *tion.*
large their city, set fire to several buildings in the suburbs of
Constantinople, seized on all the emperor's ships then riding in
the harbour, and made open war on the empire, in which they
gained several advantages at sea, and made themselves masters
of some islands in the *Archipelago*, which the emperor was
obliged to yield to them. When *Palæologus* came to govern
jointly with him, *Crales* king of the *Servians*, highly provoked
against *Cantacuzenus*, for having obliged him to restore some
cities, which he had seized during the late troubles, gained over
with rich presents several persons of distinction, who, by insi-
nuating to the young emperor, that *Cantacuzenus* designed to
confine him to a monastery, to usurp the whole power, and
transmit the sovereignty to his posterity, raised a diffidence be-
tween the two princes, which soon after broke out into an open *A war*
war, *Palæologus* being on one hand assisted by *Crales* king of *breaks out*
Servia and *Alexander* prince of *Bulgaria*; and *Cantacuzenus* on *between*
the other by *Orchanes* the *Turkish* sultan. In a battle which *the two*
was fought in *Thrace*, the young emperor's army was utterly *princes.*
defeated, and he himself obliged to take refuge in *Constantinople*,
all the other cities in *Thrace* having opened their gates to the
conqueror. However, not long after, a peace was concluded
between the two princes; which was no sooner signed, than *Cantacu-*
Cantacuzenus, divesting himself, by a voluntary resignation, of *zenus re-*
all his power, retired to the monastery of *Mangana*, and there *signs, and*
takes the
monastic
habit.

^k CANTACUZEN. l. iii. c. 90—100. & l. iv. c. 1, 2.

took the monastic habit. But his son *Matthew*, whom he had some time before declared emperor, pursued the war, and seized on several cities in *Thrace*, and among the rest on *Adrianople*. Against him *Palæologus* marched in person; and having utterly defeated his army, tho' reinforced before the battle with five thousand *Turks* sent by *Orchanes*, obliged him to quit the field, and take refuge in one of his strong-holds; whence while he was making his escape at the approach of the emperor's army, he was seized by one *Boienas*, and delivered up to *Palæologus*, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the empire, restored him to his liberty¹.

The Turks
first settled
in Europe.

They take
Adriano-
ple.

DURING these civil commotions, the *Turks*, under the conduct of *Solyman*, the son, or, as others will have it, the brother, of *Orchanes*, passed the *Hellepont*, and having seized on a strong castle called *Coiridocustron*, marched from thence against *Gallipolis*, which *Solyman* took, after having defeated the governor of the place, who came out with the garison to offer him battle. Thus the *Turks*, after having reduced all *Asia*, first settled in *Europe*, where they have continued ever since. This happened in the year 1357. *Orchanes* dying soon after, *Amurath* his son and successor pursued the conquests, which *Solyman* had begun; and having made himself master of several strong-holds in *Thrace*, laid siege at length to *Adrianople*, which was forced to submit, the emperor not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy. *Amurath*, having in a short time mastered all *Thrace*, made *Adrianople* the seat of his empire in *Europe*, as the most proper place for the enlarging his dominions, and extending his conquests to *Greece* and the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, *Andronicus*, the emperor's eldest son, having conspired against his father, was by his orders deprived of his sight, and kept under close confinement. *Ducas* the historian tells us, that *Andronicus* and *Cuntuzes*, *Amurath's* youngest son, having contracted an intimate friendship, conspired the death of their fathers, binding themselves by mutual oaths to live in amity and friendship, when the one should be emperor, and the other sultan. The same writer adds, that the conspiracy being discovered to *Amurath*, he ordered his own son's eyes to be pulled out, and required the emperor to inflict the same punishment on his son, threatening him with a war, if he refused to comply. The emperor, dreading the power of the sultan, caused the eyes both of his son and grandson, who was yet an infant, to be pulled out, declaring at the same time his second son *Manuel* his colleague in the empire. *Andronicus*, however, after two years confinement, made

¹ Idem, c. 32—49.

his escape, being favoured therein by the *Genoese* of *Galata*, with whose assistance he made war upon his father; and being admitted into *Constantinople*, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; and having got his father and two brothers, *Manuel* and *Theodorus*, into his power, he confined them to the same prison in which he had been detained; but they having likewise, after two years, made their escape, *Andronicus*, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while the *Turks* were ready to fall upon the few countries that were still left to the empire, restored his father and brother to the throne, who thereupon gave him *Selymbria*, and several other places in that neighbourhood^m. In the mean time, *Amurath*, the *Turkish* sultan, being treacherously slain, his son *Bajazet* succeeded him in his dominions; and pursuing the conquests which had been so successfully carried on by his predecessors in *Europe*, made himself master of *Theffaly*, *Macedon*, *Phocis*, *Peloponnesus*, *Myfia*, and *Bulgaria*, driving out the despots, or petty princes, who held those countries. Elated with his frequent victories, he began to look upon the *Greek* emperor, to whom nothing was now left but *Constantinople* and the neighbouring country, as his vassal, and accordingly sent him an arrogant and haughty message, requiring, or rather commanding, him to pay him a yearly tribute, and send him his son *Manuel* to attend him in his military expeditions. With this dishonourable demand the emperor was obliged to comply, being no-ways in a condition to oppose so powerful and formidable an enemy. The unhappy prince died soon after, that is, in 1392, the thirty-seventh of his reign, leaving no son behind him but *Manuel*, the other two, *Andronicus* and *Theodore*, being dead some time before. *Manuel*, who was then in *Bajazet's* court, hearing of his father's death, hastened to *Constantinople*, without taking his leave of the sultan, or acquainting him with the motives of his sudden departure; which *Bajazet* highly resenting, punished the officers, who had suffered him to escape, with the utmost severity; and passing with great expedition out of *Bithynia*, where he then was, into *Thrace*, destroyed with fire and sword the country adjoining to *Constantinople*, and, after having reduced the neighbouring towns, invested the imperial city itself both by sea and land. In this extremity *Manuel* had recourse to the western princes, who having raised an army 130,000 strong, sent it to his relief, under the conduct of *Sigismund* king of *Hungary* and *John* count of *Nevers*. The western troops were at first attended with good success; for entering the countries lately subdued by the sultan, they recovered *Widin*, and several other places of great importance in *Bulga-*

The emperor driven from the throne by his son, and restored.

Bajazet's conquests in Europe.

John Palæologus dies.

Manuel.

Bajazet besieges Constantinople.

^m DUCAS, c. 12.

Defeats an
army of
130,000
christians.

ria, and invested *Nicopolis*. Hereupon *Bajazet*, raising the siege of *Constantinople*, marched, with all the forces he could assemble, to relieve the place. Upon his approach, *Sigismund*, leaving part of the army to pursue the siege, marched with the rest to meet the enemy. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides, and the victory continued long doubtful. At length, the *French* cavalry having dismounted to fight on foot, the rest of the army observing the horses without their riders, and concluding from thence they were all cut in pieces, began to give ground, and retire to their camp. This gave new courage and vigour to the enemy, who making an utmost effort, and charging the christians in their retreat with incredible fury, broke their ranks, and obliged them to fly in great confusion. The *Turks* pursued them to their camp, which they took with all their baggage, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom was the count of *Nevers*, and three hundred officers of distinction, who were all, except the count himself and five more, put to death in *Bajazet's* presence, after having been insulted by him in a most outrageous manner. As for *Sigismund*, he had the good luck to make his escape, and crossing the *Danube* in a small boat, to get safe to his own dominions. This memorable battle, in which 20,000 christians were slain, and a far greater number taken prisoners, was fought in the second year of *Manuel's* reign, and 1393 of the christian æraⁿ. After this victory, *Bajazet* returned to the siege of *Constantinople*; but finding the citizens determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, he applied to *John* the son of *Andronicus*, to whom, as we have observed above, the emperor had yielded the town of *Selymbria*. With him he entered into a private agreement, in virtue of which *Bajazet* was to place him upon the throne, to which he had a just claim, as being the son of *Manuel's* elder brother. On the other hand, *John* was to yield the city of *Constantinople* to *Bajazet*, and remove the imperial seat to *Peloponnesus*, which the sultan promised to relinquish to him and his posterity. This agreement being privately signed and sworn to by both parties, *Bajazet* dispatched deputies to the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, offering to withdraw his army, and abstain from all hostilities, provided they would drive out *Manuel*, and place his nephew *John* on the throne, to which he had an unquestionable right. This politic proposal rent the whole city into two factions, some favouring *Manuel*, and others declaring for his nephew. Of this the emperor being apprised, and apprehensive of the evils attending a civil discord at so critical a conjuncture, he acquainted

ⁿ Idem, c. 14.

his nephew, then in the *Turkish* camp, that, to deliver his subjects from the calamities under which they groaned, he was ready to resign the sovereignty to him, on condition he was allowed to depart with his wife and children, and to convey himself by sea to whatever place he should think fit. With this condition *John* readily complied, and *Manuel*, having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, embarked on board a galley, and set sail for *Venice*, where he landed, and from thence went to the several courts of the christian princes, to solicit aid against the overgrown power of the *Turks*, now become formidable to all *Europe*. He was every-where received with the greatest demonstrations of esteem, and promised large supplies, all *Christendom* being alarmed at the late conquest of the infidels. In the mean time, *John* being crowned with the usual solemnity, *Bajazet* took care to put him in mind of their agreement, and press him to a speedy execution of the main article, which was to yield *Constantinople* to him, and retire to *Peloponnesus* or *Morea*; but the citizens refusing, notwithstanding the unspeakable hardships they suffered, to comply with such a scandalous treaty, *Bajazet* renewed the siege, and assaulted the city with more fury than ever. When he had already reduced it to the utmost extremity, news was brought him, that *Tamerlane*, the victorious *Tartar*, after having subdued *Persia* and the more easterly provinces, had turned his arms against him, and was preparing, with a numerous and formidable army, to break into *Syria*. Hereupon, alarmed at the danger that threatened him, he in great haste raised the siege, and passing the *Hellepont*, marched with the utmost expedition to *Prusa*, which he had appointed the place of the general rendezvous, both for his eastern and western forces. From *Prusa* he advanced, at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, to meet *Tamerlane*, who gave him a total overthrow in the plains of *Angoria* in *Galatia*, on the twenty-eighth of *July* 1401, cut most of his men in pieces; and having taken the sultan himself prisoner, to punish his excessive pride, cruelty, and arrogance, shut him up in an iron cage, against which he is said to have dashed out his brains the year following, tho' some ascribe his death to poison°, as we shall relate more at length elsewhere. *Manuel* was no sooner informed of the overthrow and captivity of his inveterate enemy *Bajazet*, than he returned to *Constantinople*, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who being highly provoked against *John* for his servile compliance with the *Turks*, drove him from the throne, and restored *Manuel*, by whom he

Manuel resigns the empire to his nephew

Constantinople besieged by Bajazet;

Who is overcome and taken prisoner by Tamerlane.

Manuel
restored.

Manuel
dies.

John Pa-
læologus.

Constanti-
nople be-
sieged by
Amurath
II. who is
forced to
raise it.

Theſſalo-
nica, and
several
other
places
taken by
Amurath.

was banished to the island of *Lesbos*. This great overthrow of the *Turks* had like to have occasioned the total dissolution of their empire, both in *Europe* and *Asia*; for the five sons of *Bajazet*, taking arms against each other, a civil war was kindled, and continued with great fury for ten years together. *Isa-Zelebis*, *Bajazet*'s third son, upon his father's death, caused himself to be proclaimed sultan; but was soon driven from the throne by his brother *Solyman*, as was *Solyman* by his brother *Musa*. At length *Mohammed*, *Bajazet*'s youngest son, having overcome all his competitors, was universally acknowledged sultan, and the sole monarch of the *Turks*. The emperor *Manuel* in the mean time, taking advantage of these intestine divisions, and siding sometimes with one of the competitors, and sometimes with another, recovered several provinces, which *Mohammed*, whom he had assisted against his brother *Musa*, suffered him peaceably to enjoy till his death, which happened in 1424, the seventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign ^p. Some authors write, that he resigned the empire to his son *John Palæologus* five years before his death, and retiring to a monastery, took the monastic habit, with the name of *Antony*. Be that as it will, he was succeeded by his son *John*, in whose reign *Amurath* II. the son and successor of *Mohammed*, recovered all the provinces which had been seized after the death of *Bajazet* by the emperor and the other christian princes. In the beginning of his reign he laid siege to *Constantinople*, being provoked against the emperor for espousing the cause of an impostor, who, pretending to be *Mustapha* the son of *Bajazet*, was acknowledged for sultan in all the provinces of the *Turkish* empire in *Europe*. The citizens defended themselves with great bravery; but, being harrassed with continual assaults, must have in the end submitted, had not the emperor prevailed upon the prince of *Caramania* to countenance another *Mustapha*, *Amurath*'s younger brother, who, having revolted in *Asia*, was, with the supplies sent him by his new ally, enabled to lay siege to the city of *Nice*, which he soon reduced. This obliged *Amurath* to raise the siege of *Constantinople*, and march with all his forces against the usurper, who was betrayed and delivered up to him by one *Ilras*, in whom he reposed great confidence. *Amurath*, having got him into his power, caused him to be immediately strangled with a bow string; and then turning his arms against the prince of *Caramania*, obliged him to sue for peace; which the sultan granted him upon what terms he thought proper to prescribe. Having now no other enemies to contend with, he entered *Macedon* at the head of a powerful army, and having ravaged the country far and near, laid siege to *Theſſalonica*, which he took, and plundered

^p Idem, c. 28.

with

with the utmost cruelty, as he did most of the cities of *Ætolia*, *Phocis*, and *Bœotia*. From *Greece* he marched into *Servia*, which country he soon reduced; and then breaking into the dominions of the king of *Hungary*, besieged the strong city of *Belgrade*, which made a vigorous defence, no fewer than fifteen thousand *Turks* being slain by the christians in one sally; which obliged *Amurath* to drop the enterprize, and retire. In his retreat he was attacked by the celebrated *John Hunniades*, who cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves under the walls of *Sinderovia*. Not long after he gained a still more signal victory over the enemy in the plains of *Transylvania*, with the loss of no more than three thousand of his own men, whereas twenty thousand *Turks* were killed on the spot, and almost an equal number in the pursuit. *Amurath*, who was then at *Adrianople*, sent another army into *Transylvania*, far more numerous than the two former; but they were attended with no better success, being cut off almost to a man by the brave *Hungarian*. He gained over the *Turks* several other no less remarkable victories, and recovered all *Bulgaria* and *Servia*; but was in the end overcome and put to flight by *Amurath*, in the memorable battle of *Varna*, fought in the year 1444, the christians being disheartened by the death of *Uladislaus* king of *Hungary*, who, while he was attacking the enemy with more courage than prudence, was by them hemmed in on all sides, and cut in pieces. However *Hunniades* having had the good luck to make his escape, and being appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of *Ladislaus*, who was chosen king of *Hungary* in the room of *Uladislaus*, he raised a considerable army, and advancing to *Cossova*, engaged *Amurath*, who lay encamped there. The battle lasted three days, both armies retiring to their respective camps when night approached, and renewing the fight early next morning. The two first days the christians had the advantage; but the third day, being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers, *Amurath* charging them with fresh troops, they were, after a long and vigorous resistance, put to flight and utterly routed. In this memorable battle, which was fought in 1448, thirty-four thousand *Turks* were slain, and eight thousand christians, with the flower of the *Hungarian* nobility. As for *Hunniades*, he made his escape into *Servia*, and from thence returned into *Hungary*¹. In the mean time, *John Palæologus*, the *Greek* emperor, fearing the victorious sultan should turn his arms against him, sent ambassadors to *Adrianople*, where *Amurath* then resided, with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms. The sultan received them with great arrogance, declaring he would march directly to *Constantinople*, un-

John Hunniades's success against the Turks.

He is in the end routed by the Turks.

¹ DUCAS, c. 30—32.

The emperor submits to pay a yearly tribute to the sultan.

Union of the Greek and Latin churches.

John, the emperor, dies. Constantine Palæologus. Mohammed II.

less the emperor yielded to him some strong-holds, which he still possessed on the *Euxine* sea, and engaged to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thousand aspers. To these shameful terms the unhappy prince was obliged to submit, in order to enjoy the poor remains of the *Roman* empire, now reduced to the imperial city and the adjoining country. However, as he did not doubt but *Amurath*, as soon as he had put an end to the war, in which he was then engaged with *George Castriot*, surnamed *Scanderbeg*, prince of *Epirus*, would, under some pretence or other, attempt *Constantinople* itself, he applied to the western princes; and the more effectually to engage them in his cause, he promised to do all that lay in his power to reconcile the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. Accordingly, hearing a council was to be held at *Ferrara*, he went thither in person, attended by *Joseph* the patriarch, a great number of prelates, and the flower of the *Greek* nobility, who were all received at *Venice*, where they landed, and afterwards at *Ferrara*, with great pomp and magnificence. From *Ferrara* the council was removed soon after, by reason of a plague which broke out there, to *Florence*, where the union was effected between the two churches, and subscribed to by the patriarch and the other prelates. The patriarch died soon after at *Florence*; but the emperor and the other prelates, returning by land at the pope's charge to *Venice*, were conveyed from thence on the galleys of the republic to *Constantinople*. Upon his return, he found the people highly dissatisfied with his conduct, and that of the bishops, some of whom had refused to subscribe the decrees of the council, till the money was paid down, for which they had before-hand agreed to sign them. The disturbances which this union raised in the church, the death of the empress *Despina*, and the insupportable arrogance with which the unhappy prince was treated by the sultan, gave him such concern, that, being already broken with age, he sunk under the weight of his calamities and misfortunes in 1448, the twenty-seventh of his reign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of *Constantinople*, to his brother *Constantine*. *Amurath*, the *Turkish* sultan did not long survive him; but dying in the beginning of *February* 1450, was succeeded by his son *Mohammed*, who had no sooner taken possession of the throne, than he caused all his brothers to be strangled, and ordered his father's lawful wife (for he is said to have been the son of a concubine) to marry a slave by name *Isaac*. In the beginning of his reign, he entered into an alliance with *Constantine*, the *Greek* emperor, who, upon the first news of his father's death, had sent ambassadors

Idem, c. 53.

to

to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne. The ambassadors were received very graciously, the new sultan declaring, that he had nothing so much at heart as to live in peace and amity with the emperor and the other christian princes. The ambassadors of the *Walachians, Lesbians, Bulgarians, Rhodians, Servians, &c.* were likewise received in a most obliging manner; which encouraged them to celebrate with public rejoicings, the accession of *Mohammed* to the throne, whom they looked upon as a friend to the christians, the more because his mother was of that religion, being, according to the most credible writers, the despot or prince of *Servia's* daughter. But notwithstanding the friendship and regard he pretended to have for the emperor, he had no sooner put an end to the war with *Ibrahim*, king of *Caramania*, who, upon the news of his father's death, had invaded his dominions in *Asia*, than he began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of *Constantinople*, and abolishing the very name of the *Roman* empire. With this view he built on the *Europe* side of the *Bosporus* a strong castle, called by the *Turks* *Genichicar*, and by the *Greeks* *Neocastrum*, opposite to another in *Asia* called *Aspocastron*, which he caused to be repaired, placing in both strong garisons. These two castles commanded the straights, and the former, being but five miles from *Constantinople*, proved a curb upon that city, and kept it in a manner blocked up. *Mohammed* had no sooner begun the work, than the emperor and the citizens of *Constantinople*, alarmed at the undertaking, dispatched ambassadors to the sultan, with orders to do all that lay in their power to divert him from it. But *Mohammed* was so far from granting them their request, that tho' the emperor even offered to pay him an annual tribute, provided he put a stop to the work, he threatened, with the utmost arrogance, to cause such as should be sent to him upon the like errand to be slayed alive. He added, that nothing beyond the ditches of the city belonged to *Constantine*, and that he had an unquestionable right to build in his own dominions what castles and forts he pleased. When the fort in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople* was finished, the garison left there by the sultan began to ravage the country adjoining to the city, and making excursions to the very gates, returned to their strong-hold loaded with booty. This occasioned several skirmishes between the christians and *Turks*; in one of which a considerable number of the latter being killed, the sultan, to revenge their death, ordered his men to fall upon the christians, while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them all to the sword, which was done accordingly. Hereupon the emperor, having caused the gates of the city to be shut, ordered all the *Turks* within the

He builds a fort on the Bosporus.

Which occasions a misunderstanding between him and the emperor.

Constantine has recourse in vain to the christian princes.

All the forts in the neighbourhood of Constantinople taken by the Turks.

walls to be arrested, but set them at liberty the next day, sending at the same time embassadors to *Mohammed*, with proposals for concluding a lasting peace between the two crowns. As the sultan seemed averse to an accommodation, and was assembling his forces from all parts, *Constantine*, well apprised of his design, in the first place took care to fill the public magazines, and supply the city with great plenty of all sorts of provisions; then by his embassadors to the western princes, acquainted them with the designs of the sultan, and the storm that was gathering against the imperial city, the taking of which might prove fatal to all *Christendom*. That they might the more readily assist him at so critical a conjuncture, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received with extraordinary demonstrations of esteem and respect the pope's legate, which gave great offence to the ecclesiastics zealously attached to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and occasioned a misunderstanding between the prince and his people. Neither did the emperor's zeal, in confirming the union, procure him the least assistance from the *Latins* in the west, who, by a strange infatuation, suffered the city, which they looked upon as the bulwark of *Christendom*, to fall into the hands of the avowed enemy of the christian name, who, they well knew, would not stop there, but extend his conquests to the neighbouring, and perhaps to the most distant, kingdoms. While *Constantine* was soliciting aid from the western princes, *Caracia*, one of *Mohammed's* chief commanders, reduced several places on the *Euxine* sea, which were still held by the emperor, viz. *Mesembria*, *Acheloum*, *Bison*, &c. then advancing towards the city, took by assault a strong castle called *St. Stephen's* tower, and put the garrison to the sword. Other forts in that neighbourhood submitted at the approach of the enemy; but *Selybria* held out for some time, the inhabitants defending the place with incredible bravery and resolution; but being in the end tired out with repeated assaults, the town was taken, and they all to a man cut in pieces. All the forts, castles, and strong-holds in the neighbourhood of the imperial city being thus reduced, *Caracia* was ordered to scour the country during the winter, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies of men or provisions; by which means the city was in a manner blocked up by land. But as the *Greeks* were still masters at sea, their galleys ravaged the coasts of *Asia*, and returned with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were sold for slaves in *Constantinople* *.

In the mean time, *Mohammed*, having drawn together from all parts an army of three hundred thousand men, left *Adriano-*

* DUCAS, c. 37.

ple; and bending his march towards the imperial city, encamped before it on the sixth of *April* 1483, covering with his numerous forces the adjoining plains. His *Asiatic* troops were posted on the right towards the *Bosporus*; those of *Europe* on the left towards the haven; and he himself, with fifteen thousand janizaries, and other chosen troops, between both, over-against the gate named *Karfias*. On the other side the haven, *Zoganus*, one of his chief officers, encamped with a considerable body of troops, in order to cut off all communication between the city and country on that side. At the same time *Pantologes*, the *Turkish* admiral, appeared before the haven with a fleet of near three hundred sail; but the emperor had taken care to secure the haven, in which were three large ships, twenty small ones, and a good number of galleys, by means of a chain drawn cross the entrance from the city to *Pera*. *Mohammed* having thus assigned to each part of his army their several quarters, and surrounded the city both by sea and land, he began the siege by planting batteries as near the city as he could, and raising mounts in several places as high as the walls themselves; whence the besieged were incessantly galled with showers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of a prodigious size, which carried, according to *Ducas*, a ball of an hundred pounds weight, made of hard black stone brought from the *Euxine* sea, it had been cast by an *Hungarian* engineer, who, not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the emperor, had fled over to *Mohammed*, while he was busied in building the above-mentioned forts^t. With this vast piece, the enemy made several breaches in the walls, which, however, were with great expedition repaired by the besieged, who behaved with incredible bravery and resolution, being encouraged by the example of the emperor, and directed by *John Justiniani*, a *Genoese* adventurer, who arriving, before the siege, with two large ships and a considerable number of volunteers on board, had been by the emperor, on account of his extraordinary skill in military affairs, appointed commander in chief of all his forces; and besides, for his further encouragement, promised the sovereignty of the island of *Lesbos*, provided he obliged the enemy to raise the siege. That brave commander, animated with the hopes of so great a reward, performed exploits, says our historian, tho' no-ways biassed in favour of the *Latins*, worthy of the most renowned heroes of antiquity. Not satisfied with repulsing the enemy in their frequent assaults, he often sallied out against them at the head of his volunteers, overturned their machines,

Constantinople besieged.
Disposition of the Turkish army.

John Justiniani
commander in chief of the emperor's forces.

^t Idem, c. 35.

Mohammed's
army re-
inforced.

The Turk-
ish fleet
worsted by
five ships
of the
christians.

destroyed their works, and made such a dreadful havock of their best troops, that his name soon became formidable. But *Mohammed*, to carry on the siege with more vigour, ordered new levies to be made throughout his extensive dominions; which reinforcements arriving daily from all parts, his army was soon increased to the number of near four hundred thousand men, while the garison consisted only of nine thousand regular troops, viz. six thousand *Greeks*, and three thousand *Genoese* and *Venetians*. As the enemy continued battering the walls night and day, without intermission, great part of them, with the tower called *Baclatina*, near the *Roman* gate, was beaten down; but while the *Turks* were busied in filling up the ditch, in order to give the assault, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This threw the tyrant into a rage hardly to be expressed, which was greatly heightened, when he beheld from the shore his whole fleet worsted by five ships, four of which belonged to the *Genoese* of *Galata*, and one to the emperor: the latter was fraught with corn from *Peloponnesus*, and the others with all manner of provisions from the island of *Chios*, where they had passed the winter. When they first appeared, *Mohammed* ordered his admiral to take them, if possible, or at least to prevent their entering the harbour and joining the rest of the fleet. Hereupon the whole *Turkish* navy, weighing anchor, sailed out to meet them, covering the straights, as they were in all three hundred sail, from shore to shore. The above-mentioned ships pursued their course; and sailing into the midst of the enemy's fleet, sunk some of their galleys, disabled others, and made such a dreadful havock among them, that *Mohammed*, who beheld the whole from the shore, could not forbear rushing with his horse into the sea, as if he intended to swim to his fleet, and encourage them with his presence. But being soon apprised of the danger, he turned back, and filling the air with loud outcries, and dreadful curses, he tore his hair, and upbraiding his men with cowardice, uttered such menaces against the admiral, and his other officers, as struck all with terror who heard them. But notwithstanding his impotent rage, and the loud shouts of the whole *Turkish* army, encouraging their mariners to behave more manfully, the five ships opened themselves a way through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and, to the unexpressible joy of the christians, got safe into the harbour*. The *Turks* attempted several times to force the haven, in order to attack the city on that side; but all their efforts proving unsuccessful, *Mohammed* formed, and, to the great terror and amazement of the besieged, put in execution, one of the boldest designs we find mentioned

* DUCAS. c. 38.

in history. For, not being able to remove the chain drawn cross the entrance into the harbour, and the ships within it making a dreadful fire on the *Turkish* fleet as often as they drew near in order to break it, he commanded a large road to be levelled from the *Bosporus* behind *Pera* to the haven of *Constantinople*, and then, by means of certain engines, the contrivance of a renegado, conveyed eighty galleys over land for the space of eight miles into the haven, of which he was no sooner master, the ships riding there being either taken or sunk, than he caused a bridge, a work no less wonderful and surprising, to be built over it with incredible labour and expedition. By means of this bridge, which reached from the camp of *Zoganus* at *Pera* to the walls of *Constantinople*, the city was laid open to an assault on that side too. And now the place being invested, and battered night and day with incredible fury on all sides, the emperor, well apprised he could not with his small garison hold out much longer against such a mighty fleet and so numerous an army, sent deputies to *Mohammed*, offering to acknowledge himself his vassal, by paying him yearly what tribute he should think proper to impose upon him, provided he raised the siege and withdrew. The tyrant answered, that he was determined at all events to become master of the city; but if the emperor delivered it up forthwith, he would yield to him *Peloponnesus*, and other provinces to his brothers, which they should peaceably enjoy as his friends and allies; whereas, if he held out to the last extremity, and suffered it to be taken by assault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the sword, abandon the city to be plundered by his soldiers, and carry all the inhabitants, stripped of their wealth and effects, into captivity. The city was already reduced to great straits; but the emperor being determined to perish with it, rather than give it up upon any terms whatsoever, the siege was carried on with great vigour till the twenty-fifth of *May*, when a report being spread in the *Turkish* camp, that a mighty army was advancing full march to the relief of the city under the conduct of the celebrated *John Hunniades*, the common soldiers, seized with a panic, began to mutiny, and press *Mohammed* in a tumultuous manner to break up the siege; nay, they openly threatened him with death, if he did not immediately abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the city, which they despaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the supposed succours. *Mohammed*, tho' hitherto an utter stranger to fear, alarmed at the menaces of the incensed and ungovernable soldiery, was upon the point of yielding to the storm, and raising the siege, agreeable to the advice of the grand visier *Haly*, who favoured underhand the christians.

Mohammed conveyed eighty galleys over land into the haven.

The emperor rejects the conditions offered him.

A mutiny in the Turkish camp.

Mohammed prepares for a general storm.

Constantine makes the necessary preparations for sustaining the assault.

christians. But *Zagan*, a *Turkish* officer of great intrepidity, and an irreconcilable enemy to the christian name, having confirmed the sultan in his former resolution, advised him to give, without loss of time, a general assault; to which, he said, the soldiery, however mutinous, would not be averse, provided he solemnly promised to abandon the city to be plundered by them. As this advice best suited the humour of *Mohammed*, he readily embraced it, and caused a proclamation to be published throughout the camp, declaring, that he gave up to his soldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, and required nothing for his share but the empty houses. The desire of plunder, and the prospect of an immense booty, soon got the better of the fear, which had seized the army: they all demanded with one voice to be led immediately to the assault. Hereupon the emperor was summoned for the last time to deliver up the city, with a promise of his life and liberty. To this summons the brave emperor answered, that he was unalterably determined either to defend the city, or fall with it. With this answer the messenger returned, and on the evening of the same day, which was *Trinity* Sunday, the twenty-seventh of *May*, the *Turkish* camp and fleet appeared illuminated with an incredible number of lights set up by the sultan's orders on every tent and vessel, to admonish the whole army, that a solemn fast was to be observed the next, to implore the protection of heaven. *Constantine*, concluding from thence, as he had been privately informed beforehand by his friend *Haly*, that on the *Tuesday* following he should be attacked by sea and land, made the necessary preparations for sustaining the assault, his life, liberty, reputation, and whatever else was dear to him, lying at stake. He ordered in the first place a general procession, after which, in a pathetic and eloquent speech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert themselves in the defence of the empire and the christian religion. He then retired to the church of *St. Sophia*, attended by cardinal *Isidore* and several other prelates, who had conformed to the ceremonies of the *Latins*; and there, after assisting with exemplary piety at divine service, he received the holy eucharist. *Zygomola*, a modern writer, tells us, that *Constantine*, having first caused the empress and his children to receive the sacrament, ordered immediately after their heads to be struck off, to prevent their falling alive into the enemy's hands. But this we look upon as one of the many fables that are to be found in most of the modern *Greek* writers, it being manifest from *Ducas* and other contemporary writers, that *Theodora*, *Constantine's* first wife, and *Catharina Catalusa*, his second, died long before, without his having children

by

by them; and that the king of *Georgia's* daughter, who not long before had been betrothed to him, died before she came to *Constantinople*, or was married to him. From the church *Constantine* repaired to the great palace, and there, after taking leave of his ministers, as if he were never to see them again, he ordered every man to his post, and, putting on his armour, marched in person at the head of a chosen body to the gate *Karfias*, where a considerable breach had been made by the piece of ordnance, which we have mentioned above. Here the emperor and *Justiniani* his lieutenant-general, with 300 *Genoese* and a select body of *Greeks*, lay all night on their arms, hearing a great noise in the *Turkish* camp, and expecting every moment to be attacked. Accordingly, at three in the morning, the attack was begun by such troops as the sultan least valued, and therefore, designing them for slaughter, had ordered them to march the first, with no other view but to tire the christians, who, tho' few in number, made a dreadful havock of that disorderly multitude. After the carnage had lasted some hours, the janizaries, and other fresh troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigour and fury. The christians, summoning all their courage and resolution, twice repulsed the enemy, but in the end being quite spent, and fresh troops pouring every moment in upon them, they were no longer able to stand their ground; so that the enemy in several places broke into the city. In the mean time, *Justiniani* having received two wounds, one in the thigh and the other in the hand, he was so disheartened at the sight of his blood, that, abandoning his post, he caused himself to be conveyed to *Gallata*, where he died soon after, not of his wounds, but of grief, in reflecting on his cowardly and ignominious conduct. The *Genoese* and *Greeks*, who served under him, dismayed at the sudden retreat of their general, quitted their posts, and fled in the utmost confusion. However, the emperor, attended by *Theophilus Palæologus*, *Francis Comnenus*, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, *John of Dalmatia*, and a few more of the most resolute among the nobility, still kept his post, striving, with an unparalleled courage and intrepidity, to oppose the inundation of the barbarians, who, like a violent storm, now broke in on all sides. Being in the end overpowered with numbers, and seeing all his friends lying dead on the ground around him, *What!* he cried aloud, *is there no christian left alive to strike off my head?* He had scarce uttered these words, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut cross the face with his sabre: at the same time, another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of his head, laid him dead on the ground. Thus died,

The Turks begin the attack.

Justiniani is wounded and retires.

The emperor's gallant behaviour.

He is killed.

And the
city taken
and plun-
dered.

The total
dissolution
of the Con-
stantino-
politan
Roman
empire.

died, in the forty-ninth year of his age and tenth of his reign, *Constantine XV.* courageously defending that city which *Constantine I.* had founded. Some writers relate his death differently, and tell us, that being overpowered with numbers, and no longer able to stand his ground, he fled with the rest, and was stifled and pressed to death in the crowd. But we have followed *Ducas* and *Phranzes*, of whom the latter was chancellor to *Constantine*, and in the city when it was taken; the former was in the neighbourhood during the whole time of the siege, and, a few days after the city was taken, learnt both of the *Turks* and christians the particulars which he relates concerning that unhappy prince's death. *Ducas* adds, that *Mohammed*, admiring his courage, commanded all the funeral honours to be paid him, that were due to an emperor^u. The emperor being thus slain, the few christians, who were left alive, betook themselves to flight, and the *Turks*, meeting with no further opposition, entered the city, and scouring the streets, filled that once stately metropolis with blood and horror. They gave no quarter, but put all they met to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. But of the unspeakable miseries the inhabitants suffered, during the three days which *Mohammed* had allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, the reader will find a minute and affecting account in *Ducas* and other contemporary writers. Many thousands took refuge in the church of *St. Sophia*, but they were all massacred without pity in their asylum by the enraged barbarians, who, prompted by their natural cruelty, the desire of revenge, and the love of booty, spared no place nor person. Most of the nobility were by the sultan's orders cut off, and the rest reserved for purposes more grievous than death itself. However, many of the inhabitants, amongst whom were some men of great learning, found means to make their escape, while the *Turks* were busied in plundering the city. These embarking on five ships then in the harbour, arrived safe in *Italy*, where with the study of the *Greek* tongue, they revived the liberal sciences, which had been long neglected in the west. When the three days were expired, *Mohammed* commanded his soldiers, on pain of death, to forbear all further hostilities, and they put an end to the most cruel pillage and massacre mentioned in history. The next day, he made his public and triumphal entry into the city; and chusing it for the seat of his empire, he solemnly promised to take under his protection such of the inhabitants as should continue in it, or, being fled, should return to their antient habitations,

^u DUCAS. C. 39.

and

and even to allow them the free exercise of the christian religion. The death of the last *Roman* emperor, the loss of *Constantinople*, and the final dissolution of the *Constantinopolitan Roman* empire, happened on the twenty-ninth of *May* in the year of the *Greeks* 6961, of the *Hegira* 857, and of the christian æra, according to the most probable opinion, 1453.

THE downfall of a state, once so mighty and powerful, was not sudden or unexpected, but brought on by degrees, and after a visible decay of several ages. To what causes that was owing, we have, on proper occasions, pointed out in the course of the present history; and therefore, not to trespass on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we shall only beg leave to remind him here, that we have all along confined ourselves to the immediate causes of so great a revolution, such as human policy may account for, not daring to pry into the decrees of Providence, nor ascribe, as some have done, the calamities, that befall a nation, to the sins of those on whom they are inflicted.

C H A P. XXXVII.

*The history of the Carthaginians, to the destruction
of Carthage by the Romans.*

S E C T. I.

*A description of Carthage, and some account of the
origin of that city*

WERE the materials afforded us by the antients for writing the history of *Carthage*, in any manner proportioned to the power and opulence of that famous republic, few nations would make a greater figure in this work ; but such has been the infelicity of this state, that notwithstanding the immense riches, the extended commerce, the consummate policy, and military genius, of its inhabitants, rendered it formidable to all its neighbours, and even enabled it to contend with *Rome* for the empire of the world, yet we have but very short and scanty memorials left us of the great transactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own historians has reached us : the principal actions in which it bore a part, that have escaped oblivion, have either been transmitted to posterity by its enemies, or such as were favourably disposed towards them, and consequently many things omitted, which might have contributed towards giving us a juster idea of it. And yet, notwithstanding this, by collecting all the remarkable passages relating to it, scattered in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors ; by comparing these together, and connecting them in a proper manner ; and lastly, by making some observations of our own, in order to illustrate and explain them ; we doubt not but to supply the defects of all former historians, and give the most complete, as well as the most entertaining, history of the *Carthaginians*, that has yet been offered to the public.

Carthage
when
founded.

Carthage, the metropolis of *Africa Propria* for several centuries, was, according to *Velleius* ^a, built sixty-five years be-

^a VELL. PATERC. hist. Rom. l. i.

fore *Rome*, tho' *Trogus*^b and *Justin* will have it to be seventy-two years older than that mistress of the world. *Livy*^c seems to place its foundation twenty years higher than these; and *Solinus*^d exceeds him twenty-seven years. *Timæus*^e of *Sicily* intimates, that *Carthage* and *Rome* were founded at the same time, viz. thirty-eight years before the first olympiad. Lastly, from *Menander*^f the *Ephesian*, as cited by *Josephus* (A), and the *Tyrian* annals, it appears to have preceded the *Roman æra* an hundred and forty years. We shall not take upon us to determine which of these is in the right, nor whether any of them deserves absolute credit; but only observe, that as *Carthage*^g consisted of different parts, which were supposed to have been built at different times, it is no wonder, that the antients should hand down such a variety of accounts, nor that the moderns should disagree so much amongst themselves in this affair. It is not very material to our present purpose, whether we can hit upon the

^b JUST. hist. l. xviii. ^c LIV. hist. l. li. epit. ^d SOLIN. c. 29. ^e TIMÆUS Sicul. apud. Dionys. Halicarnas. l. i. ^f MENAND. Ephes. apud. Joseph. l. i. cont. Apion. ^g PETAV. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. & BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24.

(A) *Josephus*, in his computation from *Menander Ephesus* (1), seems inconsistent with himself, or at least very inaccurate; but *Petavius* (2) has endeavoured to correct him, and makes him to fix *Dido's* arrival in *Africa* an hundred and forty years before the foundation of *Rome*. *Solinus* (3) tallies very well with this account; for he tells us, that *Carthage*, at its final destruction by *Scipio Africanus*, had stood seven hundred and thirty-seven years. As therefore this destruction happened in the year of *Rome* six hundred and six, or six hundred and seven, it is evident, that, according to this author, *Carthage* was built an hundred and thirty, or an hundred and thirty-one years before *Rome*; and if, with *Sir Isaac Newton* (4) and *Salmasius*, we suppose *Solinus* intended the *incœnia* or dedication of the city for its beginning, and that it was nine years in building, *Dido's* arrival in *Africa* will be found to have happened an hundred and thirty-nine, or an hundred and forty years before the commencement of the *Roman æra*; which agreeing so well with *Petavius*, from whom it differs but two years, a trifle in a point of so remote antiquity, we may justly look upon it as coming pretty near the truth.

(1) *Menand. Ephes. apud. Joseph. l. i. cont. Apion.* (2) *Dion. Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69.* (3) *Solin. c. 27.* (4) *Salmas. in Solin. c. 27. Newt. chronol. p. 65.*

precise year of this city's foundation, or not; and therefore we shall not be over solicitous about it. However, it may not be amiss to refer our curious readers to *Petavius*^h, who has been very particular on this subject. That learned man, after considering the jarring opinions of the antients with great attention, endeavours to rectify their mistakes, and at last, with an appearance of exactness, fixes the time of *Dido's* beginning to build *Carthage* an hundred and thirty-seven yearsⁱ before the foundation of *Rome*, if, with *Varro*, we place this in the third year of the sixth olympiad, or an hundred forty-two, if, with archbishop *Usher*, we prefer the account of *Fabius Pictor*^k (B), who will have it to be near the beginning of the eighth olympiad, and, for aught we know to the contrary, comes as near the truth as any other chronologer whatsoever.

The Carthaginians descended from the Phœnicians.

BUT whatever disagreement may be found amongst historians and chronologers as to the exact year of the foundation of *Carthage*, yet it is agreed on all hands, that the *Phœnicians* were its founders. The *Greek* poet, *Nonnus*^l, from some authors, whose works are now lost, assures us, that *Cadmus* made a very successful expedition into these parts. *Eusebius*^m and *Procopius* are positive, that the *Canaanites* who fled from *Joshua* retired hither; and *St. Austin*ⁿ would have it believed, that the *Carthaginians* were descended from these *Canaanites*. *Philistus*^o

^h PETAV. ubi supra. & de doct. temp. l. xiii. p. 370. edit. Antwerp. 1703. & l. xii. ⁱ PETAV. ration. tempor. l. ii. c. 13. ^k ONUPH. PANVIN. in ant urb. imag. Uss. an. p. 87. ^l NONN. in Dionys. l. xiii. ^m EUSEB. in chron. l. i. p. 11. PROCOP. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. ⁿ AUGUST. in exposit. epist. ad Rom. sub. init. ^o PHILIST. Syracusan. apud. Euseb. in chron. ad ann. 804.

(B) This *Fabius Pictor* was the most antient of the *Roman* historians (5), and a writer of very good authority. He is followed herein by *Onuphrius Panvinius* (6), as well as archbishop *Usher*. Several arguments might be offered in support of his authority, particularly with regard to the point under consideration; but we chuse to refer our readers to archbishop *Usher* (7), *Vossius*, &c. as not having room to recite them here.

(5) Liv. l. i. ii. &c. Dio. Hal. l. i. Usser. an. p. 60. ad ann. Jul. per. 3966. Voss. de hist. Græc. l. iv. c. 13. &c. (6) Onuph. Panvin. antiq. urb. imag. apud. Grævium. in thesaur. ant. Rom. tom. 3. p. 215. Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 51. (7) Usser. an. ubi supra. Voss. de hist. Græc. & Petav. ubi supra.

of *Syracuse*, a writer of good authority, who lived above three hundred and fifty years before Christ, relates, that the first traces of *Carthage* were owing to *Zorus* and *Charchedon*, two *Tyrians* or *Phœnicians*, thirty years before the destruction of *Troy*, according to *Eusebius*. *Appian* ^p, who undoubtedly received his notion from *Philistus*, attributes this event to *Zorus* and *Charchedon*, the two said *Phœnicians*, fifty years before that period; and from him *Scaliger* ^q corrects *Eusebius*'s numbers. In confirmation of which opinion, *Virgil* ^r seems to hint, that *Dido* was rather the finisher than founder of this city, by giving us to understand, that the ground on which it stood was, before her time, occupied by people who dwelt in huts or cottages, or, in other words, that a town stood upon it. What likewise renders the account of *Philistus* and *Appian* not a little probable is, that the *Greeks* always called this city *Charchedon*, for which no reason so proper can be assigned, as that the person who first settled with a colony on this spot of ground, was called by that name. Besides, something must have determined *Dido* to chuse this particular place for her *Tyrians* before any other ^s. Now, no more likely motive can be conceived, than that it had been inhabited for some time by the *Phœnicians*, who were her countrymen, and from whom therefore she had reason to expect the kindest and most friendly reception. Add to this, that both the coast of *Africa*, and the coast of *Spain* ^t opposite to it were known in very early ages to the *Tyrians*; since it is remarked by *Velleius* ^u, that they built the cities of *Cadiz* in *Spain*, and *Utica* in *Africa*, a little above eighty years after the *Trojan* war; and *Strabo* declares, that the *Phœnicians* were possessed of the best parts of *Spain* and *Africa* a considerable time before the age of *Homer*; all which considerations strongly support the first *Phœnician* settlement mentioned by *Philistus* and *Appian*. But as nothing can be laid down with certainty concerning the transactions of those very remote times, except what is deducible from the inspired writings of the old testament, and as nothing is less to be depended upon, than the relations we have of the origin of many antient cities, we leave it to our readers to believe as much or as little of this as they please.

^p APPIAN. in Libyc. sub init. ^q JOS. SCALIG. animadvers. in Euseb. chron. ad ann 804. ^r VIRG. Æn. i. & SERV. in loc. Vide etiam. CAR. RUÆI not. in Virg. Æn. iv. sub. init. ^s PROCOP. ubi. supra. ^t STRABO. l. iii. p. 104. edit. Casaub. 1587. ^u VELL. PATERC. l. i. c. 2.

HOWEVER,

Elisa
either
founded or
enlarged,
the city of
Carthage.

HOWEVER, if most of the events, mentioned by profane historians as happening before the destruction of *Troy*, may seem liable to dispute to some persons of a critical exactness, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of antiquity, that *Elisa*^w, called also *Dido*, sister of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre*, flying with her brother *Barca*, in the seventh year of the reign of that prince, from *Tyre*, fixed her residence at *Carthage*, and either founded, or much enlarged, this noble city. Were there any beginnings of a town there before, yet it could not have been a place of very great consideration till her arrival. The wealth of her husband^x *Sichæus*, and the *Tyrians* she brought with her, who, at that time, were the^y most polite and ingenious people in the world, enabled her to enlarge and beautify the place, if she did not lay the foundations of it; to wall it round, and build a strong citadel in it; to lay the basis of a most flourishing and extensive commerce, for which the *Tyrian* nation was so renowned; and to introduce a form of government, which seemed, in *Aristotle's*^z opinion, by his descanting so largely upon it, to have been one of the most perfect that ever was known in the world, at least, in his time. *Dido's* arrival in *Africa*, as we have observed, was an hundred thirty-seven years before the building of *Rome*, according to the *Varonian* account; an hundred forty-two, according to *Fabius Pictor*; an hundred and fourteen before the first olympiad; eight hundred and ninety-two before the birth of Christ, and near three hundred after the destruction of *Troy*, unless with Sir *Isaac Newton*^a, we will suppose the antient chronologers to have anticipated that destruction near three hundred years. *Virgil* indeed seems to have allowed this supposition; for notwithstanding what has been advanced by several learned men^b to excuse him on that head, had he been of the common opinion, the monstrous anachronism he makes, by bringing *Aeneas* and *Dido* together as cotemporaries, would have been utterly inexcusable. We shall hereafter give a full and ample account of the occasion and manner of *Dido's* flight from *Tyre*, of her putting into the island of *Cyprus*, and steering afterwards her course for the coasts of *Africa*, where she hap-

^w JUST. l. xviii. VIRGIL. *Æn.* i. & SERV. in loc. CEDREN. in hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Paris. 1647. Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 342, 343, &c. ^x VIRG. JUST. &c. ubi supra. ^y NEWT. chron. p. 13. BOCH. phal. & de col. Phœn. passim. 1. Kings, c. v. &c. ^z ARIST. de rep. l. ii. c. ii. ^a NEWT. chron. p. 32, 65, &c. ^b LUDOVIC. DE LA CERDA, CAR. RUÆUS. MACROB. aliquæ.

pily arrived; so that it will be intirely unnecessary, even so much as to touch upon these particulars in this place^c.

How this city came to be called *Carthage*, authors are not fully agreed. *Solinus*^d tells us, that its true name was *Carthada*, which, in the *Carthaginian* language, signified the *New City*; and herein he is followed by *Salmasius*^e, *Schindler*^f, *Bochart*^g, and others, who deduce it from the two *Oriental* words, *Charta Hadatta*, which are of the same import. But, besides that it is too far fetched and unnatural, these very authors themselves supply us with arguments to overthrow this etymon; for *Schindler*^h derives *Carthago* from the *Oriental* word *Charta*, a city; and the other twoⁱ allow, that the city was founded long before *Dido* came into *Africa*, and that she only built that part of it called *Byrsa*, or the *citadel*. *D. Hyde*^k derives it either from *Chadre Hanacha*, i. e. *The chamber of rest*, or *place of repose*, or from *Card Haneca*, the *New city*, as before, because *Plautus* in his *Pænulus* intimates, that it was called by the natives *Chaedreanech*; but these derivations likewise are too forced and unsatisfactory, and are besides overthrown by *Bochart*^l. *Servius*^m therefore seems to come nearer the truth, when he says, that, according to the *Carthaginians* themselves, who must be supposed to be the best acquainted with their own origin, it received its name from *Charta*, a town not far from *Tyre*, to which *Dido* bore a near relation; and this town is called by *Cedrenus*ⁿ *Chartica*, or *Chartaca*, i. e. *Charta Aca*, or *Charta Aco*, the city of *Aca*^o or *Aco*, a celebrated sea-port of *Phœnice* (C), near *Tyre* and *Sidon*, in the territory of the tribe of *Asher*^p, tho' possessed by the *Tyrians* or *Phœnicians*.

^c Univerf. hift. vol. ii. p. 342, 343. ^d SOLIN. c. 27. ^e SALMAS. in Solin. p. 322. ^f SCHIND. pentaglot. p. 1654. ^g BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. &c. ^h SCHIND. ubi supra. ⁱ SALMAS. & BOCHART. ubi supra. ^k HYDE in not. ad Peritfol. p. 44. ^l BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 1. ^m SERV. in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 37. & Æn. iv. ver. 75. ⁿ CEDREN. hift. compend p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. ^o SCHIND. pentaglot. p. 1313. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 521. DIODOR. SIC. l. xix. c. 93. CORN. VEP. Datam. c. 5. PLIN. l. v. c. 19. STEPH. Byz. de urb. HIERONYM. in Ain. i. ii. & LXX. in Jud. i. ^p Jud. i. ver. 31. ^q Ibid.

(C) The place was, according to *Cedrenus*, a maritime city or sea port, as will appear from a perusal of the passage referred to; which is an additional argument in favour of our notion. We find likewise a city called *Kartab*, given to the *Levites* in this country, taken out of the territory of the tribe of *Zabulon*.

In support of *Servius* and *Cedrenus*'s authority, it may be observed, that the *Sidonians*, *Tyrians*, and *Canaanites* inhabiting that part of *Phœnice*, frequently prefixed the word *kiriath*, *cariath*, or *charta*, i. e. *City*, to the proper names of towns, as *Kiriath*^r, or, according to *St. Jerom*, *Cariath-Arba*, *Cariath-Baal*, *Cariath-Sanna*, *Cariath-Sepher*, &c. tho' sometimes they stiled them simply *Cariath*^s, or *Charta*, *city*, and, for the most part in writing, used their proper ^t names alone; so that it is no wonder the town under consideration should be known by the names *Charta*, *Aca*, *Aco*, *Chartica*, *Chartaca*, *Cartaco*, &c. since this was perfectly agreeable to the genius of its inhabitants. Farther, tho' *Dido*'s city was constantly called by the *Latin* writers *Carthago*, yet its true name amongst the antient *Romans*, who undoubtedly received it from the *Carthaginians* themselves, was *Cartaco*^u, as is evident from the *columna rostrata* (D) of *Duilius*. This, together with what has been^w observed in the second volume of this history, seems to render the authority above-mentioned incontestable.

THAT it was usual in those early ages to denominate some cities from others, as well as from their founders, is a truth well known to all persons moderately versed in the knowledge of antiquity;

^r Jud. i. ver. 10. Josh. xviii. ver. 14. xv. ver. 15, 49.
^s Jerem xlvi. ver. 24, 41. Am. xi. ver. 2. ^t Josh. xv. ver. 9, 60, &c. ^u Vide PET. CIACCONIUM in column. rostrat. Duil. apud Joan. Geor. Græv. in thesaur. antiquit. Roman. tom. iv. p. 1810. ^w Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 342, 343.

(D) We have before given an *English* translation (8) of the old *Latin* inscription upon the basis of the *columna rostrata* of *Duilius*; but as it is a most curious and valuable monument of antiquity, we believe our learned and inquisitive readers would think us guilty of a great omission, were not the original itself inserted somewhere in this work; especially as many fine conclusions relating to the *Latin* language may be drawn from it; and the surprising manner in which that language was polished and refined in less than two centuries, may be from thence discovered. In order therefore to render our history as complete as possible, and evince the point at present in view, we shall here present our readers with the inscription itself, and the chasms of it, as supplied by *Lipsius* and *Ciacconius*, together with a version of it into the *Latin* of the *Augustan* age:

(8) *Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 16. in not. F.*

C. BILIOS. M. F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD
 REM. CERENS. ECEST. ANOS. COGNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISUMAD
 OBSEDEONED. XIMET. LECTIONEIS. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS.
 MAXIMOSQUE. MACISTRATOS. LUCAES. BOVEBOS. RELICTEIS.
 NOYEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACELAM. MOENITAM. URBEM.
 PUCNANDOD. CEPET. ENQUE. FODEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE
 REM. NAVIBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CESET. RESMECOSQUE
 CLASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PARAVETQUE. DIEBOS. LX
 CUMQUE. LIS. NAVIBUS. CLASIS. POENICAS. OMNIS. PARATASQUE.
 SUMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRESENIT. MAXUMOD.
 DICTATORED. OLOROM. IN. ALTOD. MARID. PUCNANDOD. VICET.
 XXXQUE. NAVIS. CEPET. CUM. SOCIIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQUE. DUCIS
 QUINRESMOSQUE. TRIRISMOSQUE. NAVIS. XX. DEPRESET.
 AUROM. CAPTOM. NUMEI 000 DCC

ARCEN TOM. CAP TOM. PREDA. NUMEL. 00000 C

CRAVE.	CAPTOM.	AES	00000	00000	00000	00000	00000
00000	00000	00000	00000	00000	00000	00000	00000
00000	00000	00000	00000	00000	00000	00000	00000

TRIOMPOQUE. NAVALID. PREDA. POPLOM. ROMANOM. DONAVAT
 DAPTIVOS. CARTACINIENSEIS. INCINVOB. DUXET. ANTE. CUROM
 PRIMOSQUE. CONSOL. DE SICELIS. CLASEQUE. CARTACINIENSEOM
 TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. RLROM. ERCO. S. P. Q. R. EL. HANCE. COLUMNAM. P.

antiquity ; and the city of *Thebes* in *Bæotia* (E), so called from *Thebes* in *Egypt* ; *Pisa* in *Italy*, from *Pisa* in *Peloponnesus* ; *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, from *Salamis* in *Attica*, to omit several others that might be mentioned, are sufficient instances of it.

Salmasius * will have the Greek name *Charchedon* to be derived from *Solinus's* *Carthada* ; because the *Sicilians* now-and-

* SALMAS. ubi supra.

Caius Duilius Marci filius Consul adversus Carthaginienses in Sicilia rem gerens, Egestanos (socios atque) cognatos populi Romani arctissima obsidione exemit. Legiones (enim) omnes Carthaginiensium (qui Egestam obsidebant, & Amilcar)

maximus (eorum) magistratus (festinandi studio) elephantis relictis novem, castris effugerunt. Macellam (deinde) munitam (validamque) urbem

pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magistratu prospere rem navibus mari consul primus gessit: remiges

classisque navales primus ornavit atque paravit diebus sexaginta; & cum his navibus classes Punicas omnes,

paratas (ornatas) que summas copias Carthaginiensium, (præsentem Annibalem) maximo dictatore illorum, in

alto mari pugnando superavit;

trigintaque naves cum sociis (hoc est cum ipsis hominibus) cepit, & septuaginta prætoriam,

quinqueremes (præterea) ac triremes naves xx depressit.

Aurum captum in præda nummi III. M. DCC.

Argentum Captum in præda nummi c. M.

Æs grave captum vicies semel centena millia pondo, atque in triumpho navali prædam (omnem in ærarium)

Popul. Rom. intulit.

captivos (etiam) Carthaginienses ingenuos (hoc est, nobiles aliquot) ante currum duxit:

primusque Consul, de Siculis, & classe Carthaginiensium triumphavit.

Earum rerum ergo

S. P. Q. R. ei hanc columnam posuit.

vel

triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo Marti donum dedit atque dicavit (9).

Hence it is apparent, that, when this naval trophy was erected, the *Carthaginians* were called by the *Romans* *CARTACINIENSES*, and consequently the name of their city, then in use amongst the *Romans*, was *CARTACO*.

(E) It is plain from scripture *, that there was a town of this name likewise in *Phœnice*, or the land of *Canaan*, not far from *Shechem*; so that whether we look upon *Cadmus* as a *Phœnician* or an *Egyptian*, it can scarce be doubted, but that *Thebes* in *Bæotia* was so denominated from some more antient city.

(9) Vide Petr. Ciaccon. Tolet. in column. rost. Duil. apud Græv. in thesaur. antiq. Rom. tom. iv. p. 1810. * Jud. c. ix. ver. 50, 53. then

then used the *Greek* letter *chi* for *theta*. But sure nothing can be more weak than this; besides, were it much more plausible, it could not be admitted, because it clashes with the authority of *Philistus* (F), *Appian*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerom.* *Herodotus*, *Menander Ephesius*, *Polybius*, &c. the most anti-ent *Greek* authors, mentioning the *Carthaginians*, likewise disprove it, because they were not *Sicilians*.

THE *Carthaginians* were called by the *Greeks*, sometimes *Libyans*, on account of the country they possessed, and sometimes *Phœnicians*, on account of the country from whence they were originally descended. The *Romans* also styled them *Pœni*, or *Phœnicians*, for the same reason; and every thing belonging to them, or their city, *Punic* or *Pœnic*, i. e. *Phœnician*, or belonging to the *Phœnicians*.

WE must not omit observing, that, according to *Stephanus* ^y *Caccabe* and *Eustathius*, this city was antiently named, in *Punic*, *Cac-* ^{the Punic} *cale*, from a horse's head, which was found by the *Tyrians*, ^{name of} whilst they were digging for the foundations of *Byrsa*. This ^{Carthage,} was looked upon as a happy omen, portending the martial disposition of the inhabitants, and the future greatness of the city. Our readers will find the whole story in *Virgil* ^z and *Justin*, and to these authors we refer them. In the mean time, we shall only remark, that the learned *Bochart* ^a has shewn the word *Caccabe* to have signified, in the *Phœnician* language, the head of the animal above-mentioned; and that, upon account of this event, the *Carthaginians* ^b had frequently upon the reverses of their coins, either a horse's head, or the body of a horse dimidiated, or a horse entire, with *Victory* upon him. Most of these coins have likewise a *Punic* inscription upon their said reverses, with several other symbols; as is evident from *Agostini*, *Paruta*, and others, as well as from the cabinets of the curious.

IN order to avoid all future digressions on this head, we shall here give a faithful and particular account of the situation, di-

^y STEPH. BYZ. de urb. EUSTATH. in Dionys. Afr. ^z Virg. Æn. i. JUST. l. xviii. SERV. & LUDOVIC. DE LA CERDA in Æn. i. COEL. RHODIGIN. l. xviii. c. 38. ^a BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. ^b ANT. AUGUST. dial. vi. ant.

(F) All these authors are clearly of opinion, that *Carthage* was built a considerable time before *Dido* came into *Africa*; and therefore, if their authority be of any weight, it is highly improbable, that from the citadel *Byrsa* only, the addition she made to the old city, the place was called *Carthada*, or the New city; and if this be allowed, it must likewise be admitted, that *Salmasius* endeavours absurdly to deduce *Charchedon* from *Carthada*.

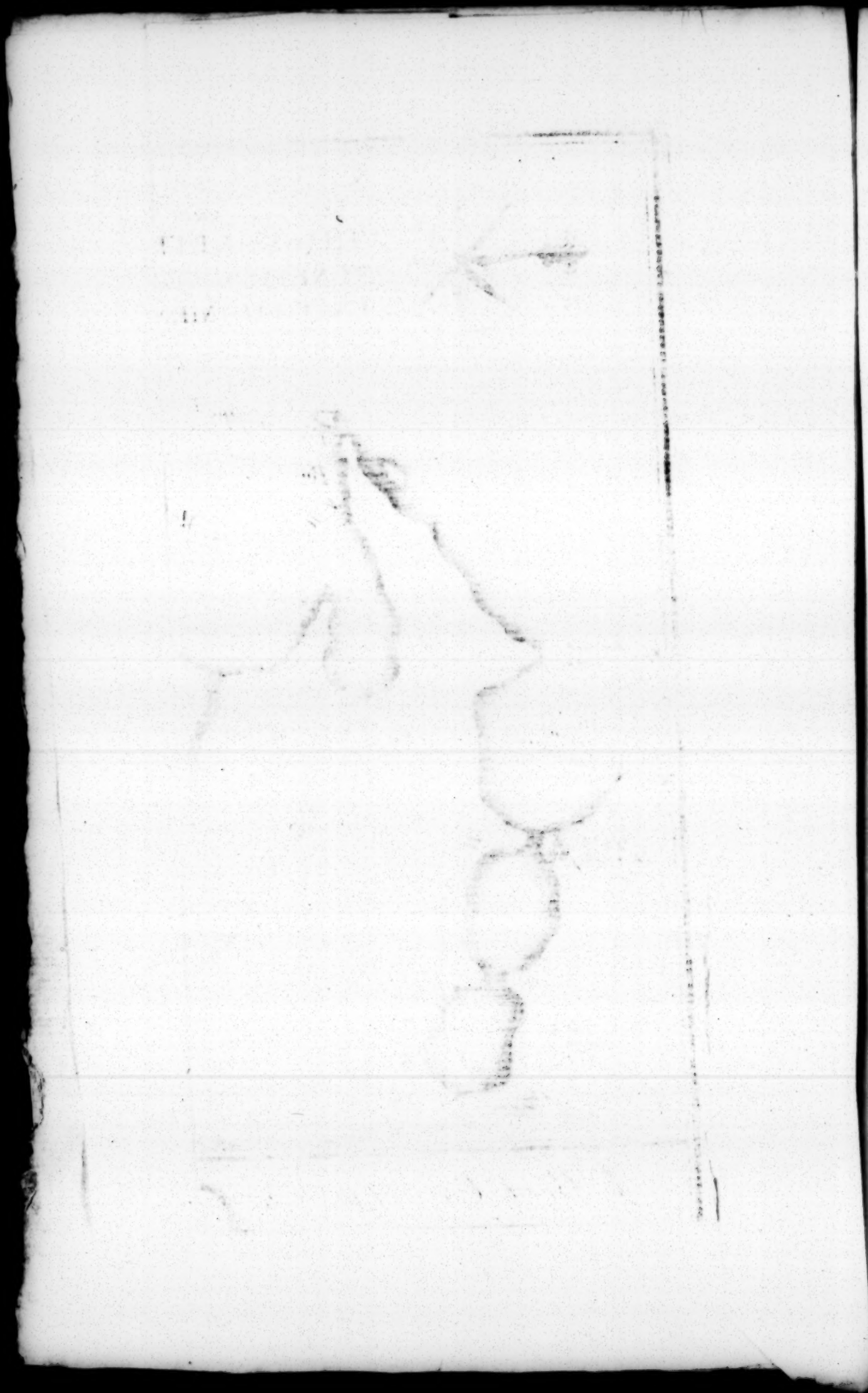
menfions, different parts, and power, of the city of *Carthage*, according to the condition it was in at the beginning of the third *Punic* war, extracted from *Polybius* ^c, *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Appian*, and other antient authors of the beft reputation and authority.

*Descrip-
tion of
Carthage.*

Carthage flood at the bottom of a gulph, upon a peninsula three hundred and fixty ftadia, or forty-five miles, in circumference, the ifthmus joining this peninsula to the continent of *Africa*, being twenty-five ftadia, or three miles and a furlong, in breadth. On the weft fide there projected from it a long tract of land, in fhape refembling a tongue, half a ftadium broad; which fhooting out into the fea, feparated it from a lake or morafs, and was ftrongly fortified on all fides by rocks, and a fingle wall. In the middle of the city flood the fortrefs or citadel, erected by *Dido*, called *Byrfa*, having on the top of it a temple f acred to *Æfculapius*, feated on a very high hill, upon rocks, and to which the afcent was by fixty fteps. This temple was rich, beautiful, and of a confiderable extent; fo that when *Byrfa* was taken by *Scipio*, towards the clofe of the laft fieve of *Carthage*, nine hundred *Roman* deferters fortified themfelves there. At laft *Asdrubal*'s wife fetting fire to it, entirely confumed it, together with herfelf, her children, and the faid nine hundred deferters, to avoid falling into the hands of *Scipio*. On the fouth fide, towards the continent, where *Byrfa* had its fituation, the city was furrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abftracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diftances, each interval being fourfcore fathoms, or four hundred and eighty foot. Every tower had its foundations funk thirty foot deep, and was four ftores high, tho' the walls were but two; they were arched, and in the lower part, correfponding in depth with the foundations above-mentioned, were ftalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants, with their fodder, &c. Over thefe were ftables for four thoufand horfes, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge twenty thoufand foot and four thoufand horfe. Such a number of forces and beafts of war were contained within the walls, without in the leaft incommoding the inhabitants. The walls were weak and low in one part only, and that was an angle, which, from the firft building of the city, had been neglected, beginning at the long tract of land advancing into the fea towards the weftern continent, before taken notice of, and extending as far as the harbours, which were

^c POLYB. l. i. c. 73. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. APPIAN. in Libyc. p. 129. DIODOR. Sic. bibl. hift. l. iii. p. 178. OROS. l. iv. c. 22. p. 277.

e
r
e
e
e
d
r
-
t
f
d
e
e
i-
y.
n



on the same side. Of these there were two, which were disposed in such a manner, as to have a communication with one another, and had one common entrance, seventy foot broad, and shut up with chains. The first was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vast number of places of refreshment, and all kinds of accommodations for the seamen. The second, or inner port, was, as well as the island called *Cothon*, in the midst of it, lined with large quays, in which were distinct receptacles for securing and sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ships, it being designed chiefly for ships of war. Over these were magazines or store-houses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for the arming and equipping of fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the *Ionic* order; so that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. Upon the island was the admiral's palace, from whence orders were given, and proclamations issued out; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, tho' no one there could see what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour; nay, the merchants themselves, when they entered into their port, had no prospect of the men of war, being separated from them by a double wall, and each port having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other.

HENCE it is apparent, that the city consisted of three parts, *Of how many parts the city consisted.* *Byrsa*, *Megara* (G) or *Magaria*, and *Cothon*. *Byrsa*, according to *Servius*^d, was twenty-two stadia, or near three *English* miles, in circumference; tho' *Eutropius* says, it did not much exceed two thousand paces, which is not quite two *English* miles. It was not so precisely in the middle of the city, but that it inclined to the south, or isthmus that joined *Carthage* to the continent, as is observed by *Appian*^e. The word *Byrsa* is only a *Greek* corruption of the true *Punic* or *Phœnician* name *Busra*, *Bosra*, or *Botfra* (for it may be pronounced all these ways), i. e. a fortress or citadel, as has been demonstrated by *Scaliger*^f,

^d SERV. in *Æn.* i. ver. 320. EUTROP. & BOCHART. ubi supra.

^e APPIAN. & BOCHART. ubi supra. ^f SCALIG. in not. ad Fest. BOCHART. ubi supra. SALMAS. in Solin. &c.

(G) The true name of the exterior part of *Carthage* (or that which was, properly speaking, the town) was *Megara* or *Magaria*, not *Misalia*, as we formerly imagined. *Appian*, *Isidore*, and *Servius*, put this point beyond dispute (10).

(10) *Appian.* & *Serv.* ubi supra. *Isidor.* in orig. l. xiii. c. 12. Vide etiam *Bochart.* *Cban.* l. i. c. 24.

Bochart,

Bochart, and others, versed in the oriental languages, and may be inferred from *Strabo*, *Virgil*, and *Appian*, the fable of the ox's hide having long since been exploded by the learned. This was justly looked upon as the interior part of *Carthage*, surrounded by the *Megara* ^g, or *Magaria*, i. e. the houses, or town (for that the word imports in the *Phœnician* tongue), its exterior part, according to *Servius*; so that together they formed a kind of double town. *Strabo* calls the small island in the midst of the second harbour, *Cothon* ^h; tho' *Appian* applies this name likewise to that port or harbour ⁱ itself, which, if this writer is to be credited, was environed by a strong wall, and had one of its parts round, but the other quadrangular. The word *Cothon* is of oriental extraction, and signifies a port not formed by nature ^k, but the effect of labour and art; so that this seems to have been not a proper, but a common, name amongst the *Carthaginians*, who undoubtedly pronounced it *Kathum* or *Kathom*; but the *Greeks*, adopting it into their own language, gave it a *Greek* termination, and expressing the *Phœnician* A by their great O, (which may easily be conceived), thence came the name *Cothon*. The *Carthaginians* were so extremely active and indefatigable, that when *Scipio* ^l had blocked up the old port, or *Cothon*, they, in a very short time, built a new one, the traces of which, scarce an hundred yards square, are still to be seen ^m. This *Cothon* was perhaps the same that was called the *Mandracium* ⁿ in the time of *Procopius*.

Number of
inhabit-
ants.

THE number of inhabitants this city contained, at the beginning of the third *Punic* war, was seven hundred thousand; a prodigious number, considering the many terrible blows the *Carthaginians* had received from the *Romans* during the course of the first and second *Punic* wars, as well as from their own mercenaries in the interval betwixt these wars, and the destructive broils they had been engaged in with *Masiniſſa*. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by sea, when they had a mind to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner, were very formidable, as appears from the army commanded by *Hamilcar*, in his expedition against *Gelon* the tyrant of *Syracuse*, which consisted of three hundred thousand men; and the fleet, forwarding the operations of the land forces, which was composed of more than two thousand ships of war, and above three thousand transports. Their riches were likewise immense,

^g SERV. in *Æn* i. & iv. ^h STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. ⁱ APPIAN. in *Libyc* p. 129, &c. ^k FEST. in voc. *cothones* SERV. in *Æn* i. BOCHART. ubi supra BUXTORF. in voc. *כּוּן* &c. ^l LIV. l. li. epit. ^m SHAW'S geographical observations relating to the kingdom of Tunis, p. 150, 151. ⁿ PROCOP. l. i. c. 20.

as may be collected from what *Scipio* carried off at the final destruction of the town, after it had been thoroughly plundered, and, as was imagined, intirely exhausted and consumed, viz. near a million and a half sterling. All which may serve to give us some faint idea of what *Carthage* was, when in the height of its grandeur and magnificence.

As to the extent of the city, *Livy* informs us, that it was *The extent* twenty-three^p miles round; and if what is related of it above be *of Car-* true, this is not improbable. *Pliny*^q intimates, that *Carthage*, thage. when in the hands of the *Phœnicians*, was much larger than when it was a *Roman* colony; and *Suidas* affirms, that it was the greatest and most powerful city in the world. The dominion of the sea, which it enjoyed for six hundred years, almost without interruption, together with the genius of its citizens for commerce, aggrandized it in a most prodigious manner; to which if we add its excellent form of government, which will be explained more fully hereafter, its extensive trade, the mines of *Spain*, &c. those inexhaustible sources of wealth; it can be no matter of wonder, that the *Carthaginians* should have arrived at such an exalted pitch of power. One particular edifice, hitherto omitted in our description of *Carthage*, it may not be improper to take notice of, viz. the temple of *Apollo*^r, standing near the *Cothon*, wherein was a statue of that deity of massive gold, and whose inside was all covered with plates of the same metal, weighing a thousand talents^s. But this was involved in the common destruction of the city, being pillaged and destroyed by a party of *Scipio*'s men, when the *Cothon* and adjacent part of the city were taken by that general.

It has been^t observed by a curious and learned modern traveller, who was himself upon the spot, that the greatest part of *Carthage* was built upon three hills, somewhat inferior in elevation to those upon which *Rome* was erected. All the remains of this once famous city are, according to this traveller, the area of a spacious room upon one of those hills, over-looking the south-east shore, with several smaller ones hard by it; the common sewers, which time hath not in the least injured or impaired; and the cisterns, which have very little submitted to the general ruins of the city. The harbour is now stopped up, and, by the north-east winds with the (H) *Mejerdab*, made

*Present re-
mains of
ancient
Carthage.*

^p LIV. l. li. epit.
supra.

^s Idem ibid.

^q PLIN. l. v. c. 4.

^r SHAW ubi supra.

^t APPIAN. ubi

(H) This river, the *Bagrada* of the antients, will be described in the next chapter.

almost as far distant from the sea as *Utica*, tho' it is still called *El-Mersa*, or the port, lying to the north and north-west of the city, and formeth, with the lake of *Tunis*, the peninsula on which *Carthage* stood.

Vast extent of the Carthaginian dominions.

Strabo ^u observes, that the *Carthaginians* possessed three hundred cities in *Africa* before the beginning of the third *Punic* war; which may easily be believed, if we consider, that the dominions of this state in *Africa* before that war, extended from the western confines of *Cyrenaica* ^w, to the pillars of *Hercules*, or straits of *Gibraltar* (I), a tract of land near fifteen hundred miles in length. When it was arrived at its last period of perfection, the best part of *Spain*, even as far as the *Pyrencees*, of *Sicily*, and all the islands in the *Mediterranean* to the west of this latter, were subject to it. How it came to make such large acquisitions, and by what steps it grew so formidable, as to dispute the empire of the world with *Rome* itself, will appear in the sequel of this history.

^u STRAB. I. xvii. ubi supra, &c.

^w SCYLAX CARYAND. Vide & BOCHART.

(I) The distance betwixt the *Philæorum Aræ* and pillars of *Hercules*, according to *Polbius* (11), was sixteen thousand stadia, or about two thousand miles. But from Dr. *Shaw's* most accurate observations, it appears to have been one thousand four hundred and twenty geographical miles, sixty of which make a degree of a great circle. The particulars of this computation may be seen in the following table:

	Miles.
From <i>Tingi</i> , or <i>Tangier</i> , to the river <i>Makwa</i> , or <i>Mullooiah</i>	200
To the eastern part of the river <i>Chinalaph</i> , or <i>Shelliff</i>	220
To the river <i>Ampfaga</i> or city of <i>Cirta</i>	165
To <i>Laribus</i> by <i>Theveste</i> , or <i>Tafesb</i>	130
To <i>Carthage</i>	70
To <i>Kairawan</i> , olim <i>Vicus Augusti</i>	75
To <i>Tacape</i> in the <i>Lesser Syrtis</i>	110
To <i>Tripolis</i>	135
To <i>Lptis Magna</i> , or <i>Libda</i> , in the <i>Greater Syrtis</i>	115
To the bottom of the <i>Greater Syrtis</i> , now called the gulph of <i>Scedra</i> , where the <i>Philæorum Aræ</i> are supposed to have been situated.	200
In all	1420

Hence it is evident, that *Polybius* makes this tract to have been of a greater extent than it really was; tho', considering the largeness of the geographical miles above-mentioned, that author does not so much exceed the truth, as may at first sight be imagined.

(11) *Polyb. l. iii.*

S E C T

S E C T. II.

A description of Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage.

HAVING given our readers the best account of the *Africa* origin and foundation of *Carthage* that can be drawn *Propria*. from antiquity, as likewise a small sketch of its power, wealth, magnitude, &c. which we shall expatiate more largely upon hereafter; before we proceed directly to the history of the *Carthaginians*, or describe the religion, government, genius, commerce, manners, arts, sciences, &c. of that people, it will be proper to give a description of the country wherein they were seated, and which was looked upon as the natural territory of their city; for with regard to the other dominions they, at certain intervals, possessed, or got a footing in, they were sometimes of a larger, and sometimes of a narrower, extent; sometimes in their own hands, and sometimes in those of other states, according as success or misfortune attended them in the management of their affairs.

Mela ^a and *Ptolemy* will have *Africa Propria* to have contained all the countries situate between the river *Ampsaga* and the borders of *Cyrenaica*, which, *Pliny* ^b tells us, were inhabited by twenty-six different nations; but this gives it too great an extent, as making it to include *Numidia* and the *Regio Syrtica*, which are countries distinct from the proper territories of *Carthage*. Its true limits seem ^c to have been the river *Tusca* on the west, or side of *Numidia*; the *Mediterranean* or *African* sea on the north; the frontiers of the *Garamantes* and deserts of *Libya Interior* on the south; and the *Mediterranean*, with the *Lesser Syrtis*, on the east. It ^d was divided into two provinces, the *Regio Zeugitana*, and *Byzacium*, with which the kingdom of *Tunis* ^e, under its division into the summer and winter circuits, at present nearly corresponds. According to *Dio* ^f, this region was likewise called the *old province*, and *Numidia* the *new one*. *Byzacium* ^g, or at least the sea coast of that province, seems to be the *Emporia* of *Livy* and *Polybius*.

^a POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 7. PTOL. l. iv. c. 3. Vide etiam CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. ^b PLIN. l. v. c. 4. ^c Idem ibid. HERODOT. l. iv. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. & CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. ^d PLIN. ubi supra. STRAB. l. ii. ^e SHAW's geographical description of the kingdom of Tunis, chap. 1, 2, &c. ^f DIO. l. xliii. p. 240. ^g LIV. l. xxxiv. POLYB. l. i. & CELLAR. ubi supra.

Ptolemy^h has placed *Carthage*, and all the neighbouring cities, four degrees too southerly, which is not to be wondered at, considering the inaccuracy of that geographer in ascertaining the latitudes of places. If we admit the position of *Africa Propria* to have been nearly the same with that of the kingdom of *Tunis*, as there is great reason to believeⁱ, it must have taken up almost four degrees of north latitude, viz. from 33° 30' N. to 37° 12' N. and of longitude about three degrees, since *Sbekkah*, the most advanced city of the kingdom of *Tunis* to the westward, is in 8°, and *Clybea*, the farthest to the east, in 11° 20' E. longitude from *London*. The spot of ground on which *Carthage* stood is, according to the latest observations^k, about 10° 40' east of *London*, and in north latitude 36° 40'.

Zeugitana.

Zeugitana, or the *Regio Zeugitana*, was separated from *Numidia* by the river *Tusca*, and extended as far as *Adrumetum*, which *Pliny*^l makes to be the first city of *Byzacium*. The summer circuit of the kingdom of *Tunis*^m, including the fruitful country about *Keff* and *Bai-jah*, and several other districts, answers at present to this province, which was the *Regio Carthaginiensium* of *Strabo*ⁿ, and the *Africa Propria* of *Pliny* and *Solinus*^o. We shall not pretend here to give a minute and particular description of all the cities it contained, as being incongruous with our present design; but only touch upon some of the principal of them, which have been taken the most notice of by those writers who have treated of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* affairs.

Utica.

THE first place in *Zeugitana* worthy our notice, since *Carthage* has been already described, is *Utica*. In rank and dignity this city was next to *Carthage* itself, and even superior to it in point of antiquity. *Aristotle*^p says it was built, according to the *Phœnician* historians, two hundred and eighty-seven years before *Carthage*. *Velleius*^q, as has been above related, makes the *Tyrians* to have founded it a little more than eighty years after the destruction of *Troy*. *Justin*^r intimates, that the *Tyrians* were settled there a considerable time before *Dido* came into *Africa*; nay, that this settlement commenced upon their first arrival in that country: and with these two last authors *Mela* and *Stephanus*^s agree. From this great antiquity, *Bochart*^t thinks the *Phœnicians* gave it the name *Atica*, the *antient*, i. e. city, rather, in our opinion, *Etuca*^u or *Ituca*, i. e.

^h PTOL. geog. l. iv. SHAW ubi sup. ⁱ SHAW, ibid. ^k ibid.
^l PLIN. ubi sup. & CELLAR. ibid. ^m SHAW ubi sup. ⁿ STRAB. l. xvii. ^o PLIN. ubi sup. & SOLIN. c. 27. ^p ARISTOT. de mirabil. ^q VELL. PATERC. ubi sup. ^r JUST. l. xviii.
^s STEPH. de urb. & MELA, c. 7. ^t BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. ^u PART. PAHUL. Vid. SCHIND. pentag.

the city of long standing, or the great city, the strong city, &c. which appellation it might have gone by amongst the *Tyrians*, even in *Dido's* time; and this notion receives a good degree of probability from *Scylax* and *Polybius*, the most antient authors mentioning it, who call it *Ituce*, or *Ityce*, to whom the other *Greek* authors, speaking of it, except *Dio*, who uses the *Latin* name, may be added. The gulph, on which both this city and *Carthage* stood, was formed by two promontories, *viz.* the promontory of *Mercury* and that of *Apollo*, under the last of which *Utica* was seated. *Appian* * says it was sixty *stadia*, or seven miles and a half to the westward of *Carthage*; but according to the *itinerary*, these two cities were twenty-seven *Roman* miles distant from each other *. *Utica* had a large and commodious harbour, and was famous on many accounts in the *Roman* history, but on none more than the death of the younger *Cato*, who was from thence called *Cato Uticensis*, or *Cato* of *Utica*. After *Carthage* was razed by the *Romans*, it had a grant made it of all the country lying between *Carthage* and *Hippo*, and was for a considerable time the metropolis of *Africa*. An ingenious modern traveller † supposes this place to have stood where *Boo-shatter* does at present; the traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence still visible there, and the distance from *Carthage* perfectly agreeing with that of the *itinerary*, besides other circumstances, giving good grounds for such a supposition.

THE next town in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, but in a contrary direction to the former, is *Tunes*, or *Tuneta*, the *Tunis* of the moderns. This town is undoubtedly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by *Polybius* ‡, *Diodorus*, *Livy*, and others; nay, that it was of *Phœnician* original, the name itself sufficiently implies: for we find in that part of the *Lower Egypt*, almost contiguous to the borders of *Arabia* *Petræa* and *Phœnice*, a town called *Tanes* ‡, from whence the *Tanitic* nome and *Tanitic* mouth of the *Nile* took their name. And 'tis well known, that this part of *Egypt* ^b was over-run by the *Phœnicians*, either in the time of *Joshua*, or much earlier; and that these same *Phœnicians* afterwards settled in *Africa* Pro-

* APPIAN. in Libyc. † Auſt. itin. int. Carth. & Utic.
 ‡ SHAW, ubi ſup. ‡ POLYB. l. i. LIV. l. xxx. DIODOR. SIC.
 l. xiv. STRAB. l. xvii. &c. ‡ HEROD. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL.
 aliiq; Vide etiam. CELLAR. geog. ant. p. 785, 799. ed. Lipſiæ.
 1732. ‡ D. AUGUST. in expoſit. epiſt. ad 3 Rom. ſub init. PROCOP.
 de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. EUSEB. chron. l. i. p. 11. Gemar. Hiero-
 ſol. ad Tit. Shebith, cap. 6. MANATHO. apud. Joſeph. cont. Apion.
 l. i. NONNUS in Dionyſiac l. xiii. NEWTON'S chronol. p. 198—202.
 MARSHAM'S can. chron. Bp. CUMBERLAND'S treatiſe on Sancho-
 niatho's Phœn. hiſt. Univ. hiſt. Vol. I.

pria, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania*. In confirmation of which sentiment, we find a river in *Numidia*^c, not far from the *Ampfaga*, called *Tanas*; from whence we may infer, since nothing is more common in the *oriental* languages, than a permutation of vowels, that *Tunes* is a *Phœnician* name, and that the city itself is of *Phœnician* extraction. That it was a town of some note in very early ages, is evident from *Livy*^d, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, who tell us, that there was a hot bath, and a famous quarry, not far from it; that it was fortified both by nature and art, and surrounded with a wall. It was seated on or near the mouth of the river *Catada*, fifteen *Roman* miles east of *Carthage*. This city is more famous now, than it was even amongst the antients, being the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greatest part of it is situate upon a rising ground, along the western banks of the lake, which goes by the same name^e, and in a full prospect (as the antients have described it) of the *Guletta*, *Carthage*, and the island *Zowa-moore*. *Tunis* some time since was noted for its corsairs, but of late the inhabitants have applied themselves wholly to trade, and are now become the most civilized and polite people in *Barbary* (A).

Maxula.

Maxula, or, according to *Ptolemy*, *Mazula*^f, is an antient town of the state of *Carthage*, and, if *Pliny*^g may be credited, pretty near that city, in a direction contrary to the promontory of *Apollo* and *Utica*. We find on the western banks of the *Tigris* a city in *Arabic*^h, named *Mosul*, or *Mozul*, which word is not remote from the *Mazula* of *Ptolemy*. 'Tis likewise evident from the authority of *Scylax*, who mentions it, that *Mazula* was of some repute in his time, and therefore of great antiquity; from which considerations we may conclude it not improbable, as there is a very great affinity betwixt the *Arabic* and *Phœnician* languages, that this town was built by the *Phœnicians*. It stood on the eastern side of the *Catada*, now the *Miliana*; and, if the conjecture of the ingenious gentle-

^c SAL. in Jugurth. c. 95. CELLAR. geog. ant. p. 913. ^d LIV. DIODOR. & STRAB. ubi sup. & alibi. ^e SHAW ubi sup. p. 155. ^f PTOL. geog. l. iv. ^g PLIN. l. v. c. 4. ^h VAL. SCHIND. pentaglot. CELLAR. geog. ant. p. 623.

(A) Somewhere near this place *Adis* or *Adda* is to be looked for, where *Regulus* gave the *Carthaginians* a memorable defeat, and forced their camp. It appears from *Polybius* (1), that this was a town of some importance; but the antients being silent as to any farther particulars relating to it, save only that it was situated amongst rocks and hills, we shall think it sufficient just to have mentioned it.

(1) *Polyb. l. i.*

manⁱ above-mentioned be true, viz. that *Mo-raifah*, two leagues to the north-east of *Selyman*, be the *Maxula*, or *Mazula*, of the antients, this town was about eight leagues, or twenty-four *English* miles, south-east of *Tunes* (B).

Carpis, a city of this district, placed by *Ptolemy*^k one third of Carpis. a degree more northerly than *Carthage*. *Pliny* calls it *Carpi*. Our learned traveller^l supposes the spot which this town occupied, to be that which *Gurbos*, or *Hammam-Gurbos*, at present stands upon; and that the hot bath near it is the *Aqua Calida* of *Livy*. Though the position *Ptolemy* assigns his *Carpis* does not agree with that of the modern *Gurbos*, this last lying above a degree more southerly than *Carthage*, yet we doubt not but the gentleman is in the right, this geographer being very inaccurate in his determination of the latitudes of places.

Misua^m, or *Nisua*, a town taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, between *Carpis* and *Clypea*. The ruinsⁿ of this place are still to be seen at the sanctuary of *Seedy Doud*, in the kingdom of *Tunis*, five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of *Hercules*. Misua:

THE next place that occurs is the *Aquilaria* of *Cæsar*^o, *Aquilaria*: where *Curio* landed his troops from *Sicily*. *Cæsar* tells us, it was a very convenient station in the summer season, and in the neighbourhood of two promontories. Of these, in all probability, that of *Mercury* (called by the *Moors* the *Raf-addar*, and by the *Franks* cape *Bon*) was one; since this is about a league to the northward of *Lowah-reah*, supposed to be the antient *Aquilaria*. Many fragments^p of antiquities are still extant here, but among them nothing remarkable.

ⁱ SHAW ubi sup. p. 57. ^k PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. ^l SHAW ubi sup. p. 57. ^m PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. ⁿ SHAW ubi sup. ^o CÆs. lib. ii. civ. bell. c. 23. ^p SHAW ubi sup. p. 158.

(B) We find the *Musulani*, a people seated in the western part of *Numidia*, not far from the *Amsjaga*, taken notice of by *Tacitus* (2); and a town and promontory of *Ethiopia*, famous for the cinnamon they produced, near the confines of *Nubia* and *Libya interior*, named *Mosylon* or *Mosulum*, remembered by *Pliny* (3). Now as a *Phœnician* colony came very early into *Numidia*, and the *Nubians* and *Ethiopians* were the descendants of the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, as will hereafter be proved, possibly some light may from hence be thrown upon what we have advanced concerning the origin of this town.

(2) *Tacit. ann.* ii. c. 52. & *l.* iv. c. 24. (3) *Plin.* l. v. c. 4. & *l.* vi. c. 29.

Clypea,

Clypea.

Clypea ^q, a city built upon the small promontory *Taphitis*, five leagues south-east of the promontory of *Mercury*, which being in the figure of a shield or hemisphere, gave occasion to the name. It is called by *Livy*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*, *Clupea*; by *Polybius*, *Appian*, and *Agathemerus*, *Aspis*; but by *Solinus* and the *itinerary*, *Clypea*. A mile ^r distant from the ground where the old city stood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants *Clybea*. *Ptolemy* is guilty of a great mistake, when he makes *Aspis* and *Clypea* two different cities.

Curubis.

Curubis, *Curobis*, and *Curabis*, a town, according to the *itinerary*, thirty-two Roman miles distant from the former; but, according to the more accurate observations of the moderns ^s, seven leagues, or twenty-one miles, south-west and by west of it. It is styled by *Pliny* ^t the free city *Curubis*, and seems to have been a considerable place in former times; though the ruins of a large aqueduct, and of the cisterns which received the water, are the only antiquities it can boast of at present, if the modern *Gurba* answers to it, as both the name and situation sufficiently intimate.

Canthele.

Canthele, a *Phœnician* city, not far from *Curubis*, according to *Hecataeus* ^u. This town seems to have received its appellation from the pagan deity *Saturn*; since, according to *Sancho-niatho* ^v and *Damascius*, the word *el* in the *Phœnician* tongue had a particular relation to that deity. In confirmation of which 'tis observed by *Ponticus*, in his life of *St. Cyprian*, that there was a town in that place called by the *Romans*, *vicus Saturni*, the street or town of *Saturn*. This was not a place of figure, at least so low as the classic times, so that we take notice of it here purely on account of its antiquity.

Neapolis.

Neapolis, a famous and antient emporium of the *Carthaginians* in the south-east part of *Zeugitana*, five leagues to the north-east of *Curubis*. *Thucydides* ^x says, that the passage from hence to *Sicily* was very short, as being performed in two days and a night. *Scylax* places it not far from the lesser *Syrtis*, and about a day and a half's journey from the promontory of *Mercury*. *Nabal*, a thriving and industrious modern town, is a furlong to the westward of the antient *Neapolis*, which appears to

^q STRAB. lib. xvii. p. 573.^r SHAW ubi sup.^s SHAW

ibid.

^t PLIN. ubi sup.^u HECATÆUS perieget. apud

Steph. de urb.

^v SANCHONIATHO apud Euseb. in præp. evang.

l. i. c. 10. & DAMASCIUS apud Photium in bibliothec. 242.

^x THUCYD. l. vii.

have been a large city. *Pliny* styles this place, as well as *Curubis*, a free city. Here is a great number of inscriptions upon stones of six foot in length, and three in breadth; but they are either so unfortunately defaced, or filled with rubbish and mortar, that it is a difficult thing to copy them. *Strabo* and *Hirtius* agree with *Scylax* in fixing it pretty near the promontory of *Mercury*. *Nabal* ^y stands upon the gulph of *Hamam-et* in N. lat. 36° 8' two leagues from a little opulent town of the same name.

To these may be added *Nepheris*, a fortress lying a little to the eastward of *Carthage*. It was a place of good consideration, being built upon a rock, and strongly fenced by nature on all sides. *Asdrubal*, with his whole army, was cut off near it by *Scipio*, who, after a siege of two and twenty days, reduced the town; and this greatly contributed to the conquest of *Carthage*. *Strabo*, *Appian*, and the epitomizer of *Livy*, take particular notice of it.

THE only city remaining in this province that merits any attention is *Hippo*, towards the north-west borders of it, a sort of frontier town on the side of *Numidia*. From the navigable lake *Hipponitis*, on which it was built, and which served it as a natural fortification, it was denominated *Hippo Diarrhytus*, and *Hippo Zarytus*; tho', from the promontory near it the antients sometimes gave it the denomination of *Acra*, *Hippuacra*, and *Hippagreta*. *Scylax* calls it simply *Hippo*, notwithstanding it generally went by the names above-mentioned in the time of *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Appian*; and this in order to distinguish it from *Hippo Regius* in *Numidia*. *Appian* * tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repositories for naval stores. The modern name is *Bizerta*, which is a corruption of the *Hippo Zarytus* of the antients. It is pleasantly situated upon a canal *, eight miles to the south and by west of cape *Blanco*, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea. It is at present about a mile in circuit, defended by several castles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the sea. The origin of it was *Phœnician*, as has been fully proved by *Bochart* ^z, who derives the name *Hippo* from the *Syriac* or *Phœnician* *Ubbo*, or *Uppo*, a gulph, which perfectly well answers to the situation of the place. To which by way of corroboration it may be observed, that the gulph, on which it was seated, seems, in contradistinction to the city *Hippo* or *Hippon*, to be called *Hippos* by *Ptolemy*, when he takes notice of the promontory of *Hippos*, or of the gulph close by it; and if so, this was only the *Syriac* or *Phœnician* *Ubbo* (gulph) with a *Greek* termi-

^y SHAW. ubi sup. * APPIAN. in Libyc. † SHAW. ubi sup.

^z BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24.

nation superadded. This gulph is formed by the *Promontorium Candidum* and *Promontorium Apollinis* of the antients, the *Ras el aheadh Ras* and *Zibeeb* of the present *Tuniseens*.

As for the inland towns of *Zeugitana*, *Ulinibirra*, *Medicara*, *Tucma*, *Gerbica*, *Safura*, *Cilma*, *Vepillum*, *Vina*, *Valli*, *Cigisa*, *Musti*, *Membreffa*, *Cilio*, and others equally obscure, enumerated by *Ptolemy*, the *itinerary*, and *Peutinger's table*; they were for the most part, if not intirely, modern in comparison of the *Carthaginian* times, and never considerable in any other. We shall therefore conclude what we have to say of this province with observing, that there seem to be some traces of *Zeugis* in *Zeugitana* in the present name of the city of *Zowan* or *Zagwan*, a small flourishing town built upon the north-east extremity of a conspicuous mountain of the same name, in the summer circuit of the kingdom of *Tunis*. This will appear extremely probable from what has been advanced by *Solinus*, compared with the observations of the learned traveller ^a so often cited. The *Zygantes* of *Herodotus* seem likewise to have been placed in the neighbourhood of *Zagwan*, which is an additional argument in support of this notion.

Byzacium. *Byzacium*, according to *Pliny* ^b, was inhabited by the *Libyphœnicians*, that is, by a mixture of *Aborigines*, or native *Africans*, and *Carthaginians*. The same author tells us, it was about two hundred and fifty *Roman miles* in circumference, and of so great fertility, that the earth made a return of an hundred fold. The limits of this province seem impossible to be precisely defined, because the antients have passed over the interior part of it bordering upon *Libya* in a very slight manner, and greatly mistaken the course, magnitude, and source of the river *Triton*; only in general it may be proper to remark, that it is supposed not to have differed much in extent and situation from the present winter circuit of the *Tuniseens*. We have neither room nor opportunity to be very particular in our account of the towns it formerly contained, and therefore hope that a brief description of some of the principal of them will suffice.

Adrumetum.

Adrumetum, or *Hadrumentum*, the capital of *Byzacium*, was a city of great antiquity, and of great note in the antient world. It had a variety of names, being called by *Strabo* and *Stephanus*, *Adryme* or *Adrume*, as also *Adrymetus*; by *Plutarch* and *Ptolemy*, *Adrumetus* or *Adrummetus*; by *Appian*, *Adrymettus*; and by *Cæsar*, *Hirtius*, and *Pliny*, *Adrumetum*; by *Mela*, *Hadrumentum*, or, according to *Vossius*, *Hadrumentum*; and lastly, in *Peutinger's table*, we find it named *Hadruto*. The

^a SHAW. ubi sup. c. 3. ^b PLIN. ubi sup.

city was large and spacious, built upon an hemispherical promontory, like *Clypea*, at the distance of two leagues to the south-east of the morafs, the boundary, as hath been supposed, betwixt the *Zeugitana* and this province. According to the *itinerary*, it was eighteen *Roman* miles from *Leptis Minor*, though *Peutinger's* table makes the distance greater. Adjacent to the city was a *cothon*, being either a port or little island, in imitation of that of *Carthage* so called. The city, according to the judgment that can be formed from the present situation, was something more than a mile in circuit; and from the remaining ruins ^c, seems rather to have been a place of importance than extent. That it was founded by the *Phœnicians*, is evident from *Sallust* ^d and others; as likewise from the name itself, which *Bochart*, with a great appearance of truth, derives from two *Syriac* or *Phœnician* words, importing, *the land or country returning an hundred fold*, i. e. of corn or grain. The extraordinary fertility, not only of the province in general, but of *Adrumetum*, the metropolis of it, in particular, is confirmed by an inscription in *Smetius* ^e, which gives a sanction to *Bochart's* authority, and sufficiently convinces us of the truth of what we find related concerning it by the *Latin* authors; though at this day ^f it is but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry sandy nature, and partly incommoded with morasses and *shibkahs* (C) dispersed over it, especially in the winter season. If the *Herakla* of the *Tuniseans*, the *Heraclea* of the lower empire, be *Adrumetum*, as we see no reason to doubt, it must have been in N. lat. 35° 50', though *Ptolemy* places it in N. lat. 32° 40'.

^c SHAW. ubi sup. ^d SALLUST. in Jugurth. BOCHART. ubi sup. ^e SMETIUS in inscript. vol. & VET INSCRIPT. apud Gruter. p. 362. ^f SHAW ubi sup. p. 186.

(C) The word *shibkah* signifies in the *Arabic* language a *saltish plat* of ground; and denotes a spot generally overflowed in the winter, but dry all the summer (4). There are great numbers of these in the kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Algiers*, which appear like so many extensive lakes, and produce a considerable quantity of salt. In the summer they may be taken for bowling greens prepared for the turf. Some of them have a hard and solid bottom, without the least mixture of gritty mould, retaining the salt that lieth crystallized upon them after rain; but others are of a more oozy absorbent nature, seldom preserving any saline incrustations upon the surface. The earth of them all is very pungent to the tongue, and, by a proper solution, would yield, no doubt, a copious portion of salt.

(4) *Shaw in phys. and miscel. observ. p. 230.*

Ruspina:

Ruspina, a town of *Byzacium*, betwixt *Adrumetum* and *Leptis Minor*, where *Cæsar* incamped in his wars with *Scipio* ^z. The village of *Sahaleel*, a little above six leagues from *Herkla*, and full a mile from the sea, has the fairest pretensions to *Ruspina*; since we are assured by *Hirtius* ^h, that the port of *Ruspina* was not at a much greater distance from the town.

Leptis Minor.

Leptis Minor, one of *Pliny's* free cities, eighteen *Roman* miles from *Adrumetum*, of *Phœnician* extraction. It had the epithet *minor* commonly annexed to it, in order to distinguish it from *Leptis Major*, a city of the *Regio Syrtica*, which was built either by the *Sidonians*, as *Sallust* seems to intimate ^l, or the *Tyrians*, according to *Pliny* ^k. *Bochart* ¹ deduces the name *Leptis* from the *Phœnician* *labt* or *lapt*, denoting a port or station for vessels. *Strabo* and *Stephanus* say, that *Lepethis*, a city of *Cyprus*, was famous for its commodious station, and the same is said of *Leptis Minor* by *Lucan* ^m. The city paid every day a talent to the *Carthaginians* by way of tribute; and all authors agree, that the circumjacent country was exceeding fruitful, which has induced *Bochart* to derive *Emporia* (its name in *Livy* and *Polybius*) from two *Oriental* words, importing the fruitful mother. The place is at present called *Lempta*; but there is nothing left besides a small part of the castle, with a low shelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the *Cothon*.

Agar.

Agar ⁿ, a town taken notice of by *Hirtius*, a few miles to the westward of *Leptis*. The situation of this place is very rocky, and here is a great quantity of stones and ruins. The village, at present taking up the spot of ground on which *Agar* stood, is called * by the *Arabs*, *Boo-Hadjar*, i. e. the father of a stone; which agrees in signification pretty well with the old name, and answers to the circumstances above-mentioned.

Thapsus.

Thapsus, a maritime town of this province, seated, according to *Dio* ^p, upon a sort of isthmus, betwixt the sea and a lake. *Peutinger's* table makes it eight miles distant from *Leptis* to the south. The inhabitants of *Thapsus* were famous for their fidelity to *Scipio*, in his wars with *Cæsar*; but notwithstanding the strength of the place, they were obliged to submit to the latter, after he had defeated the former. *Demass*, the antient *Thapsus*, is situated upon a low neck of land, three miles to the E. by S. of *To-bulba*, within half a league of which is the lake taken notice of by *Hirtius*. Here is still remaining ^q, in defiance of time and the sea, a great part of the *cothon*, built in

^z Ibid p. 190. ^h HIRT. bell. Afric. sec. 9. ^l SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 22. & 80. ^k PLIN. l. v. c. 19. ¹ BOCHART. ubi sup. ^m LUCAN. bell. civ. l. ix v. 951. ⁿ HIRT. bell. Afric. sec. 68. 79. ^p SHAW. ubi sup. p. 191. ^q SHAW. ubi sup. p. 245.

¹ SALLUST. ¹ BOCHART. ⁿ HIRT. bell. ^p DIO. l. xliii.

frames; the composition whereof is made up of small pebbles and mortar, which are so well cemented and knit together, that a solid rock could not be more hard and durable. The walls of *Tlemsan* very much resemble the remaining part of this *cothon*.

Acholla or *Acilla*, another free city, called by *Appian* ^r, *Acholla*. *Cholla*. If the site *Ptolemy* assigns this city be allowed, *Elalia*, six miles to the northward of *She-ah*, the antient *Ruspa*, upon the borders of a fertile plain, undoubtedly answers to it.

Turris Hannibalis ^{*}, the tower of *Hannibal*, was a fort, *Turris* tower, or country-seat, belonging to *Hannibal*, betwixt *Thap-* *Hanniba-* *fus* and *Acilla*, according to *Livy*. To this place *Hannibal* fled *lis*. from *Carthage*, for fear of the *Romans*; and immediately, upon his arrival, imbarquing in a vessel that waited for him, passed over to the island *Cercina*. Either *El-Medea*, five miles to the south of *Demafs*, or *Salesto* ^s, five miles to the S. by W. of *El-Medea*, in all probability, occupies the space on which this fort, tower, or country-seat, was erected.

Thena or *Thæna*, a town on the coast of the lesser *Syrtis* *Thena*. mentioned by *Strabo* ^t, known at this time among the *Tuniseens* by the name *Thainee*. It was built upon a low and rocky piece of ground, near two miles in circuit. The adjacent country is dry and barren, without either fountain or rivulet to refresh it.

BETWIXT *Thæna* and the mouth of the *Triton*, or the place *Maco-* where it discharges itself into the sea, *Ptolemy* places his *dama*. *Maco-* *dama*, with which perhaps *Maha-rejs* ^u, four leagues to the west of *Thainee*, corresponds. 'Tis a village famous for nothing, but several cisterns, with large areas to receive the rain-water.

Uzita, a town of some note near *Tisdrus* and *Leptis Minor*, *Uzita*. mentioned by *Hirtius*, *Ptolemy*, and *Dio*. *Bochart* ^w derives the name from *zaith* or *zait*, an olive, or place where olives are produced; and, according to *Hirtius*, the neighbourhood of this city was famous for its production of olives, since *Cæsar* exacted yearly from the inhabitants of *Leptis* a vast quantity of oil by way of mulct or tribute. This gives great weight to *Bochart's* opinion, and proves the city to be *Phœnician*.

Thala ^x, a city of great extent, taken notice of by *Sallust*, *Thala*, situated, like *Capsa*, in the midst of mountains and deserts, though there were some fountains without the city. All which

^r APPIAN. in Libyc. * LIV. l. xxxiii. JUST. l. xxxi. ^s SHAW. ubi sup. p. 192. ^t STRAB. l. xvii p. 572, 574 ^u SHAW. ubi sup. p. 195. ^w BOCHART. ubi sup. ^x SALLUST in Jugurth.

particulars agree with the situation of the modern *Ferre-anah*, in the south-west part of this province.

Capfa.

TWELVE leagues to the S. E. by E. of this place is *Gafsa*, the *Capfa* of the antients, and one of the strong castles of *Jugurtha*†. It is built upon a rising ground, inclosed, almost in every direction, with mountains; and hath the like melancholy situation with *Ferre-anah*, only with this difference, that the landskip here is somewhat more gay and verdant by the prospect we have from it of the palm, olive, pistachio, and other fruit-trees. In the eastern languages the word signifies *straitly environed*, and so the place is on every side by solitudes and deserts; which is a good proof that it was originally *Phœnician*‡. There seem to have been two more cities of this name, the one in *Numidia*, the other in *Libya Interior*.

Suffetula, *Turzo*, *Sarsura*, *Tisdra* or *Tisdrus*, *Caraga*, *Orbita*, and other obscure towns of *Byzacium*, of which we know nothing but the bare names, either intirely depend upon the faith of *Ptolemy*, were always inconsiderable in themselves, or built below the classic period of time; and therefore, as they cannot have the least tendency to illustrate any part of the *Carthaginian* history, or supply us with the least hint or circumstance relative thereto, we shall pass them over in silence, and conclude our geographical remarks upon this country with a concise description of the most celebrated lakes, rivers, and other principal curiosities of it, and a brief enumeration of the *African* nations, who in the remotest times possessed it.

Lakes.

THE chief lakes of this region taken notice of by the antients (besides the lake *Hipponitis* above-mentioned, and the *Palus Sifara* joined to it, of no great repute) were the *Palus Tritonis* or *Tritonitis*, the *Palus Pallas*, and the *Palus Libya*; all which, according to *Ptolemy*, had a communication with one another, by means of the river *Triton*, which ran thro' them into the sea. But herein that geographer was greatly deceived. The source of the *Triton* is nearer the sea than these lakes, which are now known to be different parts or branches of the same lake, whose modern name is, the *Shibkah El Lowdea**, or lake of marks, so called from a number of trunks of palm-trees, that are placed at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their marches over it. This lake extends itself near twenty leagues from east to west, and is interspersed with several dry spots, which appear like islands in it. To the eastward especially, in the same meridian with *Telemeen*, there is one, which,

† Idem ibid. ‡ Vid. BOCHART. ubi. sup. & CELLAR. in Geog. ant. p. 875, 913. * SHAW, ubi sup. p. 211, 212.

though

though uninhabited, is very large, and well stocked with date trees. This seems to be the *Chersonesus* of *Diodorus* ^b, and the *Phla* of *Herodotus* ^c; and the date trees in it, according to a tradition of the *Arabs*, sprung originally from the stones of those dates which the *Egyptians* brought with them for provisions, many ages since ^f, when they invaded this part of *Africa*, and halted here. The *Punic* name perhaps was *Tarit* ^g, *Terit*, or *Trit*, i. e. *pasturage*, or *pasture-ground*; for, if we may believe *Scylax* and *Herodotus* ^h, it served as a boundary to the *Libyan Nomades*, who abounded with flocks and herds, and whose country must of consequence have been of such a nature as the word *tarit* imports the ground bordering upon the lake and river *Triton* to have been. *Scylax* makes the lake to have been in his time about a thousand stadia in circumference, which agrees tolerably well with the best modern description we find given of it. *Festus* ⁱ tells us, that the goddess *Minerva* first appeared in the neighbourhood of this place.

THE most famous river of *Africa Propria* was the *Bagrada* ^k, *Bagadras*, or *Bragada*, for it went by all those names. Rivers. On the banks of which, *Regulus*, in the first *Punic* war, by the help of his battering engines, killed a serpent ^l of a monstrous size, being an hundred and twenty foot in length, whose skin and jaw-bones were preserved at *Rome* till the *Numantine* war. *Ptolemy* ^m derives this river from mount *Mampsarus*, The Ba- where he fixes its source, making it bend its course almost directly from north to south; and herein he is followed by the late geographers: but this is a mistake ⁿ, its stream flowing in a direction almost from west to east. At this day it is called the *Me-jerdah* ^o, whose first and most distant branches are the small rivers *Hameese* and *Myski-anah*, in the district of the *Hen-neisba*; which, with the concurrent streams of the *Wed el Boule*, *Scilliana*, and some other rivulets of the *Frig-eah*, render it as large as the *Isis* and *Cherwell* united. By running through a rich and fertile country, it becomes so well saturated with soil, that it is of the same complexion with the *Nile*, and appears to have no less the property of making encroachments upon the sea. *Utica* stood upon the western bank of the *Bagrada*, and *Carthage* on the other side, but at some distance

^b DIODOR. SIC. l. iii. p. 130. ^c HERODOT. l. iv. ^f SHAW, ubi sup. ^g BOCHART. ubi sup. ^h SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. & HERODOT. l. iv. ⁱ FESTUS, POMPEIUS, & DIODOR. SIC. l. iii. p. 142. ^k PLIN. l. v. c. 4. STRAB. l. xvii. APPIAN. l. ii. bell. civil. p. 748. SILIUS ITALICUS, LUCAN. &c. ^l GELLIUS, l. vi. c. 3. PILN. hist. nat. l. viii. c. 14. LIV. epit. xviii. VAL. MAX. l. 8, 19. ^m PTOL. Geog. l. iv. ⁿ SHAW, ubi sup. p. 147. ^o Ibid. p. 146.

from it. Bochart will have the *Phœnicians* to have pronounced the name *Bragda* ^p or *Bractha*, i. e. a pond, and produces several authorities, which give a great air of probability to his opinion.

The Cata-
da.

THE *Catada* of *Ptolemy*, now the *Miliana*, is famous for nothing but having *Tunis* seated upon the mouth of it; nor the *Triton*, now the *Gabbs*, but on account of the lake of the same name already described. However, it may not be improper to observe, that it has its source ^q only about three or four leagues to the S. S. W. of *Gabbs*, and becomes at once a considerable stream, near as big as the *Gherwell*.

Curiosities.

AMONG the principal curiosities of this country are to be ranked the *Hammam Leef* (D), a noted hot bath ^r, very much resorted to by the citizens of *Tunis*; the hot bath, with some ruins, at the creek of *Gurbos* ^s, the *Aquæ Calidæ* of *Livy*; the salt lake near *To-bulba*, the *Stagnum Salinarum* of *Hirtius*; the *Fibbel Had-deffa*, an entire mountain ^t of salt, situated near the eastern extremity of the lake of marks, whose salt is as hard and solid as stone, and of a reddish or purple colour; the lead-oars at *Fibbel Rif-safs* ^u, near *Hammam Leef*, which are very rich. To which many others might be added, did we not chuse to reserve them for a more proper place (E).

THE

^p BOCHART. ubi sup. ^q SHAW, ubi sup. p. 197. ^r Ibid. p. 157. ^s Ibid. ^t Idem ibid. p. 229. ^u Idem ibid. p. 237.

(D) These *hammams*, or baths, are so called from the *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* verb **חמם** *hammam incaluit*, their waters being hot, though not all in the same degree; perhaps the word *humumms*, which we have adopted into our language, of the same import, is to be deduced from the same original.

(E) We shall beg leave in this note just to mention the principal islands on the coast of *Africa Propria*, taken notice of by the ancients, which are the following:

1. *Cossyria* or *Cosyrus*, a small island in the *African* sea, which some authors refer to *Sicily*; but *Strabo* makes it part of the proper territory of *Carthage*. According to *Ptolemy*, it had a city of the same name, which, by reason of its vicinity to *Carthage*, was doubtless a place of some repute. *Scylax* tells us it was a day's sail only from the promontory *Lilybaeum* in *Sicily*; and *Strabo* places it in the middle of the *African* sea, at an equal distance from *Lilybaeum* and *Clypea*, a city of *Africa Propria*. From some antique coins, exhibited by *Paruta* and *Lucas Holstenius*, it appears, that *Cossyria* was the name most frequently used. According to *Strabo*, this island was an hundred and fifty stadia in circumference (5).

(5) *Ptol.* l. iv. c. 3. *Scyl. Caryand.* *Strab.* l. vi. *Parut. apud The-
saur.* aut. *Et hist. Scyl.* viii. *Luc. Holsten in not. ad Steph. Byzant.*
2. The

THE most antient inhabitants of this country were, according to *Herodotus* ^w, the *Aufes*, situated to the west of the river *Triton*, whose capital city was doubtless *Auza* or *Auzate*, said by *Menander Ephesius* to be built by *Eth-baal* or *Ithobal*, king of *Tyre*; the *Maxyes*, a *Libyan* nation; the *Machlyes*, another *Libyan* nation near the lake *Tritonis*; the *Zaueces*; and the *Zygantes*, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey. These were, in all likelihood, a mixture of old *Libyans* or *Africans* and *Phœnicians*, a more distinct account of whom may be expected from us when we come to treat of the different nations of *Libya*.

^w HERODOT. l. iv.

2. The *Tarichie* of *Strabo* were certain minute islands very near the coast of *Africa Propria*, almost opposite to *Leptis Minor*. They are at present called the *Jowries*, and lie over-against *Lempta* and *To-bulba*. *Cæsar* seems to have looked upon them as posts of some importance, which is all that we have at present to say of them (6).

3. *Lopadusa*, opposite to *Thapsus* above-mentioned, and six miles long, if we will believe *Pliny*. The same author affirms it to have been fifty miles distant from *Cercina* and *Cercinitis*, two small islands belonging to the *Regio Syrtica* (7).

4. *Ætbusa*, or *Ægusa*, another little island mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, lying a little to the westward of the former (8).

5. The *Larunesie*, two small islands, according to the *Palatine MS.* of *Ptolemy*, that lay above *Ruspina* (9).

6. The *Insula Dracontia* of *Ptolemy*, to the north of *Hippo Diarrhytus*. Two little flat contiguous islands called the *Cani*, not far from cape *Blanco*, seem at this day to bid fair for the same situation that *Ptolemy* assigns to his *Insula Dracontia* (10).

7. *Galata*, a little island above *Tabraca*, three hundred stadia from the continent of *Africa* (11).

(8) *Ægimurus*, a small island in the gulph of *Carthage*, about thirty miles from that capital. *Pliny* assures us, that there were two rocks near this island called the *Aræ Ægimuri* or *Ægimori*, which, according to *Servius*, were the remains of an island, some ages before his time absorpt by the sea. This author likewise informs us, that they were called *Aræ*, because on them the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* concluded a treaty, and made them the limits of their respective dominions. The modern *Zowwa-moor*, between cape *Zibeeb* and cape *Bon* or *Raf-addar*, the *Zimbra* of our sea charts, is undoubtedly the *Ægimurus* of the antients (12).

(6) *Strab.* l. xvii. *Hirt. de bel. Afric.* §. 20. (7) *Strab.* l. xvii. *Plin.* l. v. c. 7. (8) *Plin.* l. iii. c. 8. *Ptol.* l. iv. c. 3. (9) *Cellar. geogr. ant.* l. iv. c. 4. (10) *Ptol. ubi supra.* (11) *Cellar. ex itin. maritimo, ubi sup.* (12) *Strab.* l. xxii. p. 573. *Liv.* l. xxx. c. 24. *Plin.* l. v. c. 7. *Virg. Æn.* i. ver. 108. *Serv. in loc.* *Steph. Byzant.* &c.

As for the climate, modern state, and natural history of *Africa Propria*, both with regard to its animal, vegetable, and subterraneous productions, we shall defer what we have to say on each of these heads, till, according to the method already proposed to ourselves, we come to write the history of the states of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*.

S E C T. III.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, learning, and trade, of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians originally Canaanites or Phœnicians.

THE Carthaginians being originally *Phœnicians*^a, were the descendants of the old *Canaanites*^b, and therefore could trace up their antiquity as high as *Canaan*, the son of *Ham*, the acknowledged progenitor of that people. All the *Greek* and *Roman*^c writers, that make any mention of their affairs, are clear in this point, without the least variation. And that they themselves were of the same opinion, is evident from a tradition prevailing amongst their posterity so late as *St. Austin's*^d days; from the authority of *Servius* and *Procopius*^e; and from the strong^f attachment they always shewed to the customs and manners of that nation, from which these authors deduce them. One of the *Punic* names of *Carthage*, according to *Plautus*^g, was *Chædreanech*, or *Chadre-Anak*, which *Bochart*^h with great reason imagines to allude to their *Canaanitish* extraction; for *Anak* and his family, upon account of their extraordinary size of body, and distinguished valour, being esteemed both by sacred and profane writers as the most famous of the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, from him the whole nation, or at least that part of it bordering upon the sea-coast near the place of his residence, might probably receive a new denomina-

^a Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 342, 343, & vol. xvi. p. 412. ^b Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 157, & 293, &c. ^c PHILISTUS SYRACUSANUS apud Eusebium in chron. ad an 804. APPIAN. in Libyæ. sub init. VELL. PATERC. hist. Rom. JUSTIN. l. xviii. &c. ^d AUGUST. in exposit. epist. ad Rom. sub init. ^e SERVIUS in Æn. i. v. 37. Æn. iv. v. 75. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. ^f HERODOT. POLYB. LIV. DIODOR. SIC. Q. CURT. JUSTIN. TERTUL. MINUT. FEL. &c. passim. ^g PLAUT. in Pœn. ^h BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 1.

tion (A). This is to be understood of the most early *Phœnician* colonies settled in *Africa*, and many of their descendants; for it is to be naturally supposed, that some of these mixed with the *Abo-origines*, or native *Africans*, whom they found there upon

(A) To what has been already observed (1) of the *Anakims*, may be added, that profane authors themselves, as well as scripture, seem to have had some knowledge of them. *Pausanias* (2) tells us, that in the island *Asteria* near *Miletus*, the body of the hero *Asterius*, from whom the island received its name, was buried; that he was the son of *Anax*, or *Anak*, who was the son of the *Earth*; that his body was ten cubits long; and that the whole territory of the *Milesians* was antiently called *Anactoria*, from his father *Anax*, or *Anak*. *Eusebius* (3) and the epitomizer of *Stephanus* agree with *Pausanias*, in relation to the antient name of *Miletus*, with its district; and add, that this *Anax* was the son of *Heaven* and *Earth*. We are assured by scripture (4), that the *Anakims*, when driven out of their own country by *Joshua*, fled to *Gaza*, *Gath*, and *Ashdod*, and there settled themselves. And it is likewise probable (5) from the *Phœnician* history, that *Gath*, the metropolis of these *Anakims*, was subject to the kings or judges of *Tyre*, as early as the days of *Pygmalion*; since it had revolted from the *Tyrians* some time before the reign of *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. From whence we may conclude, that some of this family might even attend *Dido* into *Africa*, though it is at the same time very likely, that many of them, after their chiefs had been cut off by *David* (6), might likewise retire to their countrymen, who had fixed their abode in *Africa* ever since the days of *Joshua* (7). We must not omit, that the *Dioscuri* (8), who were *Phœnician* gods, i. e. deified *Phœnicians* of great distinction, were called *Anakes*, or *Anakims*, by the *Greeks*, on account, no doubt, of their superior stature and majesty. The word *anax* or *anak* (9) was a term of great honour amongst the most antient *Greeks*, being applied only to their kings and heroes. It has been imagined by some, that this is a common name, answering to the *Latin* *Torquatus* (10), and that the great men in the east were in the earliest times so called, on account of the rich collar or chain that they usually wore about their necks. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* (11) asserts, that he saw a human rib hanging up in a palace at *Damascus*, which was nine *Spanish* palms long, and two broad; and that, from an inscription upon the tomb-stone, it appeared, that one of the *Anakims*

(1) *Univ. hist.* vol. i. p. 296—300, & vol. ii. p. 179, (Z), & seq. (2) *Pausan.* in *Attic.* & *Achaic.* (3) *Euseb.* in *Hom. iliad.* A, p. 16, & *Steph. epit. sub. voc.* Μίλητος. (4) *Jos.* xi. 22. (5) *Univ. hist.* vol. ii. p. 343. (6) 2 *Sam.* xxi. 16—22. 1 *Chron.* xx. 4—8. (7) *Univ. hist.* vol. ii. p. 179. (8) *Cic. de nat. deor.* l. iii. (9) *Hom. iliad.* A, & alibi passim. (10) *Bochart.* ubi supra & *Val. Scbind. pentaglot. sub. voc.* אַנַּק. (11) *Benj. Tudel. itiner.* p. 56.

upon their arrival, and with them, or at least a considerable body of them, formed one people. And for this reason it is, that the inhabitants of *Byzacium*, especially of the maritime parts of it, were sometimes called by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Libyphœnicians*, as consisting of both nations (B). But a fuller account of the name, as well as a more particular description, of the people with whom the *Phœnicians* were incorporated, will be found in a proper place.

DR. *Hyde*, in his notes upon *Peritsal*¹, is of another opinion; but, in order to support it, he has recourse to hypothesis only, and those such as have but a slender foundation. On the contrary, *Bochart*² proves what he advances by unquestionable authorities, the only solid arguments in points of this nature, of which he produces such a train, as will not easily be overborn.

¹ HYDE. in *Peritsf.* p. 44.

² BOCHART. ubi supra.

was buried there, whose name was *Abchamax*, and who was said to have reigned over the whole world, *i. e.* over a good part of the east, or all the countries in that neighbourhood. But whether this inscription ought to be looked upon as genuine, or of a late date in comparison of the age of the *Anakims*, and founded only upon some *Oriental* tradition, is what we shall not take upon us to determine.

(B) The *Byzacium* of *Pliny* (12) seems to be the *Byzaxis* of *Polybius*, if we will give credit to *Salmasius*'s emendation of a passage in *Stephanus*, where he quotes the twelfth book of that historian. A strong presumption in favour of this is, that both *Pliny* and *Polybius*'s provinces have the same extent, the same situation, and their names are pretty much alike (13). *Byzacium*, according to the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, consisted of two parts, the maritime or exterior, and the mediterranean or interior (14), both which were inhabited by the *Libyphœnicians*. *Bochart* derives the name from the oriental word *biza* (15), a teat, and thinks it was so denominated from its surprising fertility, of which that was a symbol amongst most nations. So *Virgil*,

Terra antiqua potens armis, atq; ubere gleba,

Æn. i.

— *Et fertilis ubere campus.*

Georg. l. ii.

— *ἡ δὲ γὰρ ἀπείρητος.*

Il. i.

Which, according to the scholiast, signifies a most fertile and beautiful part of the country. The *Mamma* of *Procopius* (16) in this province, a word of the same import with *Biza*, greatly strengthens this derivation.

(12) Vide *Salmas.* in *Steph.* sub voc. *Βιζανίς*.

(13) *Conf.* *Steph.*

ubi supra. *Plin.* l. v. c. 4. & *Bochart.* *Chan.* l. i. c. 1.

(14) *Celtar.*

geog. ant. l. iv. c. 4. *Bochart.* ubi supra.

(15) *Bochart.* ubi

supra. (16) *Procop.* de bell. Vand. l. ii.

SOME¹ authors have imagined, that the *Libyphœnicians*, or, *Libyphœ-*
as *Strabo* and most of the other *Greek* writers call them, the *Li-*
bophœnicians, were a nation distinct both from the *Africans*, or
Libyans, and *Carthaginians*, and inhabited a different tract. It
is certain the true or *Asiatic Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, bordering
upon their respective frontiers, were called *Syrophœnicians*, upon
account of their intermixing one with another, and by way of
contradistinction from the people inhabiting the opposite parts of
those two regions, who were known by their proper names, *Sy-*
rians and *Phœnicians*. In conformity to our notion of the peo-
ple we are here discoursing of, *Livy*^m styles them *mistum Puni-*
cum Afris genus; and *Diodorus*ⁿ speaks of them to the same
effect.

THE first government settled at *Carthage*^o was probably mo-
narchical; but this seems to have been but of short continuance,
as expiring with *Dido* herself, or rather in her life-time, when it
was changed into a republic. As to the particular form of this
republic, authors differ. *Aristotle* tells us, that it was partly ari-
stocratical^p, and partly (as he terms it) political, *i. e.* democra-
tical (C). According to *Polybius*^q, monarchy, aristocracy, and

*The form
of govern-
ment at
Carthage.*

¹ Vide BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 25. ^m LIV. l. xxxi.
ⁿ DIODOR. SIC. l. xx. ^o UERBO EMMIUS, de stat. & rep.
Carthag. sub init. CHRIST. HENDREICH. in Carthag. l. ii.
sect. i. c. 15. p. 307. JUST. l. i. alique mult. ^p ARIST.
de rep. l. ii. c. 11. UERBO EMM. ubi supra. ^q POLYB. l. vi.

(C) Πολιτεία (polity or policy) taken in a general sense (17), fig-
nified, according to *Aristotle*, any form of government, where the
laws had their due force and efficacy. In a more confined sense it
was, among the antient *Greeks* before *Aristotle*'s time, frequently
synonymous to δημοκρατία (18), (democracy) as may be proved from
Æschines and others. But when *Aristotle* comes to distinguish more
subtly (19), he tells us, that there were two mixed forms of govern-
ment, each of which was a composition of oligarchy and democracy.
That which participated most of oligarchy, was called aristocracy;
but that which inclined most to democracy, went by the name of
polity or policy. Both of these, in some respects (20), prevailed in
the state of *Carthage*, as we shall see hereafter, when we come to
consider the defects of it; for which reason *Aristotle* tells us it was
composed of both. In short, polity or policy regarded men as rich
and poor (21), aristocracy as rich, poor, and virtuous; both which
considerations had their influence in the *Carthaginian* common-
wealth.

(17) *Aristot. de rep. l. iv.* (18) *Idem ibid. c. 3.* (19) *Idem*
ibid. c. 7, 8, &c. Æschin. in Ctesiph. (20) *Aristot. ibid.*
l. ii. c. 11. (21) *Idem, l. iv. c. 8.*

democracy, all centered in it. And lastly, *Isocrates* * makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. In the forming of it, the *Carthaginians* undoubtedly borrowed many things from their ancestors the *Tyrians*, who, for several ages, made a great figure in the world, and were in high esteem on account of their wisdom, riches, and power. *Aristotle* † intimates, that the *Cretan*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Carthaginian*, republics were the most perfect and best modelled of any in the world; and that these in many particulars agreed; tho', in several respects, he gives the preference to the *Carthaginian*. The consummate wisdom of those maxims and institutions, upon which this last was formed, appeared to him from hence, that notwithstanding the great sway the people bore in *Carthage* ‡, there had been no instance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of disturbing the public tranquillity, nor of any tyrant, who had been able, at the expence of liberty, to introduce oppression. This was a plain proof, that the three principal powers, of which the constitution of *Carthage* was composed, were of such a nature, as to counterpoise one another, and, by their mutual harmony, to preserve and promote the public felicity (D). These were the suffetes, the senate, and the people, who, whilst they kept within their proper bounds, were a check upon one another, and jointly concurred to render their republic of all others the most flourishing; but when, as *Polybius* observes, by an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the ascendant over the senate, prudence was banished their counsels, nothing but cabals and factions took place; and, in consequence of this, such precipitate steps were taken, as first rendered this formidable state weak and contemptible, and soon after completed its destruction.

In order to give our readers some idea of the *Carthaginian* government, tho' the antients afford us little light on this head, we shall give a brief account of the three principal powers above-mentioned.

* ISOCRAT. in Nicocl.
‡ Ibid.

* ARISTOT. ubi supra.

† Idem

(D) The legislator of the *Carthaginians* was undoubtedly a person of great political wisdom; yet *Aristotle* himself finds some defects in his institutions (22), and, notwithstanding the beautiful draught he has exhibited of this republic, intimates, that the uninterrupted tranquillity it enjoyed, was, in some measure, owing to chance (23).

{22} *Idem*, l. ii. c. 11.

{23} *Idem* *ibid.* sub fin.

THE suffetes ^u were two in number, of equal power and *The suffe-* dignity, and the chief magistrates of *Carthage* ^w. They an- ^{tes.} swered to the two kings of *Lacedæmon*, as well as to the *Roman* consuls; for which reason we find them styled in different authors both kings and consuls ^x. However, these did not in all things correspond; for the *Spartan* kings were perpetual, had an hereditary right of succession ^y, and the state was supplied with them from two families only ^z; whereas the *Carthaginian* suffetes were annually elected out of all the noblest families, and were always such persons as most attracted the public regard by their virtue and great talents, as well as their wealth, which enabled them to support their high station with a becoming grandeur and dignity; for which reason *Aristotle* prefers the supreme magistrates of *Carthage* to those of *Lacedæmon* (E). As for the *Roman* consuls, they had not only a chief hand in the administration of civil, but likewise in the conducting of military, affairs; whereas, it is very probable, that the suffetes were, generally speaking, confined to the former (F). Their province was to assemble the senate, in which they presided ^a, to propose subjects for deliberation there, to tell the voices, and to preside likewise in all emergent and decisive debates. It does

^u CHRIST. HENDREICH. ubi supra. p. 311. CORN. NEP. in Annib. ARIST. ubi supra. & l. vi. c. 49. & alibi. passim. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. &c. ^w ARIST. ubi supra. LIV. l. xxx. ^x CORN. NEP. ubi supra. JUST. l. xxxi. CALID. apud Festum. &c. HENDREICH. & UBBO EMM. ubi supra. ^y ARIST. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. ^z CORN. NEP. ubi supra. LIV. l. xxx. ZONAR. tom. ii. ARIST. ubi supra. ^a LIV. ubi supra. & l. xxxiv. POLYB l. iii.

(E) He prefers the suffetes to the *Lacedæmonian* kings, not because the *Carthaginians* had some regard to wealth in their election of them (for this he absolutely condemns, as will be elsewhere observed); but because they chose them out of all the best families in *Carthage*, and esteemed great abilities in them as an essential qualification; which was contrary to the practice of the *Lacedæmonians* (24).

(F) This appears not only from *Livy*, *Polybius*, and other ancient authors, but likewise from the judicious observations of *Ubbo Emmius* (25). However, it must be allowed, that we have several instances of the suffetes commanding *Carthaginian* armies. *Hannibal*, who commanded the auxiliaries sent to the relief of the *Ægestans*, or *Segestans*; *Himilco*, who was general in the second expedition against *Dionysius*; and *Mago*, under whose conduct many thousand men were transported to *Sicily* and *Italy*, set this point beyond dispute (26).

(24) *Idem ibid. sub init.* (25) *Ubbo Emm. de stat. & repub. Carthag. apud. Gronov. ant. Græc. vol. iv. p. 1504. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. xiv. xv. &c. Hendr. ubi supra. p. 315.*

not

not appear by whose suffrages the suffetes were elected, but most likely ^b either by those of the centumvirate, or the people. According to some authors, they had the power of life and death ^c, and of punishing all crimes whatsoever. Their concurrence in ^d all points with the senate was necessary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that most, if not all, the cities of note in the *Carthaginian* dominions ^e, had their suffetes or chief magistrates, as well as the metropolis.

The senate. THE senate was a most august assembly, composed of persons venerable for their age and experience, as well as illustrious ^f on account of their birth, their riches, and, above all, their merit. They arrived at this honour by election, as we are informed by *Aristotle* ^g, when he makes a comparison betwixt the *Spartan* and *Carthaginian* senates; but who were their electors, is not known. Their number likewise we are ignorant of, tho' from *Justin* ^h we may infer, that it greatly exceeded that either of the *Spartan* or *Roman* senators; for, according to this author, an hundred were selected from it, and appointed as judges to inquire into the conduct of their generals; and if this number was thought requisite, to inspect into this single article, how many must have been deemed necessary to superintend, and, in concert with the suffetes, manage every branch of the administration? Besides, it is natural to suppose, that there was a great affinity betwixt the customs and manners of the *Sicilians* and those of the *Carthaginians*, since these last may be justly looked upon as some of the antient inhabitants of *Sicily* ⁱ. Now, in the time of *Agathocles*, the senate of *Syracuse* consisted of six hundred ^k of the principal citizens; no wonder then, if that of *Carthage* was equal, if not much more numerous. In this grand ^l council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negotiations and alliances, to trade and navigation; in short, to all affairs of consequence, whether foreign or domestic were debated, and for the most part determined ^m: so that the whole machine of government was animated and kept in motion by it; life and spirit were from thence diffused over all the public deliberations. When the votes ⁿ of the senate were unanimous, they had the force of laws, and

^b UBBO EMM. & HENDR. ubi supra. ^c LIV. l. xxxiii. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. ^d UBBO EMM. & ARIST. ubi supra. POLYB. l. xv. ^e LIV. l. xxviii. SELDEN. de diis Syris in prolegom. c. 2. & BOCH. Chan. ubi supra. ^f UBBO EMM. HENDR. & ARIST. ubi supra. ^g ARIST. ubi supra. ^h JUSTIN. l. xix. ⁱ Univers. hist. vol. vii p. 90. ^k Ibid. p. 218. ^l UBBO EMM. ubi supra. POLYB. l. iii. c. 15. APPIAN. in Libyc. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. ^m UBBO EMM. ubi supra. LIV. & POLYB. pass.

from thence there lay no appeal; but when there was either a division or a disagreement with the *suffetes*, the affair in ° question was referred to the people, who, in such a case, had the liberty of offering their sentiments freely, and even of contradicting the other parts of the legislature; and not only so, but what was thus offered passed into a law, the people, in all emergencies of this nature, being the *dernier resort* of power. However, as *Aristotle* ^p observes, this was a flaw in the constitution, and was at last attended with fatal effects; for during the second and third *Punic* wars, the populace at *Carthage* prevailed over the senate, whilst the senatorial authority at *Rome* was in its full bloom and vigour; and this, if we may give credit to *Polybius* ^q, was the principal cause of the rise of the one, and fall of the other. We must not ^r omit, that none but persons of the most distinguished merit were ever elected senators, nor that their office and dignity were perpetual (G).

WHAT sway the people had in *Carthage*, whilst the different *Power of* parts of which the constitution was framed were duly propor- *the people*
at Car-
thage.

^a UBBO EMM. & ARIST. ubi supra. ° HENDR. ubi supra.
p. 323. POLYB. l. xv. ^p ARIST. ubi supra. ^q POLYB. l. vi.
^r ARIST. ubi supra. UB. EMM. HENDR. POLYB. LIV. JUST.
&c. pass.

(G) According to *Livy* (27), there was a council formed of such senators, as were the most venerable and eminent for their wisdom, who were called *seniores*, *seniorum principes*, or simply, as *Justin* (28) intimates, *principes*. This council was in the highest repute at *Carthage*, on account of the vast influence it had over the senate (29). Recourse was therefore had to it in all cases of an extraordinary nature. It is not improbable, that this council was *Aristotle's* centumvirate, as being invested with great authority, and consisting of a pretty large number of members. *Livy* tells us (30) that thirty of these were deputed to wait upon *Scipio*, and sue to him in the most submissive terms for a peace with *Rome*. *Polybius* likewise makes a distinction between these and the other senators; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at *New Carthage* by *Scipio*, there were two [*ἐκ τῆς γερεσίας*] belonging to the assembly of old men and fifteen [*ἐκ τῆς σὺγκλήτους*] of the senate (31). In other authors, the senate, or at least this most venerable part of it, went by appellations equivalent to the *optimates* and *patres conscripti* of the Romans (32).

(27) *Liv.* l. xxx. (28) *Just.* l. xi. c. 31. (29) *Liv.* ubi supra.
(30) *Idem* ibid. Vide & *Q. Curt.* l. iv. c. 3. edit. *Amst.* 1677. (31).
Polyb. l. x. (32) *Appian.* in *Libyc.* *Died. Sic.* l. xx.

tioned

tioned to one another, and each of them enjoyed its natural share of power, does not appear from any antient author; tho' it can scarce be doubted, but so accurate a writer as *Polybius* must have taken notice of it somewhere in his writings. It is ¹ likely they had a vote at the election of magistrates, at the enacting of laws, particularly those in which they were more immediately concerned; and, in short, in every thing that bore any relation to them. In *Aristotle's* days, the commonwealth seems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too strong a tendency to popular government, which was censured as ² a defect in it by that philosopher. However, the senate still kept up a good degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontrollable; but in *Hannibal's* time ³, about an hundred years after, there was reason to apprehend a total subversion of the constitution; the senate had little regard or attention paid to it; the people arrogated to themselves almost the whole power, and of course every thing, which might have promoted the public welfare, was obstructed by a few ambitious and implacable demagogues. From this period the most famous and potent state of *Carthage* began to decline, and, in the course of a few years, lost not only its liberty, but its very being.

*Establish-
ments, civil
officers, &c.
at Car-
thage.*

HAVING thus laid down a general sketch or plan of the *Carthaginian* government, we shall mention some of their principal establishments, civil officers, &c. as taken notice of by the antients, who, it must be owned, have been extremely deficient in all their memoirs relating to this republic; for which reason the loss of those excellent pieces of *Polybius*, that, through the injuries of time, have not reached us, is the more to be regretted.

*The cen-
tumvirate
and quin-
quevirate.*

THE centumvirate, or tribunal of the hundred, consisted of an hundred and four persons, not simply of an hundred, as the name seems to imply, receiving its denomination from the greater number ⁴. According to *Aristotle*, who is the only author that has given us any description of it ⁵, the power it enjoyed was very extensive, tho' confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature ⁶. Out of this tribunal were selected five judges, whose jurisdiction was superior to that of the rest, to whom we may with propriety enough, give the name of quinquévirs, or the quinquévirate. They had the power not only of filling up all vacancies in their own body, but likewise of chusing those persons who composed the tribunal of the hundred ⁷; were, under the suffetes, at the head of this tribunal; and had, in a great

¹ UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi supra. ² ARIST. ubi supra. ³ Po-
LYB. l. vi. ⁴ JUSTIN. l. xix. ARIST. ubi supra. ⁵ Idem ibid.
⁶ Idem ibid. ⁷ Idem ibid.

measure, the lives, fortunes, reputations, &c. of all the citizens depending upon them. *Aristotle*^a informs us, that the *Carthaginian* centumvirate answered in several respects to the ephori at *Sparta*; but with submission to this philosopher, we think the quinquevirate should be substituted in its room, as having a better title to the comparison: for^b with regard to the ephori, first, they were the most despotic magistrates in *Sparta*, their authority being, in a manner, boundless, and the lives, fortunes, &c. of all the *Lacedæmonians* almost intirely depending upon their will and pleasure; which may be^c said of the quinquevirate in *Carthage*, with more reason than of the centumvirate. Secondly, the centumvirate was perpetual^d; but whether the quinquevirate was so or not, is uncertain. Now, the ephori were elected annually^e. Thirdly, the ephori were five in number^f, and so were the quinquevirs. Fourthly, an universal administration of justice, with regard to individuals, was the province of the quinquevirate at *Carthage*^g, as it was of the ephori at *Lacedæmon*; whereas the institution of the centumvirate was intended only at first as a curb to the authority of their generals^h, by calling them to an account for their conduct on their return from the campaign, tho' afterwards it extended to many branches of civil affairs. From which considerations it is probable, that the council of five in *Carthage*, rather than the tribunal of the hundred, resembled the *Lacedæmonian* ephori. The great authority annexed to the quinquevirate, gave the *Carthaginian* stateⁱ the appearance of an oligarchy, tho', as the members of this council discharged the duties of their function without any salary or reward, and were elected freely by suffrages, not by lot (H), it had likewise the resemblance

^a Idem ibid. ^b Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 303. ^c ARIST. ubi supra. Vide etiam UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi supra. ^d ARIST. ubi supra. LIV. l. xxxiii. Vide etiam ROLLIN. in hist. anc. des Carthag. sect. 3. ^e Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 303. ^f Univers. hist. & ARIST. ubi supra. ^g Univers. hist. UB. EMM. & ARISTOT. ubi supra. ^h JUSTIN. UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi supra. ⁱ ARIST. ubi supra.

(H) The *Carthaginian* republic, in this respect, followed the *Lacedæmonian*, in which the senate, ephori, &c. were elected by suffrages or votes(33). On the contrary, at *Athens* the senate, prytanes, &c. were all chosen by lot. This last method of electing was peculiar to the democratical form of government, as the former was to the aristocratical. The manner in which the *Athenians* chose their magistrates and rulers by lot, has been already described

(33) *Aristot. de repub.* & *Nic. Cragius de rep. Lacedæm. l. ii. c. 1.*
VOL. XVI. L 11

resemblance of an aristocracy ^k. *Ubbo Emmius* ^l thinks, that the suffetes presided in this council, and the centumvirate, as well as in the senate, being the chief magistrates concerned in the administration of justice. If so, their office was, in all probability, perpetual, till the time of *Hannibal* ^m, by whose influence a law passed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond that term. This last observation will point out to us the reason why the supreme magistrates at *Carthage* were called *suffetes*, and enable us to trace up that institution to its first source (I).

THE

^k Idem ibid.^l UB. EMM. ubi supra.^m LIV. l. xxxiii.

in the former part of this history (34); and the *Lacedæmonian* election of civil officers has been fully handled by *Cragius*. It may not be improper here to repeat, that *Solon* was the *Athenian* legislator, and *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian*.

(I) *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Festus*, derives this word from the verb *צָפַח* *tzaphah*, *he looked from on high*, or, *he overlooked others*; and so makes it agree in signification with the Greek *ἐποπτεύω*, *ἐπὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς*, *ἐπισκοπέω*, &c. (35). But this, notwithstanding it has some appearance of truth, is not so easy and grammatical as *Bochart's* etymon. That learned man, after the great *Selden*, will have *suffetes* to be the same word with *סופתים* *sophetim*, or *sofetim*, *judges*, *magistrates*, &c. which notion is absolutely confirmed, not only by what we have advanced, but likewise by *Paulus*, *Calidius*, and *Festus* (36). If this be allowed, it cannot well be denied, that the *Carthaginian* *suffetes* resembled very much the old judges of the *Israelites*, who governed that nation from the death of *Joshua* to the election of *Saul*, the first king of *Israel*. We say, this cannot well be denied; for these old judges were called in *Hebrew* *sophetim*, or *sofetim*, for which reason the *Hebrews* always styled the book of judges *sophetim*; and this very government flourished in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, the mother of *Carthage*. We may therefore reasonably presume, that the *Carthaginians* borrowed their *suffetes* either from *Tyre*, or immediately from the *Israelites* themselves, by whom some of their ancestors the *Canaanites* were at first expelled their country in the time of *Joshua*, and others in the time of *David*, after they had, for a considerable period, been contiguous to them. If the *Carthaginians* derived this institution from the *Tyrians*, these last probably received it from the *Israelites* their neighbours. However this may be, it is certain such magistrates as these were in *Tyre* after the destruction of the old city by *Nebuchadnezzar*.

(34) *Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 46. Car. Sigon. de rep. Athen. l. ii. c. 3 & Nic. Crag. ubi supra.* (35) *Scalig. in Fest. sub. voc. sufes.*

(36) *Seld. de diis. Syris. in prolegom. c. 2. Bochart, Chan. l. i. c. 24. Paulus & Calid. apud Fest. sub voc. sufes.*

THE principal, if not only, civil officers established at *Car-* *Civil of-*
thage (besides the suffetes) that have been remembered by the *ficers at*
 antients, were the prætor, the quæstor, and the censor. *Carthage.*

THE

car; for *Josephus*, in his treatise against *Apion*, has given us a series of them (37). It ought to be observed, that but one person was invested with the supreme authority amongst the *Hebrews* during the government of the *sophetim*, which was likewise the custom at *Tyre*; and therefore it is natural to suppose, that it was so originally at *Carthage* also (38). The *Romans* had very inadequate ideas of the *Carthaginian* government in general, and of their magistrates in particular; and therefore we cannot absolutely depend upon their accounts of them. Yet even from some of these it seems not improbable, that one of the suffetes, even towards the decline of *Carthage*, had a greater share of power than the other; which is a sort of proof, that at first the power of the suffetes was lodged in a single hand. *Justin* calls *Hanno* the prince, or principal person, of *Carthage*. *Cornelius Nepos* gives *Hannibal* the name of prætor; *Livy* and *Gellius* of dictator. 'Tis plain *Hannibal* was by far the greatest man in the city, because he over-ruled all the other magistrates, when he limited the power of the whole bench of judges. *Festus* says the *sufes* (or, according to the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, *sufet*, as appears from the genitive case *sufetis*) was the supreme magistrate of *Carthage*. And lastly, from some inscriptions in *Gruter*, it is clear, that several cities in *Africa* had each of them a *sufes* (39). The old *Archontic* government, that took place at *Athens* after the death of *Codrus*, seems likewise to have been of this form. We find some little variation in the *Carthaginian* word *suffetes* from the *Hebrew sophetim*, which is owing partly to the *Latin* termination, and partly to the affinity betwixt the *Punic* language and the *Syriac*. That *ES* is a *Latin* plural termination, needs no proof; and that the *Punic* language was near akin to the *Syriac*, though it borrowed most of its words from the *Hebrew*, is evident, not only from the nature of the thing, but likewise from the authority of *St. Jerom*, *St. Augustin*, (40), and *Priscian*. What therefore the *Hebrews* wrote *sophetim*, the *Carthaginians*, in all probability, wrote *suphetin*, or emphatically *suphete* (שופתה) *N* or *E* being the emphatical masculine plural termination in *Syriac*, as *P* or *IN* was the absolute one. The *Hebrew vaucholem*, or *O*, answered to the *Syriac* and *Punic V* (41); and though the *MSS* of *Livy* and *Nepos* have *suffetes* with a double *F*, yet, from the authority of *Festus*, *Calidius*, and the above-men-

(37) *Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i.* (38) *Jud. ii. 18, 19, & iii. iv, vii, & c. Joseph. ubi supra.* (39) *Justin. l. xxi. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Lib. l. xxiii. & lxxxiii. A. Gell. l. x. c. 52. Fest. sub. voc. sufes. Gruter. p. 470. inscript. 1, 2. edit. Græv. Amst. 1707.* (40) *D. Hieron. com. ad. Jerem. v. D. Aug. l. iii. cont. lit. Petil. Donat. & Priscian. l. v.* (41) *Vide Boeb. Chan. l. i. c. 24. & Jos. Scalig. in Fest. sub. voc. sufes:*

THE great *Hannibal*, who, by reason of his glorious achievements, as well as noble extraction, was the most illustrious of the *Carthaginians*, had the prætorshipⁿ conferred upon him in the fifth year after the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, from whence it is evident, that this must have been one of the first employments in the state. The person invested with this high dignity had a vast influence, not only in passing, but likewise in repealing, of laws, as may be inferred from *Hannibal's* impeaching the whole bench of judges, and carrying his point against them, during his continuance^o in this office. He moreover^p received the tribute paid by the different nations under the *Carthaginian* power; collected the yearly taxes and subsidies levied upon the citizens, and had the care of every thing relating to the public revenues. It is remarkable, that a transition^q from the office of *suffetes* (after it became annual) to the prætorship, was not uncommon in *Carthage*; of which *Hannibal* and *Mago*, not to^r mention other instances that might be produced, supply us with abundant proof. Whether there were more prætors than one in this republic, or whether any branches of business, besides those above-mentioned, pertained to the office, are points that, for want of sufficient light from antiquity, cannot be determined.

The quæstor.

THE quæstor^s was an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who, tho' subordinate to them, had a very considerable degree of power. He^t likewise collected and managed the public money, under the prætor; which induced *Livy* to give him the name of quæstor. This officer, in his double capacity, seems to have answered to the old *Roman* quæstors, who^u were introduced under the regal government, as well as those who were appointed in the time of the commonwealth. He was sometimes at least, if not of course, admitted into the bench of judges, at the expiration of his office. This, and the other particulars, we learn from *Livy* and *Polybius*; but as to any thing further, either concerning him or his function, we are intirely in the dark.

ⁿ Idem ibid. & UB. EMM. ubi sup. ^o LIV. ubi sup. ^p Idem ibid. UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi sup. ^q HENDR. ubi sup. ^r LIV. POLYB. DIODOR. SIC. & C. ^s LIV. l. xxxiii. ^t Idem, l. xxiii. ^u Vide Univers. hist. vol. xi. p. 252, in not.

tioned inscriptions, they ought to be corrected, the true reading being undoubtedly *sufetes* with a single F. We have been a little more prolix than usual in this note, because we take the subject of it to be of a very curious nature, and such a one as may lead us to farther discoveries both in sacred and profane history.

WE find another civil officer established at *Carthage*, whose *The censor.* business it was to inspect into the manners of the citizens ; on which account he is styled by *Cornelius Nepos* ^w, the præfect of manners, or the censor, *Hamilcar* ^x, the father of *Hannibal*, tho' the first man in the republic, could not escape this inspection ; for the censor took from him a beautiful youth, named *Asdrubal*, on a report that he was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with modesty ; from whence we may conclude, that the power of this magistrate extended to every subject of the state, even those of the greatest figure and distinction.

As for the *Carthaginian* laws, our readers must not expect *The Car-* any regular system of them. The utmost we can pretend to *thaginian* is, to give them a few fragments, or rather traces, of an incon- *laws.* siderable part of these laws. They have all long since been buried in oblivion ; nor have even the titles of any of them, but what we here produce, escaped the general wreck of time.

1. THERE was a law of very long standing amongst the *Children Carthaginians* ^y, by which they were enjoined to sacrifice to *of the best Saturn* only children nobly born. This, not being complied *families* with for a certain period, grew into disuse, the children of *sacrificed* slaves and foreigners being substituted in the room of the others. *to Saturn.* But when *Agathocles* ^z reduced *Carthage* almost to the last extremity, it was revived, the inhabitants imputing all their misfortunes to the anger of *Saturn*, who, as they imagined, was offended at the non-observance of this law. However, to atone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in the city were offered up to that deity.

2. BY another law, *Ceres* and *Proserpina* were admitted into *Ceres and* the number of the *Carthaginian* deities ^a. Magnificent statues *Proserpina* were erected in their honour ; priests were selected from amongst *admitted* the most distinguished families of the city for their service ; and *into the* sacrifices, after the *Greek* manner, were offered up to them. *number of* This happened during the consternation the people of *Carthage* *the Car-* were thrown into by the *African* insurrection, and the ill success *thaginian* that attended them in their war with *Dionysius* the tyrant of *deities.* *Syracuse*. It was done in order to appease the anger of these goddesses, whose farther resentment they feared, because *Himilco*, the *Carthaginian* general in *Sicily*, had plundered their temples in the suburb of *Acradina*.

^w CORN. NEP. in vit. Hamilc. ^x Idem ibid. ^y DIODOR. SIC. l. xx. PLUT. de superst. & de ser. vindic. deor. HERODOT. l. vii. ^z DIODOR. SIC. ubi sup. PESSEN. FEST. apud Lactant. inst. l. i. c. i. ^a DIOD. SIC. l. xiv.

Greek
language
forbidden
in Car-
thage.

3. ABOUT this time likewise a law was enacted at *Carthage*^b, by which all the inhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or speak the *Greek* language. It was hoped by this means to prevent for the future all treasonable correspondence with the enemy. The law was occasioned by a *Carthaginian* traitor^c, who, writing in *Greek* to *Dionysius*, had given him intelligence of the motions of the army, and particularly of its departure from the city (K). But this law was afterwards either repealed, or totally neglected; for we find, that the^d great *Hannibal* himself understood this language so well, that he composed in it a history of the actions of *Manlius Vulso* during the time of his proconsulship in *Asia*^e, having been taught it by *Sofilus* the *Lacedæmonian* (L).

The cen-
tumvirate
instituted
to restrain
the power
of the Car-
thaginian
generals.

4. IT has been lately hinted, that a council was formed at *Carthage*^f, consisting of an hundred persons taken out of the senate, whose province it was to inquire into the conduct of their generals at the end of the campaign. Now, it cannot be supposed, that this could any otherwise have been effected, than by a law passed for that purpose. The ends proposed by this law were, to reduce the exorbitant power of *Mago's* family within proper bounds, which, by engrossing all the best employments, was become too overgrown for the state; and to secure the republic against the great authority of its generals in

^b JUST. l. xx. ^c Idem ibid. ^d CORN. NEP. in vit. Hannib.
^e Idem ibid. & PLUT. in Scip. ^f JUST. l. xix.

(K) This traitor's name was *Suniator*, *Suniates*, or *Syniatus*, a professed enemy to *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* general, and who, in order to hurt him, did not scruple an attempt to sacrifice his country. He was a citizen of the first rank, and wrote to *Dionysius* in *Greek*, giving him advice of the military preparations making against him, as well as the incapacity of *Hanno* for the post he was in; but his letter being intercepted, he received the punishment due to his crime (42).

(L) This *Sofilus*, with *Philenius* or *Silenus*, another *Lacedæmonian*, attended *Hannibal* in all his expeditions. That general spoke *Greek* with a tolerable fluency, and is said to have written other books in this language, besides the work here mentioned. *Sofilus* and *Silenus* undertook to write the history of their hero; but whether or no they executed that design, is not known. If they did, we are never the better for it; since not a fragment of either of their pieces has come down to us (43).

(42) *Justin. l. xx. Ubb. Emm. ubi sup. apud Gronov. p. 511.*

(43) *Vide Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1734. p. 604. not. c. Cic. de divin. l. xxiv. Liv. l. xxvi. Voss. de hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 413.*

all

all succeeding ages, who, whilst in the field, were quite despotic. It is generally believed, that this council was the same with the centumvirate, or ^a tribunal of the hundred, which has been already described.

5. A sort of sumptuary law was made by the *Carthaginian* *Expences* senate, to restrain all kinds of excesses at marriages. This was *at mar-* occasioned by a design of *Hanno*, the principal person in the *riages li-* city, to make himself master of the commonwealth upon the *mitted.* day of his daughter's marriage. In order to this, his intention was to keep open house for the populace that day, and to regale the senate in a most magnificent manner. All the members of this last were to have been taken off by poison at this entertainment, which would have enabled him to seize upon the government without opposition. *Hanno*, upon account of his great wealth and power, had such an influence in the city, that the senate, upon the discovery of this plot, did not think proper to punish him for it; but contented themselves with passing the law here mentioned ^b.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the political state of *Defects in* Carthage, it may not be amiss to take notice of a few defects in *the Car-* that constitution, as *Aristotle* himself has pointed them out *thaginian* to us (M). *constitu-*

FIRST, *tion.*

^a Idem ibid. & U^r. EMM. ubi sup.

^b JUSTIN. l. xxi.

(M) Since we follow *Aristotle* here in reciting the defects of this state, it will be but just, by way of contrast, to touch upon two things, which may be considered as excellencies in it.

1. The *Carthaginians* had public meals or entertainments, which seem to have been appointed at first in imitation of the *Lacedæmonian phiditia*, and in order to serve the same ends (44). The *phiditia* were one of the most useful institutions of *Lycurgus*, which, 'tis imagined, he received from *Crete*, because they went at first by the *Cretan* name *Andria*. They were intended to repress all kinds of luxury; to form the minds of the *Lacedæmonian* youth, by inspiring them with virtuous sentiments; and to excite a noble emulation amongst them. At these meals young people were instructed by their seniors in the art of conversation, heard the most useful topics frequently discussed, and had always before them shining examples of wisdom and virtue. But it is sufficient just to have hinted this here, since an ample account of the institution itself has been given in its proper place (45).

(44) *Aristot. de repub. l. ii. c. 11.* (45) *Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 280. Vide etiam Joan. Meurs. miscel. Laconic. l. i. Plut. in Lycurg. Strab. l. x. Arist. ubi supra, c. 9, 10. Porphy. de abst. l. iv. Macrobian. sat. l. vii. c. 3. & Dicaarch. apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. iv.*

FIRST, The ¹ philosopher looked upon it as an imperfection in this commonwealth, that when the members of the senate were not unanimous in their voices, the power of deciding thereby devolved on the people; for this he intimates to be contrary to the maxims of all well-regulated states, as tending too much to popular government.

SECONDLY, He will have it, that the quinquevirate, or, as he terms it, the pentarchy, enjoyed a degree of power inconsistent with the nature of a true aristocracy, which either originally was, or at least was intended to have been, a principal ingredient in the *Carthaginian* constitution.

THIRDLY, He reckons it an evil, that merit and a conspicuous birth, without riches, were not sufficient qualifications for a man to fill the first posts; for this, in his opinion, does not only oftentimes exclude persons of the most exalted merit from having any share in the government, but likewise opens a door to avarice, and all kinds of corruption, which, in the end, must ruin any state. The experience of after-ages shewed this reflection of his not to have been ill-grounded; for the *Barcan* faction, by the omnipotence of money, carried their point on all occasions for a considerable time; others after them did the like, which at last proved the republic's destruction.

FOURTHLY, He will by no means allow, that the same person should assume to himself several employments; than which no practice was more common at *Carthage*. The reasons he assigns for this are, that a man possessed but of one office, is much more capable of acquitting himself well in the execution of it; that public affairs are managed with more spirit and expedition, when the different branches of business are lodged in different hands; that different employments frequently clash with one another; and lastly, that the welfare of every state is

¹ ARISTOT. ubi supra.

2. The *Carthaginians* had a laudable custom amongst themselves, of sending colonies from time to time into different parts of their dominions (46). This procured a decent settlement for several citizens, for whom there was no room in the state; provided for the necessities of the poor; and carried off great numbers of people, who were always prepared for innovations. All which salutary precautions must not a little contribute to the preservation of the public tranquillity.

(46) *Aristot. ubi sup. c. 11. sub fin.*

highly

highly promoted by an equal distribution of its places amongst its members, all which reasons are indisputably just, especially the last; since nothing more strongly excites an emulation amongst men of merit, than an impartial disposal of the preferments in a state amongst them, nor more effectually prevents all those inconveniencies which must be the necessary consequence of one man's monopolizing the whole administration.

FIFTHLY, He blames the *Carthaginian* constitution in general, for not having a sufficient provision made in it against all popular commotions, or acts of violence, that at any time might happen. Should a majority of the citizens at any time have taken it into their heads to revolt, or be angry with their governors, the laws (N), according to him, could not have afforded a sufficient relief on such an occasion. This constitution, indeed, as we have already observed from him, was at first excellently calculated to prevent or avoid all intestine disorders; but it was not so well contrived, at least in his time, to allay any heats that might break out in it. He therefore seems justly to conclude, that the tranquility and repose of the subjects of *Carthage* were not then settled upon a solid foundation.

THE *Carthaginians* being descended from the *Tyrians*, their religious worship must of course have agreed in all points at first with that of the *Phœnicians*, which has been already in some measure described^k. In process of time, by their intercourse

Religion of the Carthaginians.

^k Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 305—320.

(N) In this respect it seems to have been the same form of government as that introduced by *Phaleas Chalcedonius*, which has induced a learned man to believe, that he was the legislator of the *Carthaginians* (47). When he lived, *Aristotle* (48), who mentions both him and his republic, informs us not; but he must have been much later than the first formation of the *Carthaginian* republic; for *Chalcedon* itself was built near three hundred years after *Carthage*. However, there seems to be some foundation for the above-mentioned conjecture, as will appear from comparing *Hendreich* with *Aristotle* (49). It is therefore probable, that the first commonwealth settled at *Carthage*, which took place immediately after the abolition of monarchy, was of a different form from that which existed in *Aristotle's* time. This, in all likelihood, nearly resembled (if it was not exactly upon the same model) the antient *Tyrian* or *Hebrew* republic, wherein one supreme magistrate presided. What we have advanced in a former note (50) will strengthen this supposition, and likewise itself receive additional force from it.

(47) *Hendr. in Carthag. p. 329. Vid. etiam Reinccii hist. Jul. in Carthag. t. ii. p. 460.* (48) *Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 7.* (49) *Hendr. ubi sup. Arist. ubi sup. & c. 2.* (50) *Vid. not. (I).*

with the *Greeks*, especially those of *Sicily*, they came to take a liking to the superstition of that nation, adopted several new deities before to them unknown ^l, and intermixed some of the *Greek* religious ceremonies with the *Tyrian* ^m. But in this they copied after their ancestors the *Phœnicians*, who gradually imbibed many superstitious notions prevailing amongst the greater states ⁿ, by reason of their vicinity to, and correspondence with, them; and afterwards, upon their subjection to those states, had great alterations made in the whole system of their religion. The *Carthaginians* likewise, by reason of their extended commerce, must have been in some sort acquainted with the different kinds of superstition established in most nations, with which doubtless they tinged their own; so that from hence, as well as from other considerations, it may appear, that the religion of *Carthage*, was a very gross and multifarious idolatry.

THE knowledge we have of the *Carthaginian* manner of worship, as well as the objects of that worship, is derived from the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, who have affixed the names of their own gods ^o to those of the *Carthaginians*. This has rendered their accounts and observations on this head more imperfect and less valuable; for though we are well assured, that the *Egyptian*, *Phœnician*, *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Carthaginian*, deities did in the main agree, yet we are as well assured, that each of those nations had not only some particular modes of worship, but likewise some particular deities peculiar to itself. 'Tis impossible therefore to come to an exact knowledge of the *Carthaginian* gods from what is delivered of them by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. All that we can do is, to consider their different attributes, and the circumstances attending that adoration their votaries paid them, as given us by the aforesaid authors. By comparing these with what we find related in holy writ of the idols of the *Canaanites* and neighbouring nations, as well as the religious customs and manners of those nations, we may, perhaps, give our readers a tolerable account of the religion of the *Carthaginians*.

Saturn the
principal
deity at
Carthage.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the *Carthaginians*, in a particular manner adored *Chronus* ^p; who, according to *Quintus Curtius* ^q, and an infinity of other authors, was the *Saturn* of the *Latins*. The sacrifices offered up to him were children of the most distinguished families, as has been above observed.

^l DIODOR. SIC. l. xiv. xx. &c. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Univerf. hist. vol. ii. ubi. sup. ^o HEROD. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. LIV. QUINT. CURT. aliq; mult. ^p DIODOR. SIC. l. xx. & alibi passim ^q Q. CURT. l. iv. c. 3. PESCENNIUS FESTUS apud. LACTANT. divin. instit. i. c. 21. aliq; multi.

Upon the signal defeat of the *Carthaginian* army by *Agathocles*, three hundred citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves, in order to render him more propitious to their country. *Diodorus* farther says, that they had a brazen statue or colossus of him, the hands of which were extended in act to receive; and bent downwards in such a manner, as that the child laid thereon immediately dropped into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace^r.

THE same author adds, that this inhuman practice^s seemed to him to confirm a tradition handed down to the *Greeks* from very early antiquity, viz. that *Chronus* devoured his own children. But in this we cannot agree with him; for it can scarce be doubted, but that the fable itself owes its origin to this most execrable superstition, especially as the knowledge of it could not be hid from the antient *Greeks*, who received both their religion and theology from the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* (O).

BUT though the *Carthaginian* god, to whom human victims were so agreeable, had the name of *Chronus* given him by *Diodorus*, yet we cannot certainly infer from hence, that he was the same deity; because his *Punic* name is unknown, and therefore 'tis impossible to determine whether it was of the same import with *Chronus*, or no. However, we shall endeavour to supply this defect, by offering some reasons, which if they will not absolutely evince the point in view, will yet render it highly probable.

1. IN the first place the *Carthaginian* custom of giving up their offspring as an expiatory sacrifice to this god, bears a great analogy to the *Greek* tradition concerning *Chronus*, viz. that he devoured his own children. This seems to have been a great inducement to *Diodorus* himself to conclude, that he and *Chronus* were the same^t.

^r DIODOR. SIC. ubi sup.

^s Idem ibid.

^t Idem ibid.

(O) Bishop *Cumberland* proves from several authors, that human sacrifices were offered to the *Cabiri* (51), and *Sanboniatho* asserts (52), that *Chronus* or *Saturn* sacrificed his son to the *manes* of his father, whom he had before inhumanly murdered. From which source the learned bishop derives the unnatural practice here mentioned, which prevailed for many ages over a great part both of the eastern and western world. But the fragment of *Sanboniatho*, preserved by *Philo Byblius* and *Eusebius*, notwithstanding all the learned bishop's endeavours, as well as those of M. *Fourmont*, to render it intelligible, is so dark and intricate, especially in this particular, that we cannot intirely depend upon it.

(51) *Cumberland. in append. de Cabir. in Sanboniath. p. 134—157.*

(52) *Idem ibid. &*

2. BOTH the oblations offered to this *Carthaginian* deity, and the manner of offering them, as likewise the brazen statue mentioned by *Diodorus*, plainly enough shew, that he was *Moloch*^u or *Milchom*, the famous idol of the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, and neighbouring nations. The description already given of this false divinity, in conjunction with scripture, will remove all doubts as to this point. Now that *Moloch* or *Milchom* was the *Chronus* of *Diodorus*, seems clear from the following considerations (P).

Chronus

^u Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 99, & seq. Lev. xviii. 21. xx. 2, 3, 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 10. Psal. cvi. 37, &c. Vid. etiam Grot. in Levit. VOSS. de idololat. LE CLERC. com. in Levit. SAURIN's discourse, and CALMET's dissertation on that subject.

(P) Nothing can be more evident, than that *Moloch*, *Milchom*, *Baal*, *Bel*, *Chronus*, &c. are all words of the same signification. They denote a king or prince. *Chronus*, in particular, does so. The word קֶרֶן *keren* or *kren* properly imports a horn, which was an emblem of power and dominion amongst the eastern nations. From thence undoubtedly our *English* word *crown* is to be deduced, or at least the *Latin corona*, if it should be thought more proper to derive the *English* word from this. It might likewise, for aught we know to the contrary, antiently have signified a crown, since all the eastern princes were, from the earliest antiquity, adorned with that ensign of royalty; and *Tertullian* (53) tells us, that *Chronus* was the first who wore it. *Eupolemus*, as preserved to us by *Alexander Polyhistor* in *Eusebius*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, and *Damascius*, compared with scripture, render it incontestably clear, that *Chronus*, *Moloch*, and *Baal*, were the same person (54). We shall beg leave here to consider a difficult passage of scripture, which is not at all foreign to our present subject (55). In the original it is; וַנִּשְׂאֲתֶם אֶת מִכְנֶסֶת כִּיּוֹן צְלָמֵיכֶם כִּיּוֹן אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם which, being rendered exactly according to the letter, is; But ye have born the tabernacle of your (god) Moloch, and (ye have likewise born) Chiun your likenesses, the star of your god, which you made to yourselves (56). St. Luke's (or rather the *Septuagint*) version of this into *Greek*, is: Καὶ ἀνέλαβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολοχ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ρεμφάν, τὰς τύπας δὲ ἐποίησατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Which ought to be thus rendered; *Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and Remphan the star of your god, (i. e. Moloch) figures which ye made to worship them.* Our readers will observe, that this is different from the common

(53) *Tertul. de corona.* (54) *Apud Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. ix. Theoph. Antiochen. ad Autolye. l. iii. Damascius in vit. Isidor. Jer vii. 31. & xix. 5. Isai. xxxvi. 19. & xxxvii. 12. & alibi pass.*
(55) *Amos. vi. 26.* (56) *Act. vii. 43.*

English

Chronus ^w had, for a considerable period, even amongst the old inhabitants of *Latium*, human victims offered up to him, as *Moloch* had in *Palestine*.

THE

^w MACROB. Saturn. l. i. c. 7. OVID. in fast. LACTANT. de fals. relig. l. i. SELD. de diis Syr. syntag. 1. c. 6. DAN. CLASENIUS in theol. gent. l. iii. c. 4. SCHERLOG. antiq. bibl. de Moloch. GEUS. de victim. human. p. m. 64. RAVANELL. biblioth. sacr. BUXTORF. lex. p. m. 108. FAG. annot. in targ. Onkel. Lev. xviii. 21. B. SALOM. GLASS. phil. f. p. m. 1617. ATHANAS. KIRCH. in Oedip. Ægypt. l. i. f. 4. c. 15. p. 328. & in prod. Copt. c. 5. p. 147.

English translation, which has it; *Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them.* Now surely no one can hesitate a moment in determining which of these is the most eligible. The first, in agreement with the original *Hebrew*, makes St. *Luke* to declare, that *Remphan* is the name of the star, not of the god. The second, in contradiction to the *Hebrew*, will have him to assert, that *Remphan* or *Chiun* is the name of the god, not of the star; which is itself a sufficient reason for our rejection of it. Besides, the common translation insinuates, that *Moloch* and *Remphan*, or *Chiun*, were different deities: whereas, according to ours, they were the same; since it makes *Chiun* and *Remphan* the names of that star, which the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* appropriated to the false deity, called by the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, &c. by way of eminence, *Moloch*. And how consonant this is to the general voice of antiquity, may be seen from the plan we are now upon. The sun, moon, and stars, were the first objects of false worship; afterwards the deification of dead men took place (57). The *Egyptians* and *Arabians* adhered to the former species of false worship longer than the *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians*. However, all those nations agreed in this, that, from very early antiquity, they formed a mixed kind of idolatry, made up of the worship of the stars and dead men. In consequence of which they assigned a planet to each of the chief of their deified worthies, thinking this the greatest honour they could do them. The highest and most remote of the planets is known to be *Saturn*, whom the old *Egyptians* called either *Remphan*, *Raphan*, *Ramphan*, *Rephan*, *Rompha* or *Repha*; but the *Arabians*, *Civan* or *Ciwan*, (from whence the *Hebrew* *Chiun*) as the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and *Persians*, do at this day. The *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and *Canaanites*, though they had a knowledge of this planet, and considered him as conjoined with a deified prince, yet they adored this prince under a bodily representation; whereas the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* paid divine

(57) *Herod. Diod. Sic. Plato, Chron. Alex. Plut. Maimonides, Hyde, Prideaux, aliq; multi.*

honours

THE *Cretans**, in antient times, sacrificed children to *Chronus*, as the *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* did to *Moloch*.

Moloch

* ISTRUS. in collect. sacrific. & DAN. CLASENIUS. ubi sup.

honours to the star, with which they imagined him conjoined. Hence it came to pass, that the former addressed themselves to an image or statue, and the latter to a star, tho' they all of them intentionally pointed at the same object. Now the *Israelites* had learned the *Egyptian* idolatry during their abode in *Egypt*, and that of the *Arabians* whilst they were in *Arabia Petræa*, or at least its neighbourhood, where they worshipped the false god at present under consideration; and as at the same time they were upon the borders of the *Canaanites*, with whom doubtless they had some kind of intercourse, 'tis natural to suppose, that they were likewise initiated in their form of superstition. This will account for their having with them the *Canaanitish* image of *Moloch*, in a small portable temple, or tabernacle, carried either on mens shoulders, or by oxen; and a star painted on the inside of this tabernacle, or upon the idol itself, in compliance with the *Egyptian* and *Arabian* custom. Kircher tells us, that the name of *Saturn* amongst the modern *Copts* is *Rephan*; from whence Bochart infers, that the *Septuagint* rendered *Chiun* by *Rephan*, because they made their version in *Egypt*, where this word denoted the same planet that *Chiun* did in *Arabia* and *Phœnice* (58). The same author likewise informs us, that *Moloch* signified in the old *Egyptian* language *Mars* (59). But as *Moloch* was a *Phœnician*, not an *Egyptian*, word; as he proves his assertion only from a modern *Copto-Arabic* vocabulary MS. purchased at *Alexandria* by Sig. Pietro della Valle in the year 1615, and by affirming, that the *Egyptian* *Mars*, *Osiris*, *Typhon*, the *Persian* *Mithras*, &c. were the same deity, which is a palpable absurdity, we think little regard in this last point is to be paid to him. Some will have the god of the *Syrians*, called by the *Septuagint* and the *Masorites*, *Rimmon*, according to the *Syriac* form, *Remvan*, to have been the *Remphan* of St. Luke, as well as the *Rephan* of the *Septuagint* (60). Now *Saturn* is the highest of the planets, as the name seems to import, and therefore might be *Rimmon* or *Remvan*. This god was moreover, without dispute, the *Moloch* and *Baal* of the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, &c. the *Bel* of the *Babylonians*, the *Chronus* of the *Greeks*, &c. and a deity very well known in the countries where both the *Septuagint* and St. Luke wrote.

(58) *Atban. Kircher in prad. Copt. c. 5. p. 140. & in Oedip. Egyptiac. tom. i § 4. v. 15. Bochart. phal. l. i. c. 15.* (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Vid. synops. Criticor. in Am. v. 26. & AA. vii. 43. ut & Dan. Clasen. in theol. gent. l. iii. c. 4.*

Moloch ^r was the principal god of the country in which his worship prevailed, as appears from his name, which im-

^r *Univerf. hift. vol. ii. p. 99.*

Bishop Cumberland imagines *Saturn* to have been called *Rephas* or *Rephan*, because he was of a healthful constitution, long life, large stature, and great strength, all which the *Hebrew* word רפא includes in the idea it conveys to us (61). He farther observes, that all his descendants, who resembled him herein, were denominated *Rephaim*; which the *Septuagint* in some measure confirm, by rendering *Rephaim* γίγαντες *giants*, alluding to the superiority of strength and constitution they enjoyed. We must not omit remarking, that, in conformity to our translation of the *Greek* passage in the *Septuagint* and St. *Stephen's* speech, the *Syriac* version in *Amos*, v. 26, makes *Moloch* and *Chiun* to be the same; nor that *Jonathan's targum* expressly calls *Chiun* a star. Some critics have derived *Chiun* and *Rephan* or *Remphan* from two *Oriental* roots implying the same thing, i. e. the great principle of life and existence; which is not very different from the notion of *Saturn* to be found in the verses of *Orpheus*. Others have believed, that, כִּיָּן before the time of the *Masorites* was read *Chiwan*, and that the foot of the initial letter *caph* being defaced, it appeared to the LXX. elders like *resh*, who therefore pronounced it *Rephan* (62). But this is too bold a criticism, especially as St. *Luke* has so closely followed the afore-said elders, and as *Diodorus Siculus* mentions a most opulent king of *Egypt* named *Remphis*, who flourished in very early times (63). This last is a full proof, that *Remphis* or *Rempha* was an *Egyptian* proper name of very high antiquity; if not, that this king was the *Egyptian Saturn*, or at least was worshipped under the form of the planet so called. It likewise proves, that St. *Luke's Rempha* or *Remphan* is preferable to the *Repha* or *Rephan* of the LXX. as also, that the modern *Copts* have borrowed their *Rephan* from the latter, since they have not the true *Egyptian* name, but one that is a corruption of it, taken from some corrupted copy, which can be no other than one of the LXX. whose original reading, we doubt not, was *Rempha* or *Remphan*. Neither is it at all improbable, that the same people have taken the name *Moloch* (a *Phœncian* or *Hebrew* word) from the same passage of this version, and, through ignorance, applied it to the planet *Mars*. What gives great weight to this conjecture is, that the notion itself is intirely repugnant to the whole stream of antiquity; and that *Vettius Valens Antiochenus* and *Julius Firmicus* positively declare, that the *Egyptian* or *Coptic* names of the planet *Mars* were *Artes* and *Pyrois* (64).

(61) *Cumberland. on Sanchoniath. rem. 2.* (62) *Synops. criticor. ubi. sup.* (63) *Diod. Sic. l. i.* (64) *Vettius Valens Antioch. apud. Seld. de diis Syr. syntag. 1. & Jul. Firmic. ibidem.*

plies sovereignty in it, from his having such particular notice taken of him in scripture, and from the intimation given in holy writ, that he was the great god of the *Ammonites*. Now *Chronus*^z was the chief object of adoration in *Italy*, *Crete*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and all other countries where divine honours were paid him (Q).

LASTLY; to omit many other arguments that might be produced, both *Moloch* and *Chronus* were indisputably the great *Baal*, *Bel*^a or *Belus*, of the *Sidonians*, *Babylonians*, and *Affyrians*, and consequently the same individual deity.

3. *Baal*^b, *Belus*, *Bal* or *Bel*, (for he was known by all these names) was the great god of the *Carthaginians*. As it is therefore apparent from scripture^c, that he was delighted with human sacrifices, and as he was the *Chronus*^d of the *Greeks*, 'tis evident from hence, that the *Carthaginian* divinity *Diodorus* had in view must have been really *Chronus*.

^z VOSSIUS de idololat. OVID. MACROB. ISTR. PORPHYR. SELD. CLASEN. &c. ubi. sup. ^a Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. SELD. de diis Syr. ubi sup. VOSSIUS ubi sup. l. ii. c. 5. Vid. etiam LUD. VIV. ad D. August. de civ. Dei, l. vii. c. 9. CUMBERLAND on Sanchoniath. p. 152. SUID. sub voc. Βεῖλ. ^b Author. supra laudat. & SERV. in Æn. i. ISIDOR. origin. l. viii. &c. ^c Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. ^d Vid. author. supra laudat. & CUMBERLAND on Sanchoniath. SELD. de diis Syr. &c. Vid. & ipsum SANCHONIATH. apud EUSEB. de præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10, &c.

(Q) A strong argument in favour of what is here advanced may likewise be drawn from the general homage paid to *Saturn*, as the principal of the gods in most countries. He seems to have been known to the *Gauls*, *Scythians*, *Celts*, *Africans*, and even the most barbarous nations. Human sacrifices were offered up to him wherever his worship took place, tho' this did not continue long amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whose natural sentiments of humanity and compassion soon became too strong to permit them to tolerate so infernal a practice. The solemnities observed at the offering up of human victims to the *Carthaginian* god (whose name we may reasonably suppose was either *Baal* or *Moloch*, or both) answered pretty nearly to those observed by the *Canaanites* on the like dire occasion, as we learn from *Plutarch* (64). This is a further presumption, that the *Phœnician Moloch* and this deity were the same. 'Tis an ingenious conjecture of *Banier* (65), that the *Ammonites* worshipped the seven planets in the idol of *Moloch* jointly, as well as *Saturn*, his proper star, and the sun singly.

(64) *Plutarch. de superst. Seld. ubi sup. & Scalig. in epist. ad Casaub.* (65) *Vid. Fourmont. ref. crit. t. i. p. 357. & Banier in mythol. l. vii. c. 6.*

4. FROM several traces to be found in the proper names of *Carthage*, we may discover, that the deity under consideration was known there by the two appellations *Baal* and *Moloch*, as in the east. *Hanni-bal*, *Asdru-bal*, *Maber-bal*, &c. point out *Baal* or *Bal*; as *Hi-milce*, *Hi-milco*, *Ha-milcar*, *Melicus*^e, *Malchus*^f, &c. do *Moloch* or *Milcom*. These therefore being different names of the same deity, who was the *Chronus* of the *Greeks*, it must be allowed, that *Chronus* or *Saturn* was not only worshipped, but likewise looked upon as the principal god, at *Carthage* (R).

THE

• SIL. ITAL. l. 3. ^f GRONOV. thesaur. ant. Græc. tom. ii.

(R) It is believed by some, that *Saturn* or *Baal* was the sun, *Baal-tis* or *Astarte* the moon, and that these were the only deities of the eastern nations. But this we cannot allow; for notwithstanding the sun and moon were two of the most noted objects of false worship, and possibly the first, yet we think it undeniable, that the *Orientals* had other false gods, in very antient times. From scripture we learn, that the nations bordering upon God's people worshipped the sun, moon, and other planets, in very early ages (66). *Philip's* treaty with the *Carthaginians*, a copy of which is preserved to us by *Polybius* (67), renders it indisputable that this people had other deities besides the two luminaries above-mentioned, some of which were planets distinct from them. But we shall endeavour to trace up this planetary worship to its first source, or as near it as possible. God created the world, or this system, in six days, and rested the seventh (68). This was the foundation of the *Antediluvian* as well as the *Hebrew* week; and seems to be the reason that the number *seven* was so remarkable both amongst the *Antediluvians* and the *Hebrews*. Vengeance *seven-fold* was denounced against any person that should slay *Cain* (69); *Noah* was commanded to take unto him the clean beasts by *sevens* (70); the fowls of the air also by *sevens* (71); God foretold to him the beginning of the deluge (72) *seven* days before it happened; the same patriarch sent a dove out of the ark a second time to explore *seven* days after the first (73), and a third time *seven* days after this; *Abimelech* received *seven* ewe-lambs of *Abraham*, as a testimony that a well belonged to him (74); *Jacob* served *Laban* for *Rachael* *seven* years (75); *Pharaoh* in his dream saw *seven* fat and *seven* lean kine come out of the river, por-

- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| (66) 2 Kings xxiii. 5. | (67) Polyb. l. vii. | (68) Gen. |
| i. ii. &c. | (69) Gen. iv. 15. | (70) Gen. vii. 2. |
| (71) Gen. vii. 3. | (72) Gen. vii. 4. | (73) Gen. vii. |
| 10, 12. | (74) Gen. xxi. 28, 29, 30. | (75) Gen. xxix. |
| 18, 27. | | |

The goddess
Cælestis
worshipped
at Car-
thage.

THE goddess *Cælestis* or *Urania* was held in the highest veneration by the *Carthaginians*. The prophet *Jeremiah* * calls her

* Jer. vii. 18. xlv. 17. & alibi.

tending (76) so many years of plenty and famine; *Elijah* sent his servant *seven* times towards the sea, to discover the cloud that was forming itself for rain (77); his successor *Elisba* ordered *Naaman* the *Syrian* to wash himself *seven* times in the river *Jordan*, in order to be cured of his leprosy (78), &c. Now 'tis observable, that there is a surprising analogy betwixt the days of the original week, and the system then created. The six primary planets, for the moon is the satellite of the earth, move round the sun, which is fixed, or at rest, and together they are in number *seven*; this answers exactly to the six days of work or motion, and one of rest, in all seven, of which the original week did consist. Thus the *Mosaic* account of the creation is a symbolical description of the world or system created; and such descriptions as these were perfectly agreeable to the genius of the *Orientals*, especially the *Egyptians*, in the first ages, and particularly in that wherein *Moses* lived, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. Hence we have the greatest reason to imagine, that the *Antediluvian* as well as the *Postdiluvian* patriarchs, the first *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, &c. famed for their knowledge in astronomy and astrology, knew the number of the planets, and had names for them: *Moses* likewise, being learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, had undoubtedly a great share of knowledge in the celestial sciences (79). That the *Egyptians* had magicians and wise men, or astrologers, amongst them a considerable, if not a long, time before *Joseph's* arrival in *Egypt*, appears from scripture, since it was a common practice in that country then to consult such persons (80) upon any extraordinary occasion; and the number *seven* seems likewise to have been symbolical; from whence we may infer, that none of the planets were unknown to them, even from the first formation of their monarchy. The *Chaldees* or *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, &c. agreed with the family of *Abraham* or *Heber* in the most early ages, in their computation of time by weeks, or periods of *seven* days (81), as well as in shewing regard to the number *seven*; they were likewise famed for their early application to the study of the celestial sciences, which is a good proof that they must have been acquainted with the seven planets, even from the beginning. According to *Iamblichus* and *Syncellus*, *Pythagoras* was taken prisoner by *Cambyfes* in *Egypt*, in the first year of the sixty fourth olympiad, i. e. about five hundred and twenty-four years before the birth of Christ. Now the learned are universally agreed, that this philosopher brought with him home from *Egypt* that ancient system of the world which bears

(76) *Gen.* xli. 2, 3. (77) 1 *Kings* xviii. 43. (78) 2 *Kings* v. 10, 14. (79) *Acts* vii. 22. (80) *Gen.* xli. 8. (81) *Gen.* xxix. 27.

her *Baaleth Shemaim* the queen of heaven, i. e. *Juno Olympia*; *Megasthenes*^a, in *Eusebius*, *Beltis* or queen *Beltis*; *Sancho-niatho*,

^a MEGASTHENES & ABYDENUS apud EUSEB. in chron.

his name (82), and is generally believed to be the true one, and that he received this from the pillars of the first *Hermes*, who was almost as antient as the beginning of the *Egyptian* monarchy, and a most celebrated adept in the knowledge of the heavenly bodies. We must therefore allow it probable, that these bodies, and the true system of the world, were known even from the first origin of things. In order to support farther what is here advanced, it may not be improper to observe, that from the most early antiquity the planets were imagined to bear a near relation to the days of the week, since the custom of calling the latter by the names of the former is so antient, that the beginning of it cannot be discovered. 'Tis undoubtedly as antient as the division of the day into twenty-four hours, since the great regard paid to the planets, from a notion of their influence over all terrestrial bodies, was the cause of that division, as that division was of the order in which they succeeded one another in their government of the days of the week (83), which does not agree with their situation in our system. The case therefore seems to have been thus: There was a great analogy between the days of the first, or original, week, and the *seven* principal parts of the system then created; the former seem to have been a symbolical description of the latter. This occasioned the number *seven*, common to both of them, to be taken great notice of by all the first inhabitants of the world. The knowledge of the planets, which was coeval with *Adam*, at first afforded many pleasing speculations to mankind; but afterwards became a snare to them, and insensibly led them on to the worship of these heavenly bodies. After this took place, the same, if not a greater, regard was paid to the number *seven*; out of the high veneration the planets were held in amongst them. They allotted every particular hour, every particular day of the week, to the government of some one of them; and, in consequence of this, gave the name of the planet governing to the day governed. This we take to be the origin of the custom of denominating the days of the week after the planets; and consequently believe, that it was coeval, or nearly so, with the first origin of idolatry. *Alexander Aphrodisiensis* affirms, that the number *seven* is perfect in its own nature, because God governs the earth by the *seven* planets (84); *Pythagoras*, according to *Apuleius*, revered it in an extraordinary manner (85), looking upon it as a number sacred to religion, and pointing (86) out particularly to the *seven* planets; *Apuleius* judged it necessary, before he addressed himself to his most

(82) *Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 481, & seq.* (83) *Vol. iii. p. 427. note (L).* (84) *Alexander Aphrodis. in Aristot. probl. l. ii.* (85) *Apul. Miles. 11.* (86) *Vid. Jean. Murs. Denar. Pythagor. c. 9.*

*niatho*ⁱ, in *Philo Byblius*, *Dione* and *Baalit*; *Hesychius*^k, *Belthes*. According to this last author, the word was applied both to *Juno* and *Venus*; and indeed in the *Phœnician* theology, we scarce find any distinction betwixt these two deities. *St. Augustin* says, that *Carthage* was the place where *Venus* had

ⁱ SANCHONIATH. & PHILO BYBL. apud. EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. i. ^k HESYCH. sub voc. Βήλθης.

powerful god, to be immersed *seven* times in salt water (87), in conformity, no doubt, to the *Pythagorean*, i. e. the most antient *Chaldean*, *Egyptian*, &c. superstition; *Aristotle* insinuates, that *seven* is the number (88) of which the world, i. e. this system, is composed; *Photius*, *Macrobius* (89), and others, likewise declare, that *seven* is a religious number. From which testimonies, as well as an infinite number more that might be produced, it is abundantly evident, that the esteem the antient pagan world shewed for the number *seven* was owing originally to the planets, and that these were adored from very remote antiquity.

As infinite power cannot be confined in its productions to any particular part of duration, and as the manner of every one of the divine operations must be calculated to serve some wise end, we may presume, that there was some final cause why the world, or this system, was created in *precisely* six days, which, in conjunction with a *seventh*, formed the first period of time. Now it will not be easy to assign a more rational one than we have hinted above, *viz.* that this was done with a design to point out to the first inhabitants of the earth the principal parts of which the system then created did consist; as likewise to remind them in a particular manner every *seventh* day, that these *seven* heavenly bodies were created by God, intirely dependent upon him, and therefore ought not to be esteemed as objects of adoration. The great propensity of mankind in after ages, particularly the *Hebrews*, God's own people, to this species of false worship, adds no small weight to our hypothesis. That the primitive week, long before the law was in being, consisted of *seven* days, is clear from scripture (90); as likewise, that every one of those days, in the symbolical language of the most early ages, stood for a year (91). We could pursue this point much farther, would the subject we are upon permit; but as it will not, we hope to be able to give our readers a full discussion of it in some future part of this work; and in the mean time shall content ourselves with having suggested a few remarkable hints in this place.

(87) *Apul. uli sup.* (88) *Aristot. maj. metaphys. c. 7. & Alex. Aphrodis. in loc.* (89) *Photius in excerpt. e Nicom. Macrobi. in somn. Scip. l. i. c. 6. Etymolog. magn. &c. Vide etiam Procl. in Timæ. l. iii. Plutarch. sympos. l. viii. c. 1. & l. ix. c. 4. Diog. Laert. in Platon. l. iii. & Jos. Laurent. de fist. & tintinnab. c. 3. apud Gronov. thes. ant. Græc. t. viii. p. 1467. (90) *Gen. xxix. 27. (91) Ibid.**

established

established her reign¹; and *Virgil* informs us, that *Juno* preferred that spot to all others, even to *Samos* itself^m. As therefore both the *Greeks* and *Romans* had, generally speaking, one single chief divinity to preside over every particular city, country, and district, this double one must have been owing to the *Phœnician* or *Punic* word above-mentioned, which included both of the aforesaid goddesses. *Asteroth* and *Astarte* were synonymous to *Urania* and *Baalteis*, and denoted the moon as well as *Venus* and *Juno*, who was invoked in great calamities, particularly, in droughts, to obtain rainⁿ. The antient *Greeks* frequently confound *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Diana*, or the moon, which is to be attributed to the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, from whom they received their system of religion, who seem in the most antient times to have had but one name for them all. In such a perplexed point as this, we shall expatiate no farther, since it would be both fruitless and unnecessary; besides, it would carry us from our subject. Our readers will find as distinct and particular an account of the goddess or goddesses here mentioned, as they can with reason expect, in the second volume of this history^o. To that part therefore we refer them (S).

¹ D. AUGUST. in psal. xcvi. ^m VIRG. ÆN. i. ⁿ TERTUL. apolog. c. 23. ^o Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 305—319.

(S) *Urania*, *Baalteis*, *Astarte*, &c. is by some taken to be the *Isis* (92) of the *Egyptians*; as *Baal*, *Belus*, &c. their *Osiris*. The *Carthaginian Juno*, according to *Virgil* (93), had armour and a chariot, though of what form he tells us not. *Servius* says (94) she had a buckler as well as a chariot, and was invoked by the name of *Juno Curulis*. *Plutarch* seems to give her a spear, since he calls her *Juno Curitis*, *curis*, in the *Sabine* language, signifying that weapon. Some are of opinion, that her chariot was a small portable tabernacle, in which her image was carried either from place to place, or in procession. 'Tis certain such tabernacles as these were in use amongst the *Carthaginians*. As for the etymon of *Asteroth*, *Asteroth*, or *Astarte*, we must refer our readers to the *Phœnician* history (95). According to *Scaliger* (96), *Juno* was represented at *Carthage* sitting upon a lion, with thunder in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. No wonder she should have been so much revered by the *Carthaginians*, since she was in a particular manner the goddess of the *Sidonians*, their ancestors (97).

(92) *Bishop Cumberland* on *Sanchoniath*. & in orig. gent. ant. See also the first vol. of this hist. p. 447, & vol. ii. p. 307, & seq. (93) *Virg. ÆN. i.* (94) *Serv. in ÆN. i.* (95) *Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 307, & seq.* (96) *Jos. Scalig. de emend. temp.* (97) *Univ. hist. ubi sup. Vid. etiam Apul. metam. vi. Cyprian. in lib. de idol. Solin. c. 30. Tertul. apol. c. 24. Sil. Ital. l. i. Herodian. l. v. Voss. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 21. August. in Judic. c. 7. Voss. ubi sup. c. 25, 26, &c. Francisc. Florid. Sabin. in lict. subsc. l. ii. c. 7. & Herodot. l. iv.*

BESIDES

Many deities went
antiently
by the
name of
Belus.

BESIDES the first *Belus* already taken notice of, there were several others of a later date in great repute amongst the *Phœnicians*, particularly those of *Tyre*, and of course amongst the *Carthaginians*. *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, or the sun, &c. were all of them so styled, according to the most celebrated authors who have treated of this subject. That *Jupiter* was worshipped by this people under the denomination of *Belus* or *Baal*, is notorious from *Polybius*, *Menander*, *Ephesius*, and *Dius* ^p. To him they addressed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reason to believe, for the most part, at the head of their treaties. For which reason some have not scrupled to affirm, that he was the *Baal Berith* of *Phœnice* ^q; but we are rather inclined to suppose, with bishop *Cumberland*, that this last deity was *Chronus* ^r. *Mars*, according to the *chronicon Alexandrinum*, compared with *Homer* and *Hestius*, an antient author cited by *Eusebius* ^s, was dignified with the title of *Belus* by the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, and doubtless by the *Carthaginians* also, since he was a favourite divinity in their state ^t, especially amongst their generals. *Bacchus* was called *Belus* by the poet *Nonnus* ^u, and no wonder, since he is often taken to be the same with *Jupiter* (T). The nation we are discoursing of had,
in

^p POLYB. l. vii. & alibi. pas. MENANDER. EPHESIUS & DIUS apud JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. ^q M. BANIER. in mythol. vol. i. ^r CUMBERLAND. on Sanchoniath. p. 152. ^s HOMER. pas. HESTIÆUS. apud EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. ix. & apud JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 6. Vid. etiam SELDEN. de diis Syr. syntag. 2. ^t POLYB. ubi sup. & alibi pas. SIL. ITALIC. l. i. ^u NONNUS in Dionysiac. apud SELD. de diis Syr. synt. 2.

(T) In a former part of this work we observed, that *Pezron* derived *Jupiter* from the Celtic *Jou*, young, because the deity so called was supposed to have been the youngest son of *Saturn* (98). But the regard we bear to truth obliges us now to declare, that we dissent from that learned man in this particular, as well as in all the points depending upon it. We are fully satisfied, that this name is formed of the word *pater*, *father*, in conjunction with the *Tetragrammaton* or *Jehovah*, as will most evidently appear from the following observations.

1. There can scarce an instance be found in all antiquity of any prince's receiving his true and proper name from so slight a circumstance as that mentioned by *Pezron*. That *Jupiter* therefore, who was so potent a prince, or rather so celebrated a deity, that he who was so frequently styled by the most antient writers *the father of gods and men*, should be so called, because he was his father's

(98) Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 269.

youngest

in all probability, some knowledge of him ^w. *Apollo*, or the sun, went frequently either by this name simply, or by others, in which this

^w Compare NONNUS, SELD. & BOCHART. with Sir ISAAC NEWTON in his chronol. p. 23, 24, 97, 98, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, &c.

youngest son, is utterly improbable (99). We may therefore, after the best writers, venture to assert, that the antient *Latins* either took *Jupiter* to be a term equivalent to *Baal*, *Deus*, &c. i. e. God, Lord, &c. as *Neptune* was the sea *Jupiter*, *Pluto* the infernal *Jupiter*, &c. or by it understood the great governor of the universe himself, as the wisest of them most certainly did (100). In either of which cases it can satisfactorily be derived from no other source than the *Tetragrammaton*.

2. *Diodorus Siculus*, a very good author, where he does not too closely copy after *Ctesias*, as he cannot in the point before us, calls the God of *Moses*, the legislator of the *Jews*, *Iao* (1). This is a clear proof, that the God of *Moses*, or *Jehovah*, was known to the *Greeks* by the name *Iao*, which was their pronounciation, though a corrupt one, of the *Tetragrammaton*. Add to this *pater* or *father*, a word which both the *Greeks* and *Latins* affixed to *Zeus* and *Jovis* (2), and it becomes *Iao-pater*, which is evidently the *Jupiter* of the *Latins*. As therefore the *Iao* of *Diodorus* cannot be derived from the *Celtic* word *Jou*, so neither can *Iao-pater*, *Iao-piter* or *Jupiter*, as *Pezron* thinks; being made up of *pater* and *Iao*, that is, of *pater* and the *Tetragrammaton*.

3. We are told by *Macrobius* (3), that the oracle of *Apollo Clarius* affirmed *Iao* to be the greatest of the gods, or rather the supreme God. Now this oracle was of a very high antiquity, as we learn from *Strabo* (4), who makes *Mopsus*, a famous soothsayer in the time of the *Trojan* war, to have lived within the verge of it. Nay, it may be collected from *Macrobius* (5), that it was superior in point of antiquity to *Orpheus* himself, which will carry us a vast way back into the mythic period of time. *Æschylus* also intimates, that there was a *Zeus* (6), or *Jupiter Clarius*, which must undoubtedly have been the great God *Iao* above-mentioned. Since therefore *Zeus* and *Iao* are terms synonymous, as we have before proved *Iao* and *Jupiter* to be; this is a further argument, that these all must have had the same original, and consequently that *Jupiter* is not of *Celtic* extraction.

(99) *Hesiod. theogon. Hom. in Iliad. pass.* (100) *Virg. Hor. Senec. aliq.* (1) *Diod. Sic. bibliothec. hist. l. i. c. 7.* (2) *Homer. & Hesiod. ubi sup. & Aull. Gell. l. v. c. 12.* (3) *Macrobi. Saturn. l. i. cap. 18.* (4) *Strab. l. xiii.* (5) *Macrobi. ubi sup.* (6) *Æschylus in supplic.*

this made one part of the composition *. Though sometimes the people of *Carthage* reposed great confidence in him, yet we find

* SELDEN, ubi supra.

4. In a fragment of *Philo Biblius* taken from *Sanchoniatho*, and handed down to us by *Eusebius* (7), mention is made of the God *Iewo*, and of his priest *Jerombalus*, which can have no manner of relation to the Celtic *Jou*, because *Sanchoniatho* was a *Phœnician*. *Irenæus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Eusebius*, and *Epiphanius*, also evince, that the *Tetragrammaton* or *Jehovah* was written in Greek *Iaou* or *Iau* (8). *Drusus* moreover remarks from *Porphyrus*, that the *Iewo* of *Sanchoniatho* was *Iao* or *Jehovah* (9). From all which authors it appears, that the *Greeks*, in all probability, received this great name from the *Phœnicians*. As therefore the *Phœnician Iewo*, the *Greek Zeus*, the *Latin Jupiter*, were all the same with *Iao*, that is, the *Tetragrammaton*, it can by no means be admitted, that the name *Jupiter* is to be deduced from the Celtic.

But it is urged in defence of this notion, that *Thursday*, or the Day of *Jove*, is still called in the remains of the Celtic language *Dix-Jou*. (10). Be it so; yet this will not come up to the point. For *Dix-Jou* is so very near the *Latin Dies Jovis*, that every one will be apt to believe the former to have been taken from the latter, and not the latter from the former. And why may not this be the case? If the *Romans* made it a maxim to propagate their language wherever they came, and even tinged with it the languages of most countries they obliged to submit to their arms, why should it appear incredible, that several, nay, many, *Roman* terms should have been transplanted into the old *British* and *Armorican* tongues, since the *Romans* were masters of the countries where they were used for several centuries, and some of their emperors were either born, resided, or died, in these parts of their dominions? This is by no means improbable; especially as the word *Jou* in *Dix-Jou* bears not the least resemblance to the name of that day in the *Hibernian* dialect of the Celtic (11), which was unknown to the *Romans*. The argument therefore would have been but of little force, even supposing the opposite opinion had been supported by no reasons at all; but as the reverse is true, as moreover we find not the least intimation of any divinity going by the name *Jou* in any of those authors who have treated of the *Druidical* religion, which prevailed amongst the *Celts*, it scarce deserves to be mentioned. But to proceed:

(7) *Sanchoniatho*. apud *Euseb. de præp. evang.* l. i. (8) *Iren.* l. i. *Epiphan. heres.* 26. *Euseb. de præp. evang.* l. iv. *Clem. Alexandr. Strom.* 5. (9) *Drusus* in lib. de *Tetragram.* Vid. & *Theodoret. quest.* 15. in *Exod.* (10) *Pezron. ant. nat. Celt.* c. 12. (11) *Lhuyd* in *primar. Britan. & Hibern. ling. harmonic.* p. 54.

find their ancestors, the *Tyrians*, in a case of extremity, were dubious of him; for being apprehensive, that he intended to forsake

5. According to *Plato*, the *Greek* name *Zeus* imported properly the same thing that *Jehovah* did, i. e. the *Being of Beings*, the principle of life and existence (12). This is a farther proof, nay a most strong presumption, that these two names were originally applied to the same being.

6. *Gellius* affirms, that the antient *Latin* name of *Jupiter* was *Jovis* (13); which, supposing it to be a *Latin* termination, as it really is, comes very near the *Tetragrammaton*. This will appear to be exactly true from what follows.

7. The old *Etruscans* (14), who were the descendants of the most antient *Pelasgi*, *Phœnicians* and *Lydians* (15), called *Jupiter Juve* or *Jove*. All the earliest literary monuments of this nation now remaining have their letters drawn from the right-hand to the left, after the *Oriental* manner (16), which is a convincing evidence of their high antiquity. Every thing considered, we look upon this as a decisive argument in favour of our opinion; and not only so, but are fully persuaded, that the true pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton* is hereby discovered. The *Masoretical* pronunciation indeed differs something from it; but undoubtedly the *Etruscan Juve* or *Jove* is many centuries older than the very being of the *Masorites*. Besides, as the *Phœnician U* answered to the *Hebrew O*, and the *Masoretical schewa* is a vowel of a most rapid pronunciation, we may take for granted, that *Juve* or *Jove*, and *Jehovah*, are the same.

8. *Seneca* assures us, that the *Etruscan Juve* or *Jove* was the cause of causes, the great governor and director of the world, the principle of life and motion, and, in short, the Deity himself (17); and that the *Etruscans* themselves considered him in all these views. After this, what can be offered further in support of what we advance? or indeed, what can be required of us further to offer?

But notwithstanding *Jupiter* was the same with the *Etruscan Juve* or *Jehovah*, and even at first, as the word (18) itself implies, the name of the supreme God in most nations; yet we pretend not to deny that there was a king of *Crete*, who being, by reason of his heroic actions, deified after his death, received this name as a title the most illustrious of any that could be conferred upon him. This

(12) *Conf. Hieron. Column. & G. J. Vossii. not. in Enn. p. 289. ed. Hesselii Amst. 1707. cum Plat. in Cratyl.* (13) *Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 12.* (14) *Vid. suite de l'extraite de l'histoire diplomatique de M. Maffei, in bibliothèque Italique, tom. troisiem. art. 1. à Genève, 1728.* (15) *Tab. Eugub. 5. l. v. & alib. Vid. & tab. Eugub. 6. apud Dempst. de Etrur. regal. tom. i.* (16) *Vid. monument. & inscript. Etrusc. apud Dempst. de Etrur. regal. & P. Bonarotæ additament. ed. Florent. 1726.* (17) *Senec. natural. quæst. l. ii. c. 45, 46.* (18) *Shuckford's connect. of the sacr. and prof. hist. b. ix.*

forfake them, and go over to *Alexander*, then vigorously pushing on the siege of their city, they fastened his statue with golden chains

notion and what we have advanced are by no means incompatible. But still we must insist, that it ought to be considered as a title only, and not as his proper name, of which we are intirely ignorant. 'Tis evident to all persons who have made any researches into antiquity, that the neighbouring idolatrous nations did not only imitate the *Hebrews* in those rites which were originally of divine institution, but likewise gave several appellations to their fictitious deities, which the *Hebrews*, and even they themselves, whilst they remained in the true religion, appropriated to the true God. Of this *El*, *Baal*, *Adonai*, and even *Jehowah* itself, are pregnant instances. One of their false gods the *Greeks* called *Zeus*, and the *Latins* *Jupiter*, whose worship was established at *Carthage* by *Dido* herself, as *Justin* relates (19); for which end she carried one of his priests with her from *Cyprus* to *Africa*. Under what form the *Carthaginians* exhibited *Saturn* and *Jupiter* to public adoration, is nowhere said; but the manner in which *Baal* was represented in the east, has been already touched upon (20).

Mars, called by the *Sabines* *Mamers*, was the god of war, and, according to *Vossius* (21), of *Oriental* extraction. Sir *Isaac Newton* says *maavors* (22) or *ma-fors* was a *Pbrygian* word, signifying valiant. It appears from *Silius*, that the *Carthaginians* (23) addressed their oaths to *Mars* as well as to *Jupiter*. *Hannibal* sacrificed to this god with great solemnity, before he set out upon the *Italian* expedition (24); from whence we may infer, that he was greatly revered by the *Carthaginian* generals.

Bacchus was undoubtedly in *Africa*, and, without question, known in *Carthage*; but as he was more famous in *Libya*, we shall defer what we have to say of him, 'till we come to the history of that country.

Bochart seems to think, that *Apollo* was originally an *African* deity (25). He takes him to have been the *Phut* of *Moses*, known among the *Greeks* by the name *Pythius*. The *Carthaginians*, when they took the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, found a statue of *Apollo* of an extraordinary size (26), which they sent to their mother city *Tyre*; and this was the statue which the *Tyrians* fastened with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules*, when they were under an apprehension, that he was going over to *Alexander*, then besieging their city. Besides this, there was another at *Carthage* of an immense value, taken by *Scipio* at the conclusion of the last siege, and, as *Plutarch* (27) intimates, sent to *Rome*. The temple of *Apollo*, as described by *Ap-*

(19) *Justin*: l. xviii. (20) *Univ. hist.* vol. ii. p. 307, not. (E).

(21) *Vossius in theol. gent.* (22) Sir *Isaac Newton chronol.* p. 23.

(23) *Sil. Italic.* l. i. (24) *Idem ibid.* (25) *Boch. Phal.* l. i.

c. 2. (26) *Univ. hist.* vol. ii. p. 351. (27) *Plutarch. in Flamin.*

chains to the altar of *Hercules* ². *Neptune* was likewise one of the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, or gods of the first class, of the *Carthaginians* ^a. It cannot well be doubted, but that he was the *Baal* of *Sidon*, called *Thalassius*, or the *Sea Baal*, taken notice of in a former part of this history ^b.

THE word *Baal*, in itself an appellative, at first served to *Baal*, at denote the true God, among those who adhered to the true ^{first a}

² Q CURT. l. 4. c. 3
Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 306.

^a POLYB. l. vii. DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. ^{name of}
the true God.

pian, was the richest and most superb edifice at *Carthage*, of which we have given an account above. It was placed in the forum. *Valerius Maximus* relates, that the hand of one who came to strip him of his golden garments was found amongst the pieces of gold cut off from him, which he mentions as an instance of his resenting sacrilege in a high manner (28). If we consider him as the sun, he was the *Osiris* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Mithras* of the *Persians* (29), and consequently the great god of all the east. The *Apollo Libycus* (30) will be fully considered in a proper place.

Neptune some take to have been *Japhet* the king of the isles (31), as they think appears not only from the office antiquity assigned him, but likewise from his name. He presided over earthquakes, plagues, and inundations (32), and, in order to render him propitious, the *Carthaginians* threw victims into the sea as offerings to him. Of this we have a remarkable instance during *Hannibal's* siege of *Agri- gentum* (33), when a number of priests were in this manner offered. The antients attributed to him every thing that related to the management of horses; and from the rock out of which the first horse is supposed to have sprung, he had the denomination of *Scyphius* given him (34) *scyph* in *Punic* signifying a rock or stone. *Bochart* makes his name *Posidon* to be a *Punic* term, importing broad or expanded (35). His name *Neptune* shall be accounted for, when we come to visit *Libya*; for, according to *Herodotus*, he was originally a *Libyan* (36).

Our readers will not be surprised, that we have passed over in silence the *Carthaginian* images or representations of these four last deities, since we are entirely in the dark as to the manner in which they were figured at *Carthage*. Possibly in the main the *Carthaginians* might agree with the *Greeks* and *Romans* in this particular; and if so, no piece so proper can be recommended to the perusal of the curious, as that of *Albricus* upon this subject (37).

(28) *Val. Max.* (29) *Strab. Suid. Hesych. Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 445, & vol. vi. p. 503.* (30) *Vid. Lucium Ampelium apud Bochart. ubi sup.* (31) *Boch. Phal. l. i. c. 1.* (32) *Diod. Sic. l. xv. c. 6.* (33) *Id. m. l. xiii. c. 12.* (34) *Pind. scholiast. in Pyth. od. 4.* (35) *Bochart. ubi supra.* (36) *Herodot. in Euterp.* (37) *Albric. de deor. imag. Bas. 1570.*

religion; though afterwards, when it became common amongst the idolatrous nations, and they, as well as his own people, applied it to their respective idols, he rejected it *. The false god to whom they first appropriated it, was *Chronus* or *Saturn*, as intimated above. In process of time it became a title, or mark of distinction, prefixed to the names of many others. Hence the *Baal-Peor*, *Baal-Zebub*, *Baal-Moloch*, &c. of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians* c. The term imported god or lord amongst the *Oriental*s, as *zeus* did amongst the *Greeks* d. The plural *Baalim* in scripture signifies gods, lords, masters, sovereigns, &c. correspondent to the sense of *Bel* in the *Chaldee* tongue. According to *Servius* e, who is followed by *Vossius* herein, *Bal* in the *Punic* language had two significations; it either specified *Saturn*, or was equivalent to the *Latin deus* or god f. *Xenophon* g insinuates, that, in the earliest times, every head of one of the most illustrious families in all countries was called *Chronus* or *Saturn*; every first-born son or daughter of such families *Jupiter* or *Juno*; and the most valiant of their offspring *Hercules*. *Theodoret* seems to apply this to the *Phœnicians* in particular h; adding, that such noble personages were deified, on account of some signal service they did to their country. As we have made *Baal*, and *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, words of the same import in different languages, we may say of the former what *Varro* in *Tertullian* says of the latter, viz. that the number of those so styled amounted to three hundred. Notwithstanding which, some will have it, that there were originally but two gods of the *Phœnicians*, and consequently of the *Carthaginians*, or, what is the same thing, that all the other deities were resolvable into these two, viz. *Baal* h and *Astareth*, or *Belus* and *Astarte*.

The sun
worshipped
at Car-
thage.

Baalsamen, or, as the *Hebrews* would have written it, *Baal-shemaim*, i. e. the lord of heaven, seems to have been the sun, as *Belisama*, or the queen of heaven, above-mentioned, the moon. According to *St. Austin*, he had religious honours paid him by the *Carthaginians* i. It is probable they had no representation of him at all, because they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory, *Damascius* calls him, *El*, *Bolathes*, &c. and makes him to have been the same with *Saturn* k.

* SELD. de diis Syr. c. 1. sub init. & Hof. ii. 16, 17. c SELD; ubi supra. d Idem ibid. e SERV. in Æn. 1. Voss. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 4. f XENOPH. in æquiv. g THEODORET. de Græc. affect. l. iii. h SELD. de diis Syr. synt. 2. c. 2. p. 145. SHUCKFORD in his connect. b. v. i AUGUST. in Jud. quæst. 16. k DAMASC. in vit. Isidor.

THE Carthaginians introduced *Ceres* and *Proserpina* as Greek deities, when ill success attended their arms in the war with *Dionysus* of *Syracuse*. This *Diodorus* tells us ^l. But *Virgil* asserts, that *Dido* herself sacrificed to *Ceres* ^m. The poet here, we think, ought to give way to the historian; for it is much more probable, that the Carthaginians should receive a Greek or Roman deity from the Greeks or Romans, than from the Phœnicians. The statues of these two goddesses stood in the temple of *Dido*, who was likewise deified by those idolaters, together with her sister *Anna*. We find on the reverses of several Carthaginian coins an ear or ears of corn, either in allusion to the goddess *Ceres*, or as a symbol of the fruitfulness of the country.

As likewise *Ceres* and *Proserpina*.

As the Carthaginians were a people who supported themselves chiefly by commerce, it cannot be supposed, that they neglected the worship of the god of genius, industry, and traffic. *Mercury* the antients allotted this province to; and accordingly we find the Carthaginians paid divine honours to him, under the name of *Asumes* or *Asoumes* ⁿ (U).

And *Mercury*.

NOTHING is more celebrated in antient history than the Tyrian *Hercules*, whose worship was brought to *Carthage* by *Dido*, and diffused itself afterwards over all the coasts of *Africa*, and as far as *Gades* or *Cadiz*, where he had a magnificent temple. The reason of his name *Melcartus* has been already as-

Divine honours paid also there to *Hercules*.

^l DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 7. ^m VIRG. ÆN. iv. ver. 58.
ⁿ PLIN. nat. hist. l. xxv. c. 5, & BOCHART. ex auctario Dioscorid. Chan. l. ii. c. 15.

(U) *Mercury* was the minister of the gods, and presided over the roads or highways, as well as traffic and commerce (38). The old *Etruscans* named him *Camillus*, *Casmillus*, or *Cadmilus*, i. e. a servant or minister of the gods (39); and the Carthaginians *Asumes* or *Hassumes*, which imports a servant (40). *Bochart* thinks he was *Canaan*, because that word properly denotes a merchant, and in some respect answers to the name *Mercury* (41); which conjecture he farther confirms by observing, that, in conformity to *Mercury's* office, *Noah* predicted, that *Canaan* should serve his brethren (42). His *pileus* and *caduceus* being winged, seem to allude to the sails of ships, and remotely to the long voyages the Phœnicians made, and the farthest parts of the world they were acquainted with, as doth likewise his government of the highways above-mentioned. *Bochart* and *Vossius* set this in a very clear light (43).

(38) Voss. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 32. (39) Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12, 33, & alib. (40) Idem ibid. l. ii. c. 15. (41) Bochart. Phal. l. i. (42) Gen. ix. 25, 26. Vide etiam Var. Plut. in num. Est & vet. auth. apud Phavorin. &c. (43) Voss. & Bochart. ubi supra. Vide Isai. xviii.

signed.

signed °. The *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* supposed him to preside over gold, silver, and all sorts of treasures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the island of *Thasus* ¶, where a *Phœnician* colony, being planted, discovered some gold mines. The *Thasians* adored him with the same solemnity as the people of *Tyre*, and had a brazen statue of him ten cubits high, with a club in the right hand, and a bow in the left; in which manner they undoubtedly represented him both at *Tyre* and *Carthage* ¶. The *Pelasgi* †, originally *Phœnicians*, vowed him the tenths of every thing they had ‡, on account of a great scarcity of grain they once laboured under. The *Carthaginians* for a considerable time never failed sending to *Tyre* the first fruits of their revenues, nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to *Hercules*, the protector of *Tyre* and *Carthage* †. Public diversions were instituted in honour of him at *Tyre*, which they celebrated every four years ¶. At *Carthage*, no doubt, the same custom prevailed, as likewise that of offering ¶ annually human victims up to him. *Varro* mentions forty-five heroes who bore this appellation; but the oldest of them seems to be the *Tyrian* or *Carthaginian Hercules* (W).

Iolans

° *Univerf. hist. vol. ii. p. 312, not. (P).* ¶ *Vide WOLFGANG. LAZIUM in Græc. ant. l. i. c. 2.* ¶ *Idem ibid. & BURCHARD. NIDERST. Melita vetus & nov. l. ii. c. 6.* † *STRAB. HERODOT. DIONYS. Halicarn. EPIPHAN. BOCH. SALMAS. GROT. & Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 432, not. (D).* † *DION. Halicarn. l. i.* † *POLYB. in excerpt. legat.* ¶ *Maccab. & THEODORET. lib. semest. ferm. iii. c. 2.* ¶ *PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 6.*

(W) We cannot help being of opinion, that the *Phœnician* or *Tyrian Hercules* was the same with the *Egyptian*. It appears from *Philostratus* (44), that the *Egyptian Hercules*, as well as the *Theban*, i. e. the *Phœnician*, were worshipped in the same temple at *Gadira* or *Gades*; that there were no statues erected to either of them there; that the temple was adorned with the twelve labours of *Hercules* finely wrought; which must naturally have pointed at both of them; that the golden olive of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre* (a *Phœnician*), bearing *smaragdine* fruit, of wondrous workmanship, was kept in this temple. *Bishop Cumberland* proves (45), that the *Phœnician Hercules* was a *Phœnician* king in *Egypt*; that he found out the purple dye, which is of *Phœnician* extraction; and that he built the temple on the island near the *Straights*, to which he gave the *Phœnician*

(44) *Philost. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. v. c. 1. p. 211.* (45) *Cumberland. on Sanchoniath. p. 159, 160. in orig. p. 113, 114, &c. Vide Palæphatum Egyptium apud chron. Alex. & Maneth. apud Euseb. in chron. p. 352.*

name

Iolaus comes next to *Hercules*, as being either related to him, *Iolaus*. or one that introduced some of his relations into the island of *Sardinia*^x. The natives of that island, at his arrival, were *Tyrrhenians* or *Etruscans*^y. Those people inhabiting the mountainous parts of *Sardinia*, received from him the appellation of *Iolaenses*; and even the most fruitful provinces had the name of *campi Iolei*, the *Iolean* or *Iolaan fields*^z. *Hercules* and *Iolaus*, according to *Vossius*^a, had jointly divine honours paid them here, either because he was *Hercules's* near relation, or assisted him in destroying the *Hydra*, which he did by drying up the gore with a red-hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from sprouting out in its room. *Ovid*^b pretends, that, at the intercession of *Hercules*, *Hebe* restored him to his youth, when he was grown extremely decrepit. As the *Carthaginians* had this island in possession a considerable time, it is supposed they borrowed him from the *Sardi*; for that he was one of their principal deities, we are given to understand by *Polybius*^c. The rites and ceremonies observed at his public worship are fully described by *Vossius* out of *Pausanias*^d.

^x STRAB. l. v. ^y Idem ibid. ^z DIOD. SIC. & STRAB. ubi supra. ^a VOSS. theol. gent. l. i. c. 40. ^b OVID. met. ix. ^c POLYB. l. vii. ^d VOSS. ubi supra.

name *Gadira*. Lastly, Sir *Isaac Newton* makes it evident (46), that the *Hercules* called *Melcartus*, who was king of *Carteia*, had the temple at *Gades* consecrated to him, as *Philostratus* intimates the *Egyptian Hercules* had (47); and that this *Hercules* was a *Phœnician*. From whence it may rationally be supposed, that the *Phœnician Hercules* and that of *Egypt* were the same.

The word itself is to be sought for from the east, undoubtedly *יֶרְקוֹל* *yercol* or *ercol*, signifying *swift* and *sinewy*, or *strong*, was the original. This *Hercules* was likewise upon the coast of *Africa*, and, according to *Orosius*, built *Capsa* there (48). Bishop *Cumberland* imagines him to have been called *Affis* or *Aziz*, i. e. the strong, as well as *Ercol* or *Hercules* (49). *Africanus* and *Eusebius* give him the name of *Archles* (50). It is probable he was elected king or general of the *Phœnicians*, on account of the great glory he had acquired (51). Some believe, that he, in a manner, traversed the then known world; but the relations given us of his achievements are so interlarded with fable, that we know not well what to make of them.

(46) *Newton's chronol.* p. 111, 112, 113, 114, &c. (47) *Philostrat. ubi supra.* (48) *Oros. l. v. c. 15. Flor. l. iii. c. 1. Sallust. in Jugurth.* (49) *Cumberland in orig. p. 113. & Maxeth. apud Joseph. cont. Apion.* (50) *African. & Euseb. in chron. Herodot. in Euterp. &c.* (51) *Newton's chronol. p. 111.*

Dea Syria. *Hendreich* intimates, that the *Dea Syria*, or *Syrian goddess*, was a deity of the *Carthaginians*^e; but who she was, authors are not agreed. By the description of her temple already given^f, and the statue in it, she must either have been *Juno*, or a group of all the goddesses; which last opinion seems most probable. The curious may find further satisfaction on this head, by consulting *Tertullian* and *Lipsius*, as well as the second volume of this history^g.

Æsculapius.

THE people of *Carthage* likewise addressed themselves to *Æsculapius*, whom *Servius* calls *Pænigena*, because he supposes his mother to have been a *Carthaginian*^h. The place more particularly sacred to him was *Byrsa*, or rather the top of that fortress, famous for his spacious temple there situatedⁱ. We have already observed, that *Asdrubal's* wife, at the final destruction of *Carthage*, burnt this edifice, together with herself, her family, and nine hundred *Roman* deserters. Considerable quantities of vervain, an herb sacred to him, were preserved in this place. The best authors take him to have been originally a *Messenian*, or an *Egyptian*; yet, according to *Vossius*, the *Carthaginians* received him immediately from the *Tyrians*, to whom either the *Syro-Macedonians* or *Egyptians*^k communicated him. *Alexander* took *Tyre* in the first year of the hundred and twelfth olympiad; and *Carthage* was finally destroyed by *Scipio* in the third year of the hundred and fifty-eighth; in the interval betwixt which two periods the worship of *Æsculapius* passed from the *Syro-Macedonians* or *Egyptians* to the *Tyrians*, and from them to the *Carthaginians*. *Tosorthrus*, or *Sesorthrus*, a king of *Memphis*, and the second of the third dynasty of *Manetho*, for his great skill in the art of physic, is generally allowed to have been the first *Æsculapius*. He preceded many ages the *Messenian*^l.

Herebus.

Herebus, another *Carthaginian* deity mentioned by *Silius* and *Polybius*, seems to have been *Pluto*, or *Dis*. We know nothing farther of him, than that he was invoked as the god of hell, and represented under a human shape, with long loose hair. *Vossius* and *Hendreich* both take notice of him^m.

Triton.

Triton, the sea god, had a place amongst the deities of *Carthage*, as we learn from the treaty concluded betwixt *Philip* the son of *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and the *Carthaginians*ⁿ. Some authors have told us, that he was so called from *Τῆρῶ*, a

^e HENDR. l. ii. sect. 1. c. 4. ^f Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 257. & seq. ^g TERTUL. apol. c. 24. LIPS. elect. l. ii. c. 21. epist. quæst. l. ii. c. 22. & Univers. hist. ubi supra. ^h SERV. in Æn. 7. ⁱ APPIAN. in Libyc. ^k Voss. ubi supra, l. i. c. 32. ^l Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 473. ^m SIL. ITAL. l. i. POLYB. l. vii. Voss. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 60. & HENDR. ubi supra. ⁿ POLYB. l. vii. Greek

Greek word, signifying a *wave*°. It appears from *Virgil*, that the province of *Triton* and *Cymothoe* was to release or heave off vessels run aground, and to clear them from the rocks. The antient mythologists make the nymph *Cymothoe* to have been the daughter of *Nereus* and *Doris*; but *Triton* the son of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite* p.

Mopsus, a famous augur or soothsayer, after his death, became a sort of oracle q at *Carthage*. The memory of this deified sage has been transmitted down to posterity by *Lucretius Placidus* and *Apuleius* r. *Strabo* takes notice of one *Mopsus* the son of *Manto* the daughter s of *Tiresias*. But, according to *Vossius*, this was the son of *Ampycus* an *Argonaut*, mentioned by *Apollonius* and *Valerius Flaccus* t. All that can be added concerning him is, that temples were erected to him by this nation, from whence responses were given, as from so many oracles.

RIVERS, meads, waters, &c. or rather the supposed genii of all these inanimate parts of the creation, were u esteemed as objects of adoration. This humour likewise prevailed amongst the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and most other nations, from very antient times. No one has handled this subject better than *Vossius* w, whose writings our learned readers will peruse with great pleasure. Some maintain, that the worship of the elements was prior to all others in the pagan world; but we must beg leave to dissent from their opinion.

Scaliger x the elder acquaints us, that the old *Africans* paid a religious homage to fire, which was perhaps likewise the custom at *Carthage*. This sentiment he seems to have taken from *Leo Africanus* y, an author whom we shall have occasion to consult hereafter.

WITH this z the air and winds also shared divine honours, which was probably derived from the *Affyrians*. The air to this nation appeared to be superior to the other elements, and to have them, as it were, under its government and direction a; for which reason it was honoured with adoration. We read in *Sanhoniath* b, that *Ufous* consecrated two rude stones or pillars

Rivers,
meads,
waters,
&c. gods.

As like-
wise fire.

As also the
air and
winds.

° HEND. ubi supra. p VIRG. *Æn.* i. ver. 148. q APUL. de deo. Socrat. & HENDR. ubi supra. r LUCT. PLAC. in Stat. Thebaid. iii. APUL. ubi sup. Vide etiam SENEC. in Med. chor. & CÆL. RHODIGIN. l. xxix. c. 15. lect. ant. s STRAB. l. xiii. t Voss. theol. gent. l. i. c. 32. VALER. FLAC. & APOLLON. in Argonaut. u SIL. ITAL. l. i. Voss. ubi supra, c. 67. w Voss. ibid. p. 67—74. x JUL. CÆS. SCALIG. exercit. 258. y JOAN. LEO. AFRICAN. de prisc. Afr. fid. & relig. l. i. z JUL. FIRMIC. profan. relig. lib. a HENDR. ubi supra. b SANHONIATH. apud Euseb. præp. evang. l. i.

to fire and wind; to which we may add, that the worship of the air and winds was not unknown to the *Greeks* and *Persians* ^c.

Anna Perenna
worshipped
at Carthage.

THE *Carthaginians* sometimes swore by the *Manes* of *Dido*, as *Silius* relates ^d. *Anna* her sister passed for a goddess, under the name of *Anna Perenna* ^e, according to some. It is imagined, tho' with no great appearance of truth, that she fled with *Aeneas*, and was drowned by *Lavinia* in the river *Numicus* ^f; from whence she was called *Nympha Numicia*. It is certain the *Romans*, as well as the *Carthaginians* ^g, paid her divine honours. *Ceres* and *Proserpina* were ranked with *Dido* ^h, as being all in the same temple. *Ceres* was either *cælestis*, i. e. the moon ⁱ, or *subcælestis*, i. e. the fruitful earth. She answered to the *Egyptian Isis*. These two last are amply treated of by various authors ^k.

And Si-
chæus dur-
ing Dido's
life-time.
And Tel-
lus.

THE honour that *Dido* herself received from the people of *Carthage* after her death, she, according to *Ovid* ^l, had in her life-time conferred upon her husband *Sichæus* ^m.

Tellus, or the *Earth*, was worshipped by the *Carthaginians*, as appears from the treaty of peace with *Philip*, mentioned by *Polybius*. For a further account of this deity, our readers may have recourse to *Vossius* ⁿ.

As like-
wise Ha-
milcar.

“*Hamilcar* ^o, says *Herodotus*, by his father's side a *Carthaginian*, but by his mother's a *Syracusan*, was, by reason of his virtue and superior abilities, elected king of the *Carthaginians*. The same day that the battle of *Salamis* was fought, being defeated by *Gelon* and (his father-in-law) *Theron* near *Himera*, he vanished, and could never after be found, tho' *Gelon* caused the strictest search to be made for him. The *Carthaginians*, who have his image in high veneration, say, that during the engagement between the barbarians and the *Greeks*, which continued from morning till evening without intermission, *Hamilcar* staid in the camp sacrificing, and throwing intire victims upon a flaming pile; but that seeing his troops put to the rout, he himself rushed into the fire, and, being consumed, was never more seen. Whether he disappeared in the manner as related by the *Phœnicians*, or

^c HENDR. ubi supra. ^d SIL. ITAL. l. i. ^e HEND. ubi supra.

^f OVID. fast. l. iii. SIL. ITAL. l. viii. VOSS. theol. gent. l. i. c. 12. & instit. orat. l. i. c. 6. sect. 8. Vide etiam VOLATER. l. xxxiii. ^g OVID. ubi supra. ^h SIL. ITAL. l. i.

ⁱ VOSS. ubi sup. l. ii. c. 59. ^k LIPSIVS de cruc. l. i. c. 5. POMPON. SABIN. in Æn. 4. VARRO apud Voss. ubi sup. P. NANNIUS. in misc. l. vii. c. 10. aliique multi. ^l OVID. heroid. 7.

^m POLYB. l. vii. ⁿ VOSS. ubi sup. c. 9, 51, &c. ^o HERODOT. l. vii.

“ as the *Carthaginians* assert, it is certain, that they offer sacrifices to him, and have erected monuments to his memory in all the cities they have founded, tho’ the most memorable are in *Carthage*.” So far *Herodotus*. It is not unlikely that the *Carthaginians* adopted other favourite generals into the number of their gods; nay, we are assured by *Silius*, that, notwithstanding the infamous treatment he met with from his countrymen at last, *Hannibal* was adored in his life-time ^p. These deities seem to have been of the same kind with the *dii indigetes* of the *Latins*.

THE *Carthaginians* also ranked among their gods the two *Philæni*. These brothers, having been sent by their countrymen to accommodate some differences with the *Cyreneans*, and, in conjunction with the commissaries, appointed by that people to settle the limits of their respective dominions, by fraud extended their own frontiers, to the prejudice of the others. The *Cyreneans*, incensed at this, would not cede the tract demanded, unless the *Philæni* would suffer themselves to be buried alive in the place which they had pitched upon for their boundary. To this they instantly agreed, and had afterwards two altars erected there to their memory; which served as a land-mark or limit to the *Carthaginian* territories on the side of *Cyrenaica* for many succeeding ages. *Sallust*, *Mela*, and *Valerius Maximus*, give all the particulars of this story ^q.

ST. *Austin* tells us, that some of the *Carthaginian* divinities had the name of *Abaddires* ^r, and their priests that of *Eucaddires*. This class in all probability, was derived from the stone which *Jacob* anointed with oil, after it had served him for a pillow the night he had his vision; for in the morning he called the name of the place where he lay *Bethel*. Now, it is no wonder this should have been esteemed as sacred, since God himself says he was the God of *Bethel*, the place where *Jacob* anointed the pillar ^s. From *Bethel* came the *Bætylus* of *Damascius*, which we find called *Abaddir* by *Priscian* ^t. This *Abaddir* is the *Phœnician* *Aban-Dir*, i. e. the spherical stone, exactly answering to the description of the *Bætylus* ^u given us by *Damascius*, and others. The case seems to have been this; The *Canaan-*

And the
Philæni.

Abaddires
and Eucaddires
Carthaginian
divinities.

^p SIL. ITAL. l. xvii. & BARTHIUS in advers. p. 801. ^q SALLUST. Jugurth. c. 79. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 7. VALER. MAX. l. v. c. 6. Vide POLYB. l. iii. STRAB. l. iii. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. SOLIN. c. 30. & CELLAR. geog. ant. l. iv. c. 3. ^r AUGUST. epist. Max. Madaur. 44. ^s Gen. xxxi. 13. ^t PRISCIAN. grammat. HESYCH. in voc. Βαίτυλος. DAMASC. apud Phot. p. 1047, 1062, 1063, &c. ^u DAMASC. ubi sup. & BOCHART Chan. l. ii. c. 2.

ites of the neighbourhood first worshipped the individual stone itself, upon which *Jacob* had poured oil; afterwards they consecrated others of that form, and worshipped them; which false worship was perpetuated even to the time of *St. Austin* ^w. *Abaddir* may likewise be understood to mean *Ab-Addir*, i. e. the magnificent father, a title given to the true God himself; but afterwards applied to those, who by nature were no gods ^x. That *Addir* was an epithet joined to the names of false gods in the east, may, in some measure, appear from *Addir-Dag*, the magnificent fish, i. e. *Adergatis*, *Atergatis*, &c ^y. *Abaddires* therefore was an appellation belonging to some Punic deities, as *Eucaddires*, i. e. *Enucaddires*, persons initiated in the sacred mysteries of the *Addires* or *Abaddires* ^z, was a term appropriated to their priests (X).

Portable
temples in
use amongst
the Car-
thaginians.

WE must not omit, that the *Carthaginians* carried about with them some small images, representing certain gods, in co-

^w AUGUST. ubi sup. ^x Psal. viii. 1, 9. & lxxvi. 5. & xciii. 4. *Isai* xxxiii. 21. 1. *Sam.* iv. 8. *DRUS.* in loc. Vide *BOCHART.* ubi supra. ^y Idem ibid. ^z Idem ibid.

(X) The *Bætyli* were stones that were believed to be animated, and were consulted by some fanatics as oracles. These stones were round, and of such a size, that some of them might be carried about by their votaries, either by hanging at the neck, or in some other way (52).

Isidorus tells us, they were of different sorts; and that some of them were consecrated to *Saturn*, others to *Jupiter*, others to the *Sun*, &c. (53).

Their origin was very antient, if any credit may be given to *Sanchoiatho*, who makes *Ouranus* the inventor of them. *Bochart* proves, that *Philo Byblius* has wrongly translated *Sanchoiatho*'s words animated stones; and that it ought to have been anointed stones (54).

The antient *Greeks* and *Latins*, who have taken any notice of the *Bætyli*, hardly afford any other notion of them, but as the stone which *Saturn* swallowed in the place of *Jupiter* (55). The scholiast upon *Hesiod* relates, upon the authority of *Agathocles*, a *Babylonish* author, that *Rhea* had taken that stone from the island of *Proconnesa*; and *Stephanus* adds, that *Saturn* swallowed it upon mount *Tbaumafius*. *M. Falconet* has published a dissertation upon this subject, which, together with what *M. Fourmont* has offered, will, according to the abbe *Banier*, abundantly satisfy the curious (56).

(52) *Banier* in mythol. l. i. c. 1. (53) *Damasc.* in vit. *Isidor.* apud. *Plotium.* (54) *Sanchoiath.* apud. *Euseb.* præp. evang. l. i. *Bochart.* Chan. l. ii. c. 2. *Banier* ubi sup. (55) Idem ibid. (56) Idem ibid.

vered chariots. *Eustathius* ^a calls these *οὐρανὸς ζευγόμενον*, portable temples, or temples carried by oxen. They were a sort of oracle, and their responses were understood by the motions impressed upon the vehicle. This was likewise an *Egyptian* and *Libyan* custom. The antient *Germans* also had something like it, as we learn from *Tacitus* ^b. *Philo Byblius* relates, that *Agrotes* ^c, or at least his image, was carried about in procession in this manner. The tabernacle of *Moloch* above-mentioned, we take to have been a machine of this kind.

It is remarkable, that, in the treaty of *Philip*, so often cited, *The Ge-* mention is made of the *Dæmon* or *Genius* of *Carthage* ^d. Who *nius of* this might be, we shall not take upon us to determine; but *Carthage:* only in general observe, that the pagan world looked upon these *Dæmons* as intelligences of a middle nature betwixt the gods and men, as beings who had, in a great measure, the administration of the world committed to them. Hence it is no wonder, they should have received religious honours; for when once mankind were possessed with the opinion, that they were the ministers of the gods, and trusted with the dispensation of their favours, as well as the infliction of their punishments, it is natural to suppose, that they would be desirous of making their addresses to them. We hope to give our readers a full and particular account of these inferior deities, when we come to the *Arabic* history.

So full an account has already been given of the *Cabiri*, that *The Cabiri* there is neither room nor occasion to be prolix here. To what *adored* has been already said we shall, however, add, that the *Pelasgi* *there.* introduced the worship of these gods into *Samothrace*, *Greece*, and all other countries where they seated themselves; that men and all animals; without distinction, nay, even all kinds of inanimate sacrifices, were offered up to them; that they had at first no proper names, but were worshipped under the general denomination of gods; that the word *Cabiri* either signified certain anonymous divinities, or their priests, known by the name *Corybantes*, that, from an antient inscription mentioned by *Astorius*, it is manifest the *Cabiri* were likewise called *Dioscouri*; that the *Phœnicians* first paid them divine honours, afterwards the *Egyptians*, who built them a magnificent temple at *Memphis* in the earliest ages, which continued to the time of *Achilles Tatius*; that the *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Cypriots*, *Phrygians*, *Etruscans*, *Latins*, *Carthaginians*, and almost all the antient pagans, had the most profound reverence for

^a EUSTATH. in Iliad. A. SERV. ad ÆN. vi. ^b TACIT. de sit. mor. & pop. Germ. ^c PHIL. BYBL. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. i. ^d POLYB. l. vii.

the *Cabiric* or *Samothracian* mysteries; that the vulgar believed all initiated into these mysteries could not fail of being happy, both here and hereafter; that, according to *Sanchoniatho*, the *Dii Cabiri* were eight in number, being the sons of *Sydik*; that the inhabitants of *Samothrace*, sacrificed dogs to *Hecate* in the cave *Zerinthus*, sacred to the *Cabiri*; that the *Pelasgi*, *Samothracians*, &c. celebrated the *Cabiric* mysteries in the night-time, with great indecency; and that this was the principal motive with the antients not to transmit them down in writing to posterity. Bishop *Cumberland*, the abbé *Banier*, and *Astorius*, have, in a manner, exhausted this subject. A catalogue of the authors who have supplied them with materials, our readers^e will find here inserted, to whom they may have recourse at their leisure (Y).

THE

^e CUMBERLAND. in apend. de Cabir. HERODOT. in Euterp. DIONYS. Halicar. l. i. LUCIAN. de dea Syr. PAUSAN. in Bœotic. Heliac. & alib. ACHILLES TATIUS apud Cumberland. in append. de Cabir. SANCHONIATH. apud Euseb. ubi supra. DAMASC. apud Phot. PHERECYD. SYR. NONNUS. & HERODOT. pass. ACESILAUS. ARG. apud Strabon. l. x. VAR. de ling. Lat. l. iv. BOCHART, Chan. l. i. c. 12. & alib. pass. TERTUL. de spect. ORPHEUS. in Hym. Curet. SELD. de diis Syr. synt. ii. c. 4. HORN. hist. Phil. l. ii. c. 4. Schol. vet. in APOLLON. ARG. l. i. DIONYSIOD. apud eund. STRAB. l. x. & alib. DIOD. SIC. l. v. & alib. PLUT. in Alexandr. & alib. SUID. &c. MACROB. PLAT. DION. CHRYSOST. PROCL. CLEM. ALEXAND. LYCOPHR. STEPHAN. HESYCH. CIC. LAC-TANT. ARNOB. FIRMIC. MEURS. aliiq; pass. Vide JOAN. ASTOR. dissert. de Cabir. BANIER. in mythol. l. vii. c. 8, &c.

(Y) *Reland*, who has favoured the learned world with a dissertation upon the *Cabiri*, concludes, that they were the gods of the dead; that *Ceres* was the earth which received them; *Pluto* and *Proserpina* the infernal regions where they came to dwell, and *Camilus* or *Mercury* the god who conducted them thither (57).

The mysterious names *Axieros*, *Axiokersa*, *Axiokersos*, and *Casmilos*, *Bochart* has happily interpreted, and proved, that, in the *Phœnician* language, they denote *Ceres*, *Proserpina*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*. Princes, and persons of the first distinction, were ambitious of being initiated into the awful mysteries of these great gods, upon account of the high reputation they were in. *Vossius* thinks, that we are to understand by the name *Cabiri* only the ministers of the gods, as the *Curetes* and *Dætyli* of *Crete*, and the *Corybantes* of *Phrygia*; but this, as running counter to all antiquity, can by no means be admitted (58).

Arnobius asserts, that, in the celebration of those mysteries, they slew one of the initiated, and is followed therein by *Firmicus*; but

(57) *Reland*. in differ. miscel. (58) *Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 12. Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Apollon. Arg. Plut. in Alexand. Suid. &c.*

this

THE *Anaces*, *Anactes*, or *Dioscouri*, are by some thought *And the* to have been the same with the *Cabiri*, by others different from *Anaces or* them. However this may be, they were undoubtedly descended *Anactes.* from the *Anakims* of *Moses*. It can scarce be questioned but *Inachus* himself was of this race, as his name plainly imports ^f. Some believe, that the word *Anactes* was a title given to those princes of *Inachus*'s line, who had distinguished themselves by their heroic actions; which evidently alludes to the name of that family, so eminent in scripture for its gigantic stature ^g; and we own ourselves inclinable to fall in with this sentiment. *Pausanias*, *Pliny*, *Philostratus*, and *Julius Pollux*, not to mention many other authors that occur, render it probable, that ^h in ancient times there were not wanting instances of persons of a monstrous size of body. However, many of these relations, particularly those of *Phlegon*, *Abydenus*, *Solinus*, and others ⁱ must be allowed to be fabulous (Z).

To

^f CUMBERLAND. in append. de Cabir. & BANIER. ubi supra.
^g VOSS. BOCHART. & Banier. ubi sup. ^h PAUSAN. in At. PLIN.
 l. vii. c. 16. PHILOST. Heroic. JUL. POL. in Onomast. ⁱ PHLEG.
 TRAL. de mir. c. 14. ABYDEN. & EUPOLEM. apud. Euseb. SOLIN.
 BEROS. PLUT. &c.

this seems rather to refer to an accident that once happened, than to prove, that such a practice was authorized by custom (59).

The priests of the *Cabiri* according to *Hesychius* were called *Coes*, a word manifestly derived from the *Hebrew* *cohen*, i. e. a priest; a further proof this, that the old obsolete language used by the priests in their ceremonies, was the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* (60).

(Z) *Vossius* is of opinion, that the name of the gods *Anactes* was originally from *Phœnice*; but he thinks it had been brought into the west by *Cadmus*, or by the *Canaanites*, whom *Joshua*, by his conquests, had obliged to quit *Phœnice*, and who had retired into *Greece*. He farther thinks, that the *Spartans*, who called themselves allies of *Israel*, as we learn from *Josephus*, were a colony of the *Canaanites*, who were mostly descended from *Abraham* by *Hagar* and *Keturah*; and this is the reason why the most famous of the *Greek Anactes* were *Castor* and *Pollux*, natives of *Sparta*, the *Lacedæmonians* having given them that name to honour the memory of *Anak*'s descendants, of whom they had heard so many wonderful stories. We shall only add, that it was a common thing with the *Greeks* to call those persons the sons of the *Earth*, who were so antient, that they had but a very imperfect account of their original; for this reason they called *Anax* or *Anak* the son of the *Earth*, as we have observed above from *Pausanias*.

Pausanias insinuates, that the *Dioscouri* were to be distinguished from the *Cabiri*; but that the *Anactes* were the same with them (61).

(59) *Arnob. l. v. Jul. Firmic. de cor. prof. rel.*
 voce Kōvq.

(61) *Pausan. in Phocic.*

(60) *Hesych. in*

And Pata-
ici or
Pataci.

To what has been observed of the *Pataici* or *Pataci*, in the first volume of this history, we shall only subjoin, that the statues of these gods, of the *Cabiri*, and of the *Egyptian Vulcan*, had a great resemblance to one another; that therefore, since *Vulcan* was esteemed the most antient of the gods, the *Pataci* must have been of great antiquity; that, in after-ages, the *Pennates* had the same respect paid them by the *Romans*, as these received from their votaries the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*; and lastly, that the word, according to *Scaliger*, is to be deduced from the *Hebrew patach*, he engraved, or, as *Bochart* will have it, from *batach*, he confided in; either of which etymologies very well quadrates with the use the *Phœnicians*, and after them the *Greeks*, made of the gods *Pataci* ^k.

The Palici.

As the *Palici* were *Sicilian* deities ^l, of eastern extraction, it is reasonable to suppose, that they owed their origin in *Sicily* to the *Carthaginians*, who got a footing in that island in very antient times, and therefore may justly be looked upon as some of its most antient inhabitants. This, we say, is probable; but as there is not the express testimony of any good author to support it, we shall drop all further particulars concerning them; and conclude here what we have to say of the gods of the *Carthaginians*.

The custom
of sacri-
ficing men
remained
in Africa
till the
time of
Tiberius.

THE barbarous custom of offering up human sacrifices did not expire with the city of *Carthage*, but continued amongst the *Africans*, even till the time of *Tiberius*. That prince, tho' none of the most humane and compassionate, was so shocked at the unnatural practice of offering up children to *Saturn*, that in his proconsulship, according to *Tertullian* ^m, he

^k *ÆSCHYLUS*, *CALLIAS*, *POLEMON*, & *XENAGORAS* apud *Macrobi.* *Saturn.* l. v. c. 19. *SIL. ITALIC.* *DIODOR.* *SIC.* l. ii. *Ovid.* *metam.* l. v. *BOCHART.* *Chan.* l. i. c. 28. ^l *BOCHART.* ubi supra. ^m *TERTUL.* *apolog.* c. 9.

His words are to this effect: "With regard to the *Anætes*, men are divided in their sentiments about them; some will have them to be the same with the *Dioscuri*; others with the *Curetes*; but the most intelligent persons take them to be the *Cabiri*." *Suidas* intimates, that the word was applied both to kings and gods (62). *Pindar*, *Cicero*, and *Tzetzes*, all take particular notice of them (63).

The account published by Sir *Hans Sloane*, in the *philosophical transactions*, of the fossil teeth and the bones of elephants, which falls in with this subject, is very well worth the perusal of our curious readers (64).

(62) *Suid.* in voc. *Ανατοί*. (63) *Cic. de nat. deor.* l. iii. *Pind. Pyth.* ii. *epod. ult.* *Tzetzes* in *Licophron.* (64) *Philosophical transact.* numb. 403, 404.

ordered

ordered the priests concerned in that horrid impiety to be hanged, and committed the care of the execution to the *African* militia. This practice had been retained, with little or no intermission, from the foundation of the city; for notwithstanding the *Carthaginians*, to avoid drawing upon themselves the indignation of *Darius Hystaspis* ⁿ, might, for a few years, suspend it, or at least pretend so to do, yet it is certain, that, in his successor *Xerxes*'s time, they had resumed it. This appears from history; for *Gelon*, after he had vanquished them in the reign of that prince, concluded a treaty of peace with them, of which this was one article, *that no more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn* ^o; nay, to such a pitch of frenzy, or rather savage barbarity, were they come, that mothers, who are naturally the most susceptible of tender impressions, made it a merit to view their own offspring thrown into the devouring flames, without so much as a groan ^p. They even, by kisses and embraces, hushed the cries of their children, before they were cast into the flaming statue of *Saturn* above-mentioned, imagining the efficacy of the sacrifice would have been intirely lost, if any thing that might have been interpreted as a mark of the least reluctance or regret had been shewn ^q. They used a drum or a tabret, among other instruments, to drown the shrieks and outcries of the unhappy victims ^r. Some authors believe, that the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* derived this detestable custom; contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire, without burning them; but *Selden* and others evince this to be a mistake ^s. *Plutarch* tells us, that the mothers were, in some measure, obliged to stand by as unconcerned spectators; since a groan or tear falling from them would have been punished by a fine, and still the child must have been sacrificed ^t. In times of pestilence, or other public calamities, the *Carthaginians* endeavoured to appease their offended gods by vast numbers of such oblations; of which we have given an instance or two above ^u (A).

FROM

ⁿ JUST. l. xix. ^o DIODOR. SIC. l. xi. PLUT. de ser. vind. deor.
^p PLUT. de superst. ^q Idem ibid. & TERTUL. in apol. ^r PLUT.
 ubi sup. ^s SELD. de diis Syr. synt. i. Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 101.
^t PLUT. ubi sup. ^u Vide etiam DIODOR. SIC. l. xx.

(A) Those persons, who are not disposed to give over-much credit to the fragments of *Sanchoniatho*'s history still extant, think human sacrifices can be traced up no higher than *Abraham*. The *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* (65), in whose country that patriarch attempted

(65) Vide Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. H. de de relig. vet. Pers. aliesq; scriptor. quamplurim.

VOL. XVI.

Q q q

to

The Car-
thaginians
extremely
addicted to
supersti-
tion.

FROM many authors it appears, that the *Carthaginians* were extremely addicted to superstition. They had, however, in general, some good notions: they addressed themselves to the gods, before they attempted to put in execution any enterprise by them formed; and after any advantage gained, they were not slack in making proper returns ^w to the powers above for it. Temples very magnificent they abounded with at *Carthage*, and took care to have no deficiency of them in any part of the *Carthaginian* dominions. One famous temple, sacred to *Baal* or *Balis*, in a city of that name on the borders of *Cyrenaica*, we find taken notice of by *Stephanus* ^x, who intimates, that the city received its appellation from that deity. There is great reason to believe, that *El*, *Il*, *Bel*, *Bal*, *Baal*, *Belus*, *Balis*, *Helius*, &c. were different names of the same pagan divinity.

Carthagi-
nian wo-
men pro-
stitute
themselves
for gain in
the temple
of Astarte.

WE have already described the manner in which the *Babylonian* women prostituted themselves ^y to strangers at the temple of *Mylitta*, as likewise the same custom prevailing amongst the *Phœnicians* ^z, whose women, for this end, repaired to the great temple of *Astarte* at *Byblus*. We have now to add, that the same thing, in all respects, was practised at *Carthage*; excepting that the money got by this infamous commerce amongst the *Babylonians* and *Phœnicians* was presented to *Mylitta* or *Astarte*, i. e. *Venus*, whereas the *Carthaginian* women applied the wages of their prostitution to their own use ^a. This indeed favoured something more of the common harlot than the other; but all these nations were arrived at such a height of infatuation and impiety, on account of their gross idolatry, and variety of pol-

^w LIV. l. xxi. xxiii. &c. ^x STEPHAN. περί ἱερῶν. ^y Univ. hist. Vol. iv. p. 248. ^z Idem ibid. p. 401, 402. ^a Vide VALLER. MAX. l. ii & HENDR. ubi supra.

to offer up his son *Isaac*, in obedience to the divine command, imitated the *Jews* in many particulars, and derived many of their institutions from those of that nation, which were of divine origin, as has been before observed. It is probable therefore, that they might reason with themselves after this manner: "If God was so highly pleased with *Abraham's* bare intention of offering up his son *Isaac*, that he showered down blessings upon his posterity in a most extraordinary manner, what marks of the divine favour may not those persons expect, who actually do sacrifice their children?" Thus the highest instance of obedience upon record might, through the depraved imaginations, and blinded understandings, of a great part of mankind, together with the suggestions of their grand enemy, become the accidental cause of one of the most enormous and unnatural kinds of wickedness that could be committed.

lutions

lutions attending it, that it is hard to say which of them was the worst (B).

A very learned author of our own nation imagines, that some traces of the *Succoth Benoth*^b, mentioned in scripture, may be found in *Sicca Venerea*, the name of a city in *Numidia*, not far from the borders of *Africa Propria*. The name itself bears a near allusion to the obscene custom above taken notice of, and seems to have been transported from *Phœnice*. This cannot well be disputed, when we consider, that in this very city there was a temple, where^c women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies. The author of the *itinerary* sometimes calls it simply *Sicca*, and *Solinus Venerea*. *Sicca* signifies a tabernacle, as well as *Succa*; and therefore probably this was what it imported in the *Punic* tongue. *Procopius*, *Victor Uticensis*, and others, in conjunction with our author, render this opinion almost incontestable^d.

Some traces of Succoth Benoth to be found in Sicca Venerea.

If any points of consequence relating to the worship of the people at present under consideration should have hitherto escaped us, they will be occasionally touched upon hereafter, as they offer themselves in the course of this history.

^b SELDEN. de diis Syr syntag. ii. c. 6. ^c VAL. MAX. l. ii. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 248. ^d PROCOPI. VICT. UTICENS. ATHANAS. &c. apud SELD. ubi sup. Vid. & CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 5.

(B) *Canaan's* posterity were a most profligate and abandoned race of men, addicted to all, even the most unnatural, kinds of lust, as the scripture gives us good reason to apprehend. Now, it is worthy admiration, that *Noah* cursed *Canaan* only of *Ham's* sons (66), on account of *Ham's* breach of modesty in exposing his father's nakedness, which was both unchaste and unnatural. This is a strong intimation, that *Canaan* only was an accomplice of his father *Ham* in this wickedness, which was an evident token of a most dissolute and vicious turn of mind. This vile disposition exerted itself in his posterity, and vastly contributed towards drawing down those heavy divine judgments, which, in process of time, fell upon them. Hence it appears, that, in conformity to the patriarch's prediction, *Canaan's* descendants were subject to the posterity of *Shem*, i. e. the *Jews*; and that this very judgment was, in a great measure, occasioned by the effects of that vile disposition inherent in them, which so eminently displayed itself in *Ham*, and, as is probable, in *Canaan* also, and which immediately drew upon them all the curse of their great ancestor *Noah*. So true is that observation of the psalmist, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments* (67).

(66) Gen. ix. 22, 25, 26, 27. (67) Psal. cxix. 137.

Punic
tongue at
first the
same with
the Phœ-
nician.

THE *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* languages were in a manner the same, as has been observed in several places of this history^e; and is apparent, not only from the nature of the thing, but from the concurrent testimony of learned men, who, generally speaking, agree in this particular. The *Pœni* or *Carthaginians* therefore having been originally *Phœnicians*, 'tis undeniable, that their language must at first have been the *Phœnician*. However, *Scaliger*^f believes, that the *Punic* (he must mean that of after-ages) in some respects, deviated from the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, which, considering how distant the *Carthaginians* were from their mother-country, *Phœnice*, and the people they were incorporated with, is not to be wondered at. 'Tis much more wonderful, that they should have retained so much, nay, in a manner, the whole, of their original tongue; for that they did so, after what has been advanced by *Scaliger*, *Petit*, *Bochart*, and others, will scarce admit of a dispute.

This fully
proved by
Scaliger,
Selden,
Petit, and
Bochart.

OUR great *Selden*, next to *Scaliger*^g, seems to have been the first who endeavoured in earnest to settle this point; which, from the authority of *St. Jerom*, *St. Austin*, and many other writers, he likewise seems to have done effectually. He has moreover given us a specimen of an interpretation of the remains of the *Punic* language to be found in *Plautus*^h. *Petit* and *Bochart* have been much more copious on this headⁱ; but what they have advanced has not met with universal applause, which the last of these seems to have been beforehand apprehensive of^k; in short, there is room enough left for any learned man to exercise his wit and talents on this subject.

Agreed in
substance
with the
Hebrew.

Bochart has produced a vast collection^l of *Punic* words from different authors, and traced them all up to the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*: all which will serve as so many proofs, that the *Carthaginian* language agreed in the main with these; that, notwithstanding the small variations from them discernible in it, it ever continued to be the same in substance with them.

Hebrew,
Phœnici-
an, and
Punic,
proper
names
nearly the
same.

FROM what has been offered in the first section of the history we are now upon, it appears^m, that the word *Carthago* or *Cartago* itself was of *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* extraction. As therefore an affinity of proper names implies an affinity of the languages to which they belong, the following short catalogue of *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* and *Punic* proper names, by demonstrating the harmony betwixt these languages, will not a little contribute to confirm the sentiment which we, in common with so many others, have espoused.

^e Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 268. & vol. iii. p. 406. Vid. & SELD. de diis Syr. prolegom. c. 2. ^f SCALIG. ad Uberr. p. 362. ^g SELD. ubi sup. ^h Idem ibid. ⁱ SAM. PETIT. & BOCHART. in Chan. l. ii. c. 6. ^k BOCHART. ubi sup. ^l BOCHART. in Phal. & Chan. passim. ^m See before, sect. i.

HEBREW OR PHOENICIAN.

PUNIC.

<i>Zachæus.</i>	<i>Sichæus.</i>
<i>Michæus.</i>	<i>Machæus.</i>
<i>Amalec.</i>	{ <i>Amilco, or</i>
<i>Melchior.</i>	{ <i>Himilco.</i>
<i>Jesche, or</i>	<i>Amilcar.</i>
<i>Jesse.</i>	<i>Gisgo, or</i>
<i>Hinnon, or</i>	<i>Gesco.</i>
<i>Hanun, or</i>	{ <i>Hanno.</i>
<i>Hanon.</i>	
<i>Hannabaal, or</i>	{ <i>Hannibal.</i>
<i>Baal-Hanan.</i>	
<i>Ezra, or</i>	{ <i>Asdrubal.</i>
<i>Ezdras-Baal.</i>	
<i>Barac.</i>	<i>Barca.</i>
<i>Elizabeth.</i>	<i>Elisa.</i>
<i>Milca.</i>	<i>Imilce.</i>
<i>Magog.</i>	<i>Mago.</i>
<i>Messiah.</i>	<i>Messe.</i>
<i>Adoni.</i>	<i>Doni.</i>

SOME of these names we have been supplied with by *Reinse-
cius*ⁿ; but the following we remember not to have seen com-
pared by any author whatsoever.

HEBREW OR PHOENICIAN.

PUNIC.

<i>Anna, or</i>	{ <i>Anna.</i>
<i>Hannab.</i>	
<i>Jachin, or</i>	{ <i>Jachon.</i>
<i>Jecon-Jah.</i>	
<i>Adar, or</i>	{ <i>Adherbal.</i>
<i>Ader-Baal.</i>	
<i>Baal.</i>	<i>Bal.</i>
<i>Mathan, or</i>	{ <i>Muthumbal.</i>
<i>Matham-Baal.</i>	
<i>Mehir, or</i>	{ <i>Maherbal.</i>
<i>Mahir-Baal.</i>	
<i>Saph,</i>	{
<i>Saphai,</i>	<i>Sappho.</i>
<i>Sapham,</i>	
<i>Saphan, or</i>	
<i>Saphon.</i>	

ⁿ REINECCI hist. Jul. in rep. Carth. vol. ii. p. 464. ed. Helm. 1595.

WE have chosen to compare the *Punic* proper names in this place with the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*, to which they undoubtedly answer, rather than produce their etymons, as *Bochart* does; since in our opinion this more clearly exhibits the very great agreement betwixt them, and renders the near relation they bore to one another obvious to all capacities:

*Punic
tongue
tinged
with the
Chaldee
or Syriac.*

THE *Punic* tongue had likewise a tincture of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, as we learn from *Priscian* and *St. Austin*°. But as this is chiefly to be understood of it in the latter ages, when it was in its decline, particularly those that immediately preceded *St. Austin*, or even that in which he lived; and as the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* languages themselves were, in all probability, nearly allied to the *Hebrew*, nay, almost the same with it, in early times, we shall infer nothing from this observation, but leave it to our readers to make what use of it they please.

*The same
with the
old Egyp-
tian, ac-
cording to
Salmasius.*

ACCORDING to *Salmasius* ^p there have been some persons who have believed, that the *Punic* language and the old *Egyptian* were the same; but as neither arguments nor sufficient authorities are produced to support this hypothesis, we shall make no scruple to reject it.

*Some re-
mains of it
to be found
in the pre-
sent Mal-
tese lan-
guage.*

M. Maius, professor of the *Greek* and *Oriental* languages in the *Ludovician* university of *Gießen* ^q, published a small piece in the year 1718, wherein he proves, that the present language of the *Maltese* contains a great deal of the old *Punic* in it. The materials of which this tract consists, he was supplied with by one father *James Stanislaus John Baptist Ribier de Gattis*, a missionary *Jesuit*, and native of *Malta*, who very well understood the language (C) of the *Maltese*, having resided many years amongst them. The piece is very curious, containing proofs that this island was, for a considerable period of time,

• PRISCIAN. l. v. p. 123. AUGUST. super. JOAN. tract. 15. tom. ix. ^p SALMASIUS. in Tertul. de Pal. ^q JOANNES HENRICUS MAIUS in specim. ling. Punic. in hodiern. Melitens. superft. Marpurg. 1718.

(C) One of the authors of this history was very well acquainted with this father *Ribier*, or, as he called himself *Riviere*, at *Oxford*, where he died in the year 1736. He confirmed to this person by word of mouth every particular he had communicated to *M. Maius*, and added some others; viz. that he had carefully examined most of the *Oriental* words in the *Maltese* tongue, and found they approached much nearer the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* than the *Arabic*; that the natives had a sort of tradition, that they were descended from the *Carthaginians*, &c. He was a very good *Orientalist*, and had his education, as he related, in the *Jesuits* college at *Ingolstadt* in *Bavaria*. Some small MSS. pieces he left in the hands of the person above-mentioned.

subject

subject to the *Carthaginians*; and that the *Punic* tongue was planted and continued in it, as likewise a large collection of *Maltese* words more remote from the *Arabic* than from the *Phœnician*, *Chaldee*, or *Syriac*. We cannot pretend to transcribe the whole treatise, though it is but a short one; but as the *Maltese* names of the cardinal numbers differ pretty much from those of other living languages, except the *Arabic*; as they come nearer the terms expressing those numbers in the *Phœnician* or *Chaldee*, than any other tongue; and consequently furnish us with a strong argument, that the *Maltese* tongue has much of the old *Punic* in it; and at the same time improve our idea of this last; we think we cannot do our curious readers a greater pleasure than by inserting them.

MALTESE.	CHALDEE.	ENGLISH.	
Huchet.	חד	Heb. אחת One.	1.
Tnei.	תרין תרי	Heb. שני Two.	2.
Tlieta.	תלתא	Three.	3.
Herbha.	ארבעא	Four.	4.
Chamsa.	חמשא	Five.	5.
Sitta.	שתא	Six.	6.
Seba.	שבעא	Seven.	7.
Tmiena.	תמניא	Eight.	8.
Disha.	תשעא	Nine.	9.
Hasbra.	עשרא	Ten.	10.
Chaddas.	חד עסר	Eleven.	11.
Tnas.	תרי עסר	Twelve.	12.
Tlittas.	תלתא עסר	Thirteen.	13.
Herbhatas, or } Erbat as.	ארבעא עסר	Fourteen.	14.
Chmiftas.	חמשא עסר	Fifteen.	15.
Sitt as.	שתא עסר	Sixteen.	16.
Sebat as.	שבעא עסר	Seventeen.	17.
Tmient as.	תמני עסר	Eighteen.	18.
Dschiat as.	תשעא עסר	Nineteen.	19.
Hasbrin.	עשרין	Twenty.	20.
Tlietin.	תלתין	Thirty.	30.
Erbhin.	ארבעין	Forty.	40.
Chamsin.	חמשים	Fifty.	50.
Sittin.	שתיים	Sixty.	60.
Sebibin.	שבעים	Seventy.	70.
Tmienin.	תמנים	Eighty.	80.
Dschin.	תשעים	Ninety.	90.
Mia.	מאה	An hundred.	100.
Elf.	אלפא	Heb. אלף A thousand.	1000.
Elfein.	תרין אלפין	Two thousand.	2000.
Tlietelef.	תלתא אלפין	Three thousand.	3000.
Erbatelef.	ארבעא אלפין	Four thousand.	4000.

1. OUR readers will at first sight discover, that the *Maltese* words in general here are almost the same with the *Chaldee*; which seems to be a confirmation of what *Priscian* and *St. Austin* assert^r, viz. that about their time the *Punic* language, notwithstanding it agreed in the main with the *Hebrew*, was tinged with the *Chaldee*.

2. IT ought to be observed, that *tni* two borrows תן *tan* from the *Chaldee*, and נן *nun* from the *Hebrew*; that *buchet*, one, and *elf*, a thousand, are the *Hebrew* אחד and אלף; that the numerals from *ten* to *twenty* end in *as*, like the *Greek* *μῆρας*, *δύας*, *τρεῖς*, *τετράς*, &c. and that the rest are *Punic* or *Phœnician* (D).

3. FROM the numerals ending in *in* from *twenty* to an hundred, and those ending in *a* from *two* to *eleven*, 'tis evident, that the language of *Malta* even still follows the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* form; and that the *Punic* did so in *St. Austin's* time, and much higher, is plain from several *Punic* words that might be produced, though 'tis probable that, in very early times, it nearly resembled the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*.

4. IN support of what has been advanced by *Maius*, it may be further considered, that *Joannes Quintinus Heduus*, an author who lived in *Malta* about the middle of the sixteenth century, was of the same opinion, affirming, that the island of *Malta* was formerly subject to the *Carthaginians*; that the *African*, i. e. *Punic*, tongue was spoken there in his time; that there were then extant some pillars in the island, that had *Punic* inscriptions upon them; and that the *Punic* words to be found in *Plautus*, *Avicenna*, &c. were perfectly understood by the *Maltese* (which he urges as an argument, that the old *Punic* tongue was not even then much corrupted^r). All which is confirmed by *Faxellus*^r in his curious history of *Sicily*; and this gives a great sanction to the other's authority.

5. ACCORDING to father *Ribier de Gattis*^u, the *Maltese* have the following proverb amongst them at this day: *Il flus iffittiech pest; tnei attieh, li iehdoc inkella*, i. e. *The plague*

^r PRISCIAN. & D. AUGUST. ubi sup. ^s JOANNES QUINTINUS HEDUUS in epist. ad Soph. ^t THO. FAZEL. de reb. Sic. pri. decad. sub. init. in thesaur. ant. & hist. Sic. vol. iv. Lugd. Bat. 1723. ^u P. STANISL. JAC. JOAN. BAPT. RIBIER de GATTIS apud Joan. Henr. Maium, ubi sup.

(D) And so are those that end in *as*, which is evidently the first syllable of *אָסַר asar*, the *Hebrew* numeral; if so, the numbers from *ten* to *twenty* are nearer the *Hebrew* than the *Chaldee*. Perhaps the *Greek* words here mentioned ending in *as*, derive that termination from the same original.

wants a piece of money; give it two, if it will withdraw itself from you. Now this very proverb was a *Punic* one in *St. Austin's* days, as he himself assures us. This greatly contributes to evince what *M. Maius* had in view.

FROM the whole we may conclude, that *Postellus*, *Schindler*, and *Drusius*, have not that foundation for maintaining the *Arabic* and *Punic* tongues, to have been the same, as *Selden*, *Scaliger*, *Bochart*, *Reinesius*, and others, have for supposing, that the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Phœnician*, and *Punic*, were always most nearly related, and even originally the same (E).

THE *Punic* letters, as well as language, at first must certainly have been the *Phœnician*, for the reason above assigned; and though they were considerably altered by length of time, yet 'tis certain they always retained a great similitude to their originals, as will appear from a nice inspection into the characters upon the most elegant *Phœnician* and *Punic* coins. The

Punic letters originally the same with the Phœnician.

(E) In *Arnobius's* time the *Punic* language (4) was still spoken in that part of the country bordering upon the *Garamantes*; but more northerly the *Latin* tongue was used; besides these, in the *Mediterranean* parts, no less than twenty-two languages, or rather dialects, prevailed. *Bochart* thinks (5), that the six last verses of the unknown language in *Plautus* were *Libyan*, because they are intirely different from the other. 'Tis certain the *Carthaginians* spoke both *Punic* and *Libyan*; for which reason they were called *Migdiybes*, *Bilingues*, and *Bisulcilingues* (6).

Laßanosa (7), a curious *Spanish* author, affirms many of those coins, that *Aldrete* and others took to be *Carthaginian*, to have been old *Spanish* medals. He asserts further, that the character on these coins is different from the *Carthaginian*. This he in some measure proves by observing, that the characters on the pieces dug up about *Cadix* and in *Andalusia*, with which parts the *Carthaginians* had a more immediate communication, were very different from those found on others discovered in places not so well known to that people. 'Tis certain one of the *Spanish* medals given us by *Aldrete* (8), as well as the greatest part of those collected by this author, has characters upon it bearing little or no resemblance to the *Punic*. This author's work was printed at *Huesca* in 1645, and contains a handsome collection of *Spanish* medals, which we may possibly have occasion to consider more fully when we come to the history of *Spain*. *Aldrete* and others believe many *Punic* pieces had *Libyan* letters upon them; which may possibly be true; but that it really is so, we must not presume to assert.

(4) *Arnob. in Psal. civ.* (5) *Bochart. l. ii. c. 6.* (6) *Plant. in Pæn. Virg. Æn. 1. Sil. Italic. l. ii. 16.* (7) *Don Vincencio Juan de Laßanosa en Museo de las Medallas desconocidas Españolas, p. 15, 16.* This piece was dedicated to *Don Bern. Fernandez de Velasco*, constable of *Castile*, and is now extremely scarce, tho' very curious. (8) *Bern. Aldret. varias antiguadas. de Espana, t. ii. c. 1. en Ambr. 1614.*

character, however, upon the *Punic* coins is various, many of those found in *Spain*, as well as *Sicily*, having letters intirely rude and barbarous, whilst the better sort exhibit a character resembling the *Phœnician*, and even the *Affyrian* or *Hebrew*, letters. Two questions here arise, which we shall beg leave to consider.

FIRST, whether the *Samaritan* character, which is by many persons believed, be the same with the antient *Phœnician*? And

Samaritan
characters
different
from that
on the
Phœni-
cian coins.

SECONDLY, whether the *Samaritan* or the *Affyrian*, commonly called the *square* letters, were the antient character of the *Hebrews*?

As to the first, in order to determine the point couched in it, we must diligently compare the letters of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* with those of the legends found upon the *Samaritan* and *Phœnician* coins. This has been done with the utmost accuracy by *Reland* and *Loeschner* *; from whom it appears, that there is a very considerable discrepancy betwixt them; almost, if not intirely, as considerable as that betwixt the old *Affyrian*, or *Hebrew*, alphabet, and the character found on these coins. This is rendered evident beyond dispute by the two learned men aforesaid, who have obliged the world with an exact and just delineation of all the principal *Samaritan* and *Phœnician* coins. From whence we cannot but infer, that the antient *Phœnician* character was different from the present *Samaritan*.

Most of
the learned
imagine
the *Sama-
ritan* let-
ters to
have been
prior to the
Affyrian.

WITH regard to the second question, it must be owned, that the greatest part of the learned world, for above a century, have held it in the affirmative. But it must likewise be owned, that no number of great names can give a sanction to error, and that this point has not been considered thoroughly till of late. The main argument all along insisted upon in defence of this opinion has been taken from the legends found upon some coins, said to have been dug up in *Judæa*; wherein are discovered these words, *Jerusalem the holy*, and *the shekel of Israel*. The letters of these legends are asserted to be the *Samaritan*; and since neither the *Samaritans*, by reason of their known aversion to the *Jews*, nor the ten tribes after their separation from the other two, because from that period they had nothing to do at *Jerusalem*, could possibly have struck these pieces, 'tis from hence inferred, that they must have belonged to the *Jews* before the captivity, or even to the *Israelites*, before the separation of the ten tribes *; and consequently, that the *Samaritan* letters, supposed to be the same with those on these coins, were the *Hebrew* character in the most early times, and that in which the sacred books of the old testament were originally written.

* ADRIAN. RELAND. de vet. Hebræor. num. dissert. pass. & VAL. ERN. LOESCHER. de causis ling. Hebr. p. 201, 224. ed. Francof. & Lipsiæ, 1706. * WALTON. in prolegom. 3. PRIDEAUX in connect. l. v.

THIS is the argument which has all along been deemed sufficient to overthrow all the facts, reasonings, and authorities, that can be produced on the other side of the question; and which the learned Dr. *Prideaux*^y has not scrupled to pronounce unanswerable. But whether or no it really is so, we shall be the better able to judge, when we have maturely weighed the following considerations:

Chief argument in favour of this taken from some coins with Samaritan letters upon them.

1. M. *Ottius*, who applied himself closely to the study of these coins, intimates, that those which are genuine^z, if any such there be, bear a small proportion to the number of the counterfeits; and that he found it a difficult matter to meet with any of them. How then can we be assured, that those mentioned by bishop *Walton* and Dr. *Prideaux* are genuine? 'Tis not sufficient to say, there were some of them in *Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman's* days, above five hundred years ago; for how can we be assured, that any of those now extant were then in being? or if we could, what is this to the purpose, since his age is modern, in comparison of the supposed antiquity of these coins? But, (F)

This examined.

2. ADMITTING them all to be genuine, yet the letters on them are most certainly not the same with those of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. This clearly appears from *Reland* and *Loescher*^a above-mentioned, who have given us an accurate plate of all these pieces, as well as a complete alphabet of the letters they exhibit. Nay, 'tis evident from them, that these letters resemble the old *Assyrian* or *Hebrew* almost as much as they do the *Samaritan*^b.

3. SUPPOSING the character on these shekels had been the *Samaritan*, yet nothing could have been from thence collected in favour of so remote an antiquity of this character as they are brought to prove. For 'tis now universally received amongst the learned, and the dates on the pieces themselves clearly evince it, that the oldest of these coins, with legends upon them, do not precede the settlement of the high-priesthood in the *Assmonean* family, which happened not much above an hundred and fifty years before the christian æra, and some of them are much later^c. This single observation, which is supported by the

^y PRIDEAUX ubi sup. ^z JO. BAPT. OTTIUS epist. apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. dissert. 3. ^a ADR. RELAND. & VAL. ERN. LOESCHER, ubi sup. ^b Idem ibid. ^c Idem ibid. EZ. SPANHEM. de us & præst. num. ant. dissert. 2. & CONRINGIUS de num. Hebræor.

(F) There is great reason to believe, that not one of the *Samaritan* coins is genuine, at least not one of them is indisputably so. *Reland* and *Ottius* as good as confess it; and from what *Spanheim* has declared on this head, we may find, that he was in a very great doubt about it (q).

(q) Jo. Bapt. Ottius apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. dissert. 3. Adr. Reland. ubi sup. dissert. 9. Ez. Spanhem. ubi sup.

strongest proofs, seems to render all conclusions, drawn from the supposed high antiquity of these coins, perfectly chimerical.

THE main difficulty being thus removed, the arguments offered in favour of the contrary opinion cannot fail of having great weight with all persons of penetration and impartiality. The principal of them are the following :

Argu-
ments in
favour of
the contra-
ry opinion.

1. THERE cannot be conceived a greater antipathy between any two nations, than that which subsisted between the *Jews* and *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, especially after the captivity. The former had the latter, and every thing belonging to them, in the utmost abhorrence and detestation. 'Tis morally impossible therefore, that they should have forsaken their own character, after their return from *Babylon*, to adopt that of the others.

2. THE *Phœnicians* received their alphabet from the *Assyrians*; of course, therefore, the *Assyrian* letters must have been prior to the *Phœnician*. If, therefore, the *Assyrian* and *Phœnician* alphabets were different, the *square* or *Chaldee* letters are prior to the *Phœnician*; if the same, as we are inclined to believe, the *square* or *Chaldee* letters are the true old *Hebrew* character, and the original letters of the east.

3. FROM a diligent comparison of the *Phœnician*, *Samaritan*, *Syriac*, old *Arabic* or *Cuphic*, &c. with the antient *Assyrian* or *Hebrew* letters, it will appear, that all the others were derived from the *Assyrian*. The ducts of these letters are plain, easy, and simple, such as 'tis natural to suppose the first letters were; the letters on the *Phœnician* coins are the next to these in plainness, ease, and simplicity, and bear a great analogy to them; and lastly, the *Samaritan* letters are the others, with some additional strokes and lines intermixed, which, at first sight, carry with them the air of novelty in respect of the *Assyrian*. This has been set in so strong a light by two or three eminent hands, that it will be a great pleasure to our learned readers to consult them^e.

4. THE *Septuagint* version is of higher antiquity than any of those coins, which are supposed to have the *Samaritan* character upon them. Now 'tis certain the authors of this version have frequently differed from the *Hebrew*, by their mistaking one similar *Assyrian* letter for another^f. This is an undeniable argument, that the individual *Hebrew* copy they translated was written, not in the *Samaritan*, but the *Assyrian*, character; and consequently, that the *Hebrew* text of the old testament

^d PLIN. l. vii. c. 56. * SPANHEM. & LOESCH. ubi sup. SCHULTENS. in institut. ad fund. ling. Hebr. p. 20 & alib. ^f ENGELBERT. ENGELS MARCOD. JULIACENS. in prafat. ad Val. Schind. pentaglot. Hanov. 1612.



was written in that character, before any of those shekels brought to prove the antiquity of the *Samaritan* letters were in being.

5. THE *Samaritan Pentateuch* itself differs in several places from the *Hebrew*. Many of these differences arise ² from a confusion of similar letters, not *Samaritan*, but *Affyrian*; as namely, the $\beth$ with the $\daleth$, the γ with the η , the ι with the υ , the π with the ρ , the κ with the ψ , &c. This must be owned to be the strongest proof imaginable, that the *Samaritan* was posterior to, and even taken from, the *Pentateuch* written in the *Affyrian* character; and of course bids fair to put an end to this famous dispute (G).

WE cannot recollect, that any person has hitherto tried to explain the legends on any of the *Punic* coins, notwithstanding the letters on many of them seem to be nearly related, partly to the *Hebrew*, partly to the *Syriac*, and partly to the *Phœnician*.

HOWEVER, in order to excite others, who have more leisure and greater abilities, to some attempts of this kind, we shall here endeavour at an explication of those upon two *Siculo-Punic* medals; hoping that our readers will consider the subject, as it really is, dark and intricate, and therefore make all

An attempt to explain the legends on two Siculo-Punic coins.

² VAL. ERN. LOESCHER, p. 217, 218. STEPH. MORIN. de ling. prim. exercit. 2. c. 7 p. 199. Sq. JO. GOT. CARPZOVIIUS in crit. sacr. vet. test. Lipsiæ, 1723. p. 229, 230, 231.

(G) The learned baron *Spanheim*, Dr. *Allix*, *Conringius*, and others, have intirely overthrown the common opinion of the antiquity of the *Samaritan* letters, from several topics not mentioned by us here. But this is the most effectually done by the famous Dr. *Carpzov* of *Leipsick*, in his defence of the *Hebrew* text of the old testament against Mr. *Whiston*. In relation to the last argument here offered, no further satisfaction can be either given or required by the most curious reader, than what may be met with from him (10).

Father *Sonciét* indeed intimates, that the *Samaritan* character was restored by *Simon*. But first, this is a direct begging of the question; for it ought to be proved, that it was antiently in use as to sacred matters amongst the *Hebrews*, before it should be asserted, that it was restored by *Simon*. And secondly supposing this fact, which there is great reason to presume it is not, that the old testament was ordered to be written in the *Samaritan* character, either by *Simon*, or any other of the *Asmonean* family, is an assertion utterly destitute of the least shadow of reason or authority, either *Jewish* or christian, to support it (11).

(10) *Allixius apud Spanhem. ubi sup. Conring. de num. Hebræor. pass. Jo. Got. Carpzov. ubi sup. Vid. etiam Hottinge. Villalpand. Cellar. hist. Samarit. aliosq. plurimos.* (11) *E. Souciét. recueil de dissertat. critiq. sur les endroit. & sur de matier. qui ont rapporta l'écriture.*

favourable

favourable allowances for whatever mistakes may be discovered in our conjectures.

I. THE first which is here exhibited is taken from *Paruta*, who ranks it amongst the coins belonging to the city of *Panormus*, now known by the name of *Palermo*^h. Upon the reverse is a horse in full speed, with these two Punic letters **𐤒𐤓**,

which we think ought to be read *bbet* or *bbit*, and in our opinion, stands for *hbittin* or *hbitte*, i. e. of the *Carthaginians*. That the two letters are *hbeth* and *tau*ⁱ, appears from *Spanheim*, *Reland*, *Loescher*, and others; and that the names of cities, or rather their inhabitants, especially *Greek* cities, are frequently found upon the reverses of coins belonging to them, is too obvious to need any proof. *Panormus* therefore being the metropolis of the *Carthaginian* part of *Sicily*, and in the neighbourhood of the *Greeks*, if not itself filled with them, 'tis no wonder the *Carthaginians* there should in this respect imitate the people with whom they lived. What may serve to confirm this is, that we find several *Greek* coins of the *Panormitans*^k, done in the manner above-mentioned, of as high antiquity as these; and there are even instances of *Sicilian* coins^l with both the *Greek* and *Punic* characters upon them. That the *Carthaginians* should be called *Hbittin* or *Hbitte*, i. e. *Hittites*, we are not to think strange; since *Anak*^m and his family, from whom *Carthage* was called *Chaedre-Anech* or *Chaedre-Anak*, were *Hittites*, and consequently that people were the most eminent of the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* deduced their original. As for the name being abbreviated, this is no uncommon thing. The word **ΣΤΡΑ** for **ΣΤΡΑΚΟΙΣΙΩΝ** is frequently found on the medals of the *Syracusans*ⁿ, not to mention many other instances which might easily be produced. For a farther illustration of this point, see the following note (H).

II. THE

^h PARUT. apud thesaur. ant. & hist. SIC. vol. viii. tab. 14. num. 140. ⁱ RELAND. & LOESH. ubi sup. SPANHEM. de us. & præst. num. diff. 2. ^k Vid. PARUT. ubi sup. ^l PARUT. apud script. SIC. vol. vii. tab. 13. num. 123, 124 tab. 14. num. 136, 137. ^m BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 36. ⁿ PARUT. ubi sup. vol. viii. Lugd. Bat. 1723. tab. 33. num. 2. tab. 38. num. 12.

(H) The *Hittites* (12) were the primary nation of *Canaan*, and seem to have been more famous than any of the others. They were not entirely reduced till the time of *Solomon*, being intermixed with the *Israelites*, and living in the neighbourhood of the *Sidonians* and *Tyrrians*. Hence we may conclude, that not only great numbers of them settled in *Africa* after their expulsion by *Josbua*, but likewise, that even some of their descendants might attend *Dido* into the same

(12) *Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 157, & seq. 171, 183, 188.*

country.

l.
d
r,
-
fe
9
i-
s.
-
of
re
n,
he
n-
no
ite
m
k,
as
th
a-
we
m
k,
ni-
ced
no
re-
en-
or
.
HE
m.
est.
ipt.
37.
viii.
and
ere
with
and
of
ife,
me
try.



CH

II

follo

to b

whi

T

give

coun

then

den

terp

that

mita

and

that

or a

norm

for

that

lang

emp

app

norm

wher

Pha

not

on

with

racl

ever

T

ner,

Gre

have

been

with

this

Per

the

(

14.

fym

of t

ubi

Pan

Sic.

II. THE second coin we are supplied with by *Haym*, who, following other antiquaries, supposes the hero there represented to be *Hannibal*. The *Punic* legend is *𐤇𐤃𐤃𐤃*, every one of which letters we shall endeavour to decipher °.

THE first *𐤇* is evidently the same with the old *Oriental aleph* given us by *Loesch*, as well as the *Syriac olaph*. It likewise

° *HAYM*. in tesor. Britan.

country, They were so formidable to their neighbours, that from them the word *𐤇𐤃𐤃𐤃* *bittab* seems to have signified *fear*, and a sudden consternation (13). That this *Punic* word is to be read and interpreted in the manner we propose, will farther appear from hence, that the letter *𐤇* is found upon the reverses of several other *Panormitan* (14) coins, which evidently allude to the state of *Carthage*, and must have been struck when the *Carthaginians* were masters of that place (15). 'Tis also worthy observation, that the *Greek* mark or abbreviation on the reverses of these medals, peculiar to the *Panormitans*, considered as *Greeks*, was *𐀡𐀢*, or *𐀡𐀣*, i. e. *𐀡𐀢𐀡𐀣* for (16) *𐀡𐀢𐀡𐀣𐀢𐀡𐀣*. We may therefore reasonably imagine, that the *Carthaginians* had likewise an abbreviation in their own language and character, viz. *𐤇* or *𐤇𐤃*, i. e. *bhit* for *bhittin*, or emphatically *bhitte*. That these letters were an abbreviation, is so apparent, that *Havercamp* (17) pronounces them the mark of *Panormus*; though he absurdly confounds them with the *Greek* *𐀡𐀢*, whereas they are entirely different from it, and indisputably the *Phœnician* *bbeth* and *tau*. It must be owned indeed *Havercamp* will not allow these coins to be *Punic* (18); but the *Carthaginian* horse on ours, as well as the palm tree and horse on the others, together with the authority of the learned *Inveges* (19), and the *Punic* characters on them all, not only refute what he has said, but obviate every thing else that can be offered to the contrary.

That this is a *Punic* abbreviation, in imitation of the *Greek* manner, is also probable, because every thing on this medal is either *Greek* workmanship, or an imitation of it. Other *Panormitan* coins have on their reverses *𐀡𐀢* (20), which greatly strengthens what has been advanced. If we suppose *bbeth* here to be of the same organ with *koph*, as it sometimes is, being by some pronounced *cbeth*, then this abbreviation may be *chat* or *chart*, i. e. of the *Carthaginians*. Perhaps this conjecture will please some of our readers better than the other.

(13) *Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 36. sub init.* (14) *Parut. ubi sup. tab. 14. num. 134. & tab. 17. num. 166. &c.* (15) This appears from the symbols upon them, and from their being found near the metropolis of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. (16) *Vide num. panorm apud. Parut. ubi sup. pass.* (17) *Sigebert. Havercamp. comment. in Parut. num. Panormitan. p. 61, 62.* (18) *Idem ibid.* (19) *August. In v. g. Car h. Sic. p. 323. & alib.* (20) *Parut. ubi sup. tab. 10. num. 99, 100, &c.*
in

in figure approaches near the *Phœnician aleph* or *alpha*, (†) as found on coins, wanting only the transverse line at the top, which, by length of time, might easily have grown into disuse amongst the *Carthaginians*. We may therefore esteem it as equivalent to A ^p.

THE second Y is apparently the *Phœnician* Y , which letter we see upon several *Phœnician* coins in *Spanheim*. The *Etruscan* Y likewise comes near it. We may therefore assert Y to be NN ^q.

THE third letter is the *Phœnician jud* (Λ) inverted (Λ). The inversion of letters is a thing that frequently happens; but at present we shall content ourselves with naming one instance only. From the *Phœnician* W is formed the *Greek* Ξ or Σ . The *Punic* Ψ is therefore of the same power with I.

THE last letter J is a more rude and simple kind of *beth*; for it differs only from the *Phœnician* (49) and *Hebrew* (J) *beth* in this ^r, that it is destitute of the transverse line at the bottom, and has the vertical angle more acute than that of the *Hebrew*, and the line parallel to the transverse one at the bottom of the *Phœnician beth* defaced. In fine, as there is no other letter of the *Phœnician* alphabet, to which this approaches so near as it does to *beth*, we may conclude, that they were the same; and therefore we must look upon J as B.

THUS we find, that YJYJYJ expressed in *Latin* letters is AN-NIB, in conformity to the sentiments of *Haym* ^r and other antiquaries. And we can assure our readers, that the *Punic* characters here do not differ so much from the *Phœnician*, with which we have compared them, as the various forms of the same *Phœnician* letters found on different medals do from one another ^u.

Hanibal's *effigies on a Carthaginian coin.* IT has been observed above, that the suffetes of *Carthage*, were called kings by the *Greeks*; that one of these, at least, was possessed of a vast degree of power; that *Hannibal* was, for some time, the supreme magistrate of *Carthage*; that he acted

^p LOESCH. p. 224 Et EZECH. SPANHEM de us. & præst. numism. dissert. 2. ^q SPANHEM. ubi sup. & PHIL. BONAROT. in addiament. op. Dempst. Florent. 1726 ^r PANHEM. ubi sup. MONTFAUC. in dissert. de vet. Græc. & Lat. lit. ad fin. Palæogr. Græc. Par. 1708. ^s LOESCH. SPANH & MONTFAUC. ubi sup. ^t HAYM. del tesor. Britan. p. 143. ^u Vid ADRIAN. RELAND. VAL. LOESCHER. ubi sup. ali-
osq; plurim.

in that city, in a manner without controul; and, in fine, that he was deified there in his life-time. After this, who can be surpris'd, that he should have had his name and effigies upon coins? For our part, we think nothing more probable, and without the additional proof of this medal, should not have scrupled to have affirmed it (I).

As to the progress of the liberal arts and sciences amongst the *Carthaginians*, and the degree of perfection they arriv'd at in them, we have not much to say. If *Carthage* could ever have boasted of any famous productions of this kind, they are all now lost; though for our parts we are inclined to believe, that this people gave themselves up so entirely to commerce, that they paid little or no regard to any branch of literature. Military skill some of their generals were most eminently famous for, though even in this they seem to have been very deficient, till put into a right method by *Xantippus* the *Lacedæmonian*; but philosophy, we have reason to apprehend, was always at a low ebb amongst them. As they undoubtedly therefore applied themselves chiefly to trade and navigation, as also to the military art, that they might be the better enabled thereby to enjoy in security their immense wealth and possessions, their arts and learning will not be a very copious topic; and even this we must for a moment suspend, in order to give our readers a short sketch of some of their principal customs.

Liberal arts and sciences at a low ebb in Carthage.

THEY suffered no private injury, offered by any person whatsoever to another, to go unpunished. This maxim of equity they received from their first ancestors, and were very strict on all occasions in the observance of it ^w.

Customs of the Carthaginians.

No one was permitted to carry the news of any near relation's death to another, but some person convicted of a capital crime, for which he was soon to suffer. They thought the messengers of such tragical events ought soon to die, or at least never more to appear before the persons to whom they brought the melancholy advice ^x.

If any remarkable misfortune happened to the city, the walls were all hung with black. This was done after the destruction of their fleet by *Agathocles*; after the loss of their army under *Himilco's* conduct in *Sicily* by the plague; and upon other such dismal occasions, as we are informed by various authors ^y.

^w HENDR. ubi supra. in cap. de leg. & consuetud. ^x Idem ibid. ^y Idem ibid. Vide & DIODOR. SIC. LIV. OROS. l. iv. c. 6. &c.

(I) *Havercamp* asserts, that the *Carthaginians* struck medals in honour of their generals, with their effigies upon them; this is likewise allowed by that learned *Sicilian* antiquary *Inveges* (21).

(21) *Inveg. & Havercamp. ubi sup. p. 84.*

THEY used dog's flesh for food till the time of *Darius Hytaspis*; but upon that prince's conceiving some disgust at this practice, they left it off, at least for a certain period of time ^a.

THE soldiers were prohibited, under the severest punishment, whilst in the field, to taste wine; a laudable instance this of their temperance and sobriety ^a.

EVERY soldier, at least every officer, wore a number of rings answering to the number of campaigns he had made. This doubtless was intended to excite a noble spirit of emulation amongst them, inspire them with a thirst after military glory, and consequently lead them on to the greatest achievements ^b.

THEIR generals, though perfectly innocent, upon any disaster, were frequently put to death. This probably was designed to oblige them to make use of all their skill, address, and vigilance; though, after all, it was a most barbarous and imprudent custom. This wild maxim prevails amongst the *Turks*, who are justly looked upon as barbarians for it, at this day ^c.

THE populace and the senators had distinct baths appointed them. This in general we are told by *Valerius Maximus*; but what gave occasion to this, he says not, nor gives us any further particulars concerning it ^d.

It was usual with many of them to have statues or busts of their lovers or intimate friends in their bed-chambers, that they might, in some measure, see and converse with them when absent. This appears from *Silius*, in his account of *Dido* after *Aeneas's* departure from her ^e.

DIGNITY and power in this state could not screen any great offender from condign punishment. Of which *Machæus*, *Hanno*, *Bomilcar*, and others, that we shall meet with in the course of this history, are pregnant instances ^f.

THEIR anniversary festivals were observed with great solemnity, particularly the day on which the *Tyrians*, under the conduct of *Dido*, began to lay the foundations of *Carthage*. This, according to *Silius*, seems to have been celebrated yearly, even till the destruction of the city, with the utmost splendor and magnificence ^g.

THERE were no public inns amongst them. They entertained strangers as friends in their own private houses. This was likewise a custom amongst other nations, particularly the

^a JUST. hist. l. xix.

^a PLAT. de legib. & HENDR. ubi supra.

^b LIV. HENDR. ubi supra. ARISTOT. BARTH. advers. l. iv. c. 22.

^c Vide LIV. DIODOR. SIC. SIL. ITALIC. & C.

^d VALER.

MAX. l. ix. c. 5.

^e SIL. ITAL.

^f Vide LIV. DIODOR. SIC.

JUST. OROS. & C.

^g SIL. ITAL. & HENDR. ubi sup.

Greeks and Romans. Hence it came to pass, that the same word frequently signified friendship and hospitality. The manner of receiving guests or strangers was thus: A dye or token was divided into two parts; one of these was given to the guest, and upon his producing it to the master of the house, he was received by him, and ever afterwards entertained as a friend. This token was transmitted down to posterity, and kept in the family as a mark of friendship with the person or his family to whom it related^b. Hence those who violated the laws of hospitality were said *tesseram hospitalem frangere*. The deity presiding over these laws was invoked by the name of *Jupiter Xenius*, as the god of friendship was called *Jupiter Philius*, and that of society or good-fellowship *Jupiter Hetærius*.

It was a custom with the *Carthaginians* to consult their augurs and vates upon all emergencies, and before any enterprise of importance was undertaken. Thus *Hamilcar*, at the siege of *Syracuse*, consulting one of his vates, was told by him, that the next night he should sup in that city; and, to wave all other instances, *Pygmalion*, upon his intention to pursue his sister *Dido*, was assured by the inspired college of vates, that he should feel the resentment of the gods, if he offered, in any manner, to obstruct the great design she was gone upon; nay, according to *St. Austin*, these vates were in great repute about those parts long after the destruction of *Carthage*, since one of them, named *Albicerius*, was very famous there in his time for the responses he gave*.

THE magistrates, during the exercise of their power, were¹ obliged to abstain from wine; though that this institution was observed always to the expiration of the commonwealth, we cannot positively affirm.

THE *Phœnicians* are said to have represented their gods as carrying large bags or sacks full of money; because gold amongst them was the emblem of power, and symbol of dominion. Perhaps the *Carthaginians* represented theirs in the same manner, which, together with the vast quantities of treasure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety of the most precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ships, might occasion that insatiable avarice they were so famous for.

^b PLAUT. *Pœnul* act. v. sc. 1. BUDÆUS. in *Pandect.* TAUBMAN. ad Plaut. loc. citat. Scholiast. Euripid. in *Hippol.* JOAN. HARTUNG. in *decur. locor. memor.* c. 8. l. 39. SIL. ITAL. l. xvii. * VIRG. *Æn.* 4. SIL. ITAL. de bell. Pun. l. i. DIODOR. SIC JUST. l. xviii. AUGUST. l. i. cont. academ. ¹ ALEX. ab ALEX.

SEVERAL other customs might here be mentioned ; but as they may be more properly referred to the manners and disposition of the *Carthaginians* in general, we shall comprise them all in the following short character of that people.

Character
of the Car-
thagini-
ans.

THEIR minds were intirely set upon amassing of wealth, being mean-spirited, grovelling, and sordid, to an incredible degree^k. In order to this, they stuck at no low, not to say infamous, arts. This must be understood of the *Carthaginians* in the later periods, and towards the decline of their state ; for it is not to be questioned, but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earliest ages, and that, even to the last, they had many generous and heroic souls amongst them. The ardor and public spirit the women themselves shewed just before the last siege of *Carthage*, as well as during that siege^l, sufficiently prove this. In short, we find such a contrast of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almost impossible to determine which of them were predominant. It must only be observed, that the nearer we approach the destruction of their city, the worse we find them. However, as the characters we have of the *Carthaginians* come handed down to us chiefly from the *Romans*, their implacable enemies, we must not pay too great a regard to them. The *Romans* took care to destroy, not only their archives, which, by the way, shews, that that nation ought to be reckoned amongst those where barbarism prevailed, but almost every thing they wrote, that had any appearance of literature or true history.

Polybius^m makes it his complaint, that both *Philinus* and *Fabius Pictor*, the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* historians, were so partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them, when treating of the *Carthaginian* affairs. Of their perfidiousness and black ingratitude, history supplies us with abundant proof, which will hereafter be produced. According to *Plutarch*ⁿ, they were of a morose, saturnine, and savage, disposition (K), utterly averse to every thing that had but the least appearance

^k POLYB. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. ii. APP. in Lybic. Vide etiam FRONTIN. & VEGET. ^l APPIAN. ubi sup. ^m POLYB. l. i.

ⁿ PLUT. in præc. de ger. rep. c. 5.

(K) The great *Hannibal* was an exception to this general character of the *Carthaginians* given by *Plutarch*. Though that renowned general was, for many years, so much employed in military labours, he yet found means to cultivate the muses. Some of his repartees, that have been transmitted down to us, plainly shew, that he had a great fund of natural wit. This he improved by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, and in such a republic as *Carthage*. Tho' several smart turns, that have been

appearance of wit or raillery, not being able to bear a joke, in which they were diametrically opposite to the genius of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. Some of them were likewise acted by an intolerable spirit of arrogance, and most vicious ambition, by which they were prompted to desire divine honours. Of this *Hanno* affords us a flagrant instance°, who, as we are told by *Ælian*, taught birds to say, *Hanno is a god*; though this did not answer his end, since, after their flight from him, they returned to their former notes again (L).

COMMERCE,

° *ÆLIAN*. var. hist. l. xiv. c. 30.

been attributed to him by the antients, might be produced, yet we shall content ourselves here with one out of *Macrobius* (22): *Antiochus*, valuing himself upon the rich armour and splendid accoutrements of his troops, asked *Hannibal* at a review, Whether he thought they were sufficient for the *Romans*, meaning to cope with them? *Hannibal*, far from being dazzled with the pompous appearance they made, replied, that the *Romans* were indeed very avaricious; but that, however, he thought, these were abundantly sufficient for them, i. e. that the plunder accruing to the *Romans* from them was enough to satisfy that rapacious people. This was a proper rebuke to *Antiochus* for his preposterous notion of military bravery, and at the same time a specimen of brilliant and flowing wit in *Hannibal*.

(L) The *Carthaginians* were extremely addicted to corruption, to which their constitution itself had a natural tendency, as *Aristotle* (23) has rightly observed. Their chiefs frequently made use of this with good success, when all other expedients failed them. The *Barchine* faction supported themselves a long time by the venality of their fellow citizens; and others after them pursued the same method of acting, which ended in the total ruin of the commonwealth. In consequence of this mean disposition, in prosperity they were elevated to a pitch inconsistent with the maxims of prudence and moderation, and in adversity as much depressed. Of this we shall meet with various examples hereafter (24).

At their weddings they entertained their friends with the tunny fish; another remarkable custom that deserves mentioning.

The *Carthaginians* paid the greatest deference to their nobility, who held a most distinguished rank amongst them. Some persons were reputed nobles, or at least upon a level with them, on account of their riches; for *Aristotle* intimates, that wealth had a vast influence at *Carthage*, as well as nobility of birth; and that great regard was had to both in filling the high posts of the state, when vacant. Others received the title of nobles, as a mark of distinction

(22) *Macrobius*. saturn. l. ii. c. p. 225. Vide etiam. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Hanib. Liv. l. xxxv. Plut. in vit. Flamin. & in Pyrrho*, p. 687.

(23) *Aristot. de repub. ubi supra.* (24) Vide *Liv. Polyb. Just. Corn. Nep. Plut. Oros. plurimosque alios historic. pass.*

Commerce, COMMERCE, the army, and the marine, were the principal, *the army,* if not sole, objects of public attention at *Carthage.* These so *and the* intirely *marine,*

chiefly re- due to them for their superior virtue and merit. And lastly, others *garded at* derived their nobility from a long train of noble ancestors. These *Carthage.* were the proper nobility; of whose families in order to render this history the more complete, we shall beg leave to present our readers with the following genealogical table, though it must be owned to be a very imperfect one:

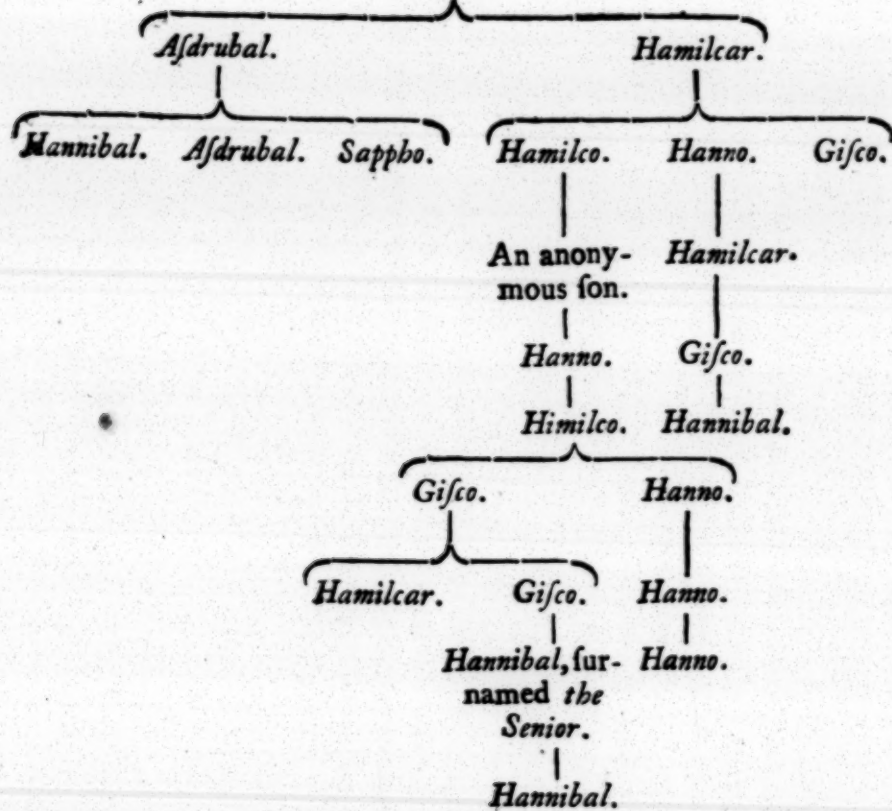
1. The family of MACHÆUS.

Machæus.

Carthalo.

2. The family of MAGO I.

Mago.



3. The family of MAGO II.

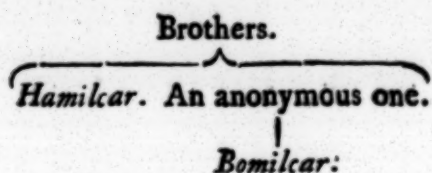
Mago II.

Mago.

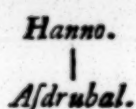
4. The

intirely engrossed the minds of all people there, that they had no inclination to pursue, nor indeed any great taste for, the liberal

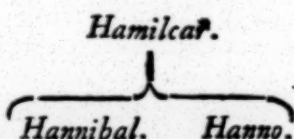
4. The family of BOMILCAR the tyrant.



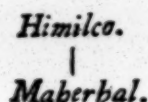
5. The family of HANNO.



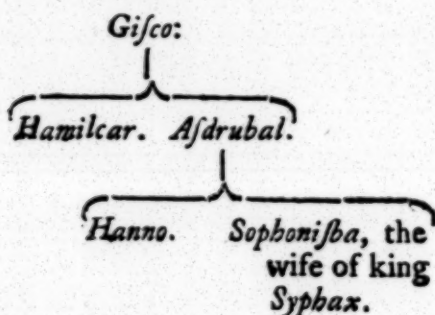
6. The family of HAMILCAR.



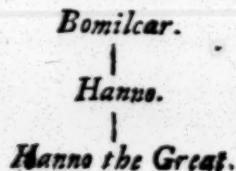
7. The family of HIMILCO.



8. The family of GISCO.



9. The family of BOMILCAR, the king or suser.



10. The

of sculpture and painting, tho' the degree of perfection they arrived at in them we cannot pretend to ascertain, is plain from the *Dii Patæci* they carried along with them in their voyages, as likewise from the pictures with which their ships of war, and other vessels, were adorned. As a sea-faring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to supply the necessities or luxury of other nations with, it is also probable, that they were very well acquainted with the inferior mechanical arts. The *Sidonians* and *Tyrians* were certainly celebrated above other nations for their mechanical skill in very early ages, as we learn from scripture; consequently the *Carthaginians*, one branch of their posterity, must have been so likewise. But the superb temples, magnificent palaces, rich furniture in their houses, great variety of arms, &c. in *Carthage*, put this point beyond dispute (M).

AFTER what has been said, our readers will not expect to meet with many persons of erudition amongst the *Carthaginians*, though, without doubt, they had more than their enemies have informed us of. The *Romans*, as has been just observed, made great havock both amongst their public and private writings, and this out of a principle of envy and malice prepen- sion. However, the names of some of their writers have been transmitted down to posterity, the principal of which are the following:

Hannibal, the most renowned general *Carthage* ever produced, was well versed in the *Greek* language. According to *Cornelius Nepos* and *Plutarch*, he wrote several pieces in it, particularly the history of *Manlius Vulso's* proconsulship in *Asia*.

P CORN. NEP. in Hannib. PLUT. in Scip.

For a more particular account of these families, our readers may consult *Reineccius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, and *Christopher Hendreich*, so often quoted, at their leisure (25).

(M) So famous was *Carthage* for its artificers, that any singular invention or exquisite piece of workmanship seems to have been called, even by the *Romans*, their implacable enemies, *Punic*. Thus the *Punic* beds or couches, the *Punic* windows, the *Punic* wine-presses, the *Punic* lanterns, &c. were of all others esteemed the most neat and elegant for their workmanship by that people. This is an undeniable proof, that the *Carthaginians* had not only good mechanical heads and hands, but likewise excelled all other nations, their original ancestors excepted, in every thing of that kind (26).

(25) *Aristot. de rep. ubi supra. Christ. Hendr. Ubb. Emm. Reinecc. in hist. Jul. vol. ii. Lucius Ampelius lib. memor. p. 191. edit. Cantab. 1680. Justin. l. xix. Liv. Diod. Sic. Polyb. &c. (25) Valer. Max. Cato de re rust. Ovid. el. vi. Plant. Aulul.*

VOL. XVI.

T 1 5

Mago,

Mago.

Mago, another celebrated general of the *Carthaginians*, acquired as much glory to his country by his writings, as his military achievements. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the *Roman* senate had in such esteem, that, after the taking of *Carthage*, when they presented the *African* princes with the libraries founded there, they ordered these books to be translated into *Latin*, though *Cato* had before written copiously on that subject. The libraries above-mentioned are a further proof, that learning was not intirely banished *Carthage*⁹.

Philinus.

Philinus, though a *Sicilian*, being born at *Agrigentum*, is esteemed by *Polybius* as a *Carthaginian* historian. He wrote a history of the wars betwixt the *Romans* and the state of *Carthage*; but disguised facts so palpably in favour of the latter, that, were his performance still extant, it would not be held in any great repute, especially after the stigma *Polybius* has fixed upon it. *Fabius Pictor*, though in the main a good historian, yet, in most points relating to the *Carthaginians*, was guilty of as great partiality on the *Roman* side. This we learn from *Polybius*, who, in order to arrive at truth, has steered the middle course betwixt them both^r.

Himilco.

Himilco, a sea-officer, was sent by the senate of *Carthage* to discover the western shores and ports of *Europe*. This he did, and wrote a journal of his voyage, together with an account of his discoveries, which were inserted in the *Punic* annals. *Festus Avienus*^s has intirely followed this author in his description of the western coasts of the world; and intimates, that he saw the original journal itself in the annals aforesaid. Nay, from *Festus* it appears, that the *Carthaginians* were acquainted with the *Britannic* islands, which he calls *Oestrymnides*.

Hanno.

Hanno, another *Carthaginian* general, by order of the senate, sailed with a considerable fleet^t round *Africa*. He entered the ocean by the straits of *Gibraltar*, made many important discoveries, and had continued his navigation, if provisions had not failed him. He wrote a relation of his voyage, an extract from, or rather a fragment of, a *Greek* version of which, is still remaining. He is said to have hung up in *Juno's* temple some skins of several savage women, whom he ordered to be flayed. *Isaac Vossius*, in opposition to his father, supposes him to have been older than either *Homer* or *Hesiod*; but the great Mr. *Dodwell* solidly and learnedly refutes this notion. If *Pliny*

⁹ CIC. l. i. de orat. n. 249. PLIN. l. xviii. c. 3. ^r POLYB. l. i. ^s FESTUS AVIENUS in or. marit. p. 290. Vide & BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 35, 39, &c. ^t PLIN. l. ii. c. 67. & l. v. c. 1. ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. iii. p. 83. POMP. MEL. l. iii. c. 9. p. 63. edit. Isaaci Vossii. Voss. de hist. Græc p. 514.

is to be credited, *Hanno* and *Himilco* above-mentioned were contemporaries. It is certain there were two *Carthaginian* generals of these names in the time of *Agathocles*. Whilst *Himilco* steered towards the west, in order to discover new countries, *Hanno* took his course from *Gades* or *Cadiz* to the farthest parts of *Arabia*. Mr. *Dodwell* thinks, that the piece going now under the name of *Hanno's periplus*, is not his, but was written by a *Sicilian Greek*. However, it cannot be denied, that he penned a relation of his voyage, since this is often quoted by the antients. This most learned gentleman has, with the greatest appearance of truth, fixed his time somewhere betwixt the ninety-second and the hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad ^u.

Silenus was an historian, who wrote of the *Carthaginian* affairs in the *Greek* language; from whence it should appear, that he was a *Greek*. Some authors take him to have been the same with *Philinus* above-mentioned; but of this we have no sufficient proof, and therefore we must look upon them as two distinct writers ^w.

Clitomachus, called in the *Punic* language *Asdrubal*, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous *Carneades*, whose disciple he had been, and maintained in *Athens* the honour of the academic sect. *Cicero* says, that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study, than the *Carthaginians* generally were. He composed several books, in one of which he drew a piece to console the unhappy citizens of *Carthage*, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery. By this it is manifest, that he lived after the destruction of that city by *Scipio* ^x.

Now we are upon the arts and learning of the *Carthaginians*, it will not be foreign to our subject to mention what *Pliny* tells us of *Hanno*, viz. that he was the first man who dared to touch, and could tame, a lion. The same author adds, that he was condemned, which must either imply in it death or banishment, upon account of this art; since his countrymen could not be persuaded, but that he who had the power of softening the fiercest of beasts, must likewise be capable of influencing the minds of his fellow-citizens, in such a manner as to become master of their freedom ^y. This is related to us by *Pliny*, and it is either an argument of their extreme weakness, or his ex-

Silenus.

Clitoma-
chus.Hanno,
the first
who tamed
a lion.

^u DODWEL. dissert. de peripl. Hannon. ætat. in lim. geogr. vet. script. Græc. min. tom. i. edit. Oxon. 1698. ARISTOT. in lib. de admirand. audit. JUSTIN. l. xxii. &c.

^w CIC. de divin. l. i. ^x PLUT. de fort. Alex. p. 328. DIOC. LAERT. in Clitom.

CIC. in academ. quæst. l. iv. n. 98. Tusc. quæst. l. iii. n. 54.

^y PLIN. ubi sup. P. HARDOUIN. apud Bayl. voc. Hanno, vol. iii. p. 1579. not. (D). Lond. 1710.

treme credulity. Some believe this person to have been the writer *Hanno* above-mentioned (N).

AMONGST

(N) In one respect we may rank the celebrated *Terence* amongst the writers of this country, since, according to *Donatus*, he was born at *Carthage* (26). Being taken captive when very young, either by *Scipio* at the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, as some will have it, or, as others say, by the *Numidians*, in one of their incursions into the *Carthaginian* territories some time after that war, he became the property of *Terentius Lucanus*, a *Roman* senator. *Terentius*, being much taken with the fine disposition of his slave, not only gave him an excellent education, but likewise enfranchised him, and called him after his own name, as was the prevailing custom of those times. In the consulship of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, this famous dramatic poet was in his highest reputation (27). Tho' an *African* born, yet his diction is most pure, elegant, and polite; insomuch, that some have not scrupled to affirm, that he received considerable assistance in the comedies ascribed to him from *Scipio* and his friend *Lælius*. It is certain, that either to please these great men, who were not unwilling to be thought concerned with him in those performances, or because it was true, he himself countenanced this notion (28). Six of those comedies only are now extant, all of which were highly esteemed at *Rome*, and met with prodigious applause when acted there. *Fenestella* makes him to have been older than (29) *Scipio* and *Lælius*; but *Cornelius Nepos* is more to be credited, who asserts them all to have been contemporaries. *Suetonius* says (30), that, in his return from *Greece*, he lost an hundred and eight comedies translated from *Menander*, of whom he was a great admirer, and could not survive an accident which afflicted him in a most sensible manner. However this be, he died in the consulship of *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius*, aged thirty-five years. He is said to have been of a middle stature, slender, and of a swarthy complexion. He had a daughter who survived him, and was married to a *Roman* knight.

Under this note we shall likewise beg leave to observe, that it is intimated by *Plutarch* (31), that this *Hanno* made use of lions as beasts of burden; which is confirmed by *Ovid* and *Silius* (32). If we will believe *Ælian* (33), there were lions in the temple of *Adonis* so tame, that they fawned upon persons at their entering in, came to the table there when called, and, after taking what was given them, modestly retired. The same author tells us, that the *Indians* (34) had so tamed their lions, that with them they hunted bulls, wild asses, and other savage animals. *John II.* king of *Portugal* is reported to have

(26) *Æl. Donat. P. Terent. vit.* (27) *Idem ibid. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 185, 218, 238.* (28) *Æl. Donat. ubi sup.* (29) *Fenestella apud Æl. Donat. ubi sup.* (30) *Sueton. in vit. Terent. l. i.* (31) *Plut. de præcep. ger. rep.* (32) *Ovid. trist. iv. l. 6. Sil. Ital. l. i.* (33) *Ælian. de animal. l. xii.* (34) *Idem ibid. l. xvii.*

AMONGST other inventions this nation was famous for, we must not forget that of the *quadriremes*, or four-oared galleys, which the antients attributed to the *Carthaginians*. It is more-over probable, that they were the first who made cable-ropes for large vessels of the shrub *spartum*, which was a sort of broom; at least, that they were the first who communicated this invention to the *Romans*. But this perhaps more properly belongs to the navigation and trade of the *Carthaginians*, which we shall now endeavour to give our readers a succinct idea of ².

WITH regard to trade and navigation (for we shall consider them jointly), no nation was ever more famous for these, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent, than they did. The *Mediterranean*, and all the ports in it, they were perfectly acquainted with. In the eastern parts they pushed their discoveries and commerce as far as any nation whatsoever, and to the westward, in all probability, farther. *Britain* and the *Canaries* were known to them; nay, according to some, *America* itself; but this seems to be a conjecture without sufficient foundation. The formidable fleets they fitted out on many occasions, the vast quantity of shipping they kept in continual employ, the honour they had for a long period of time of being almost universally acknowledged as masters of the sea, to omit many others, are most glaring proofs of the flourishing condition of their trade and navigation. Neither is this without the best authority to support it; for, to wave many other authors of unquestionable reputation that occur, it appears from *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, that scarce any people made so great a figure by sea as the *Carthaginians*, which was the natural effect not only of their genius for naval affairs, but also of the flourishing and extensive commerce they were in possession of. The basis of this felicity

² ARIST. LIV. l. xxi. POLYB. l. i. CÆL. CALCAGNINUS de re nautic. comment. c. i. XENOPH. de re venator.

had a lion always following him like a dog (35); and, according to *Paulus Jovius*, the king of *France* gave such a one as this to the cardinal de *Medicis*. What has been said of the *Indians*, *Paulus Venetus* likewise relates of the *Tartars* (36).

Silenus was an historian mentioned by *Cicero*, and, as is probable, by *Nepos* (37). The former of these assures us, that he wrote a history in *Greek*, with great care and accuracy, of *Hannibal's* expeditions; and that *Cælius* in some points followed him.

(35) *Petr. Messias*, l. ii. c. 3. (36) *Paulus Venet.* l. vii. c. 17.

(37) *Cic. de divinat.* l. i. *Voss. de hist. Græc.* l. iii. p. 413. *Vide Bosium, & not. in Corn. Nep. de Hannib.* p. 604. *Lugd. Bat.* 1734.

was owing to the *Tyrians*, from whom they brought the disposition they were so eminent for into *Africa*. But in process of time they eclipsed the glory of even their ancestors themselves; insomuch, that *Pliny* derives the origin of trade, not from the *Phœnicians*, but the *Pœni* or *Carthaginians*. The natural fertility of its soil, the surprising skill of its artificers, together with its happy situation, rendered *Carthage* the centre of traffic, the great mart, not only of the *Mediterranean*, but even of the most remote nations^a.

Their commodities.

THE commodities they supplied other countries with, in great abundance, seem to have been corn and fruits of all kinds; divers sorts of provisions, and high fauces; wax, honey, oil, the skins of wild beasts, &c. all the natural produce of their own territories. Their staple manufactures were utensils, toys, cables, all kinds of naval stores, and the colour from them called *Punic*, the preparation of which seems to have been peculiar to them. From *Egypt* they fetched fine flax, paper, &c. From the coasts of the *Red-Sea*, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones. From *Tyre* and *Phœnice*, purple, scarlet, rich stuffs, tapestry, costly furniture, &c. From the western parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they brought back iron, tin, lead, copper, &c. In fine, they purchased the superfluities of all nations at an easy price; and by knowing the necessities of them all, and the particular branch of trade adapted to each of them, they sold these at their own rates; which brought immense treasure daily to *Carthage*, rendered this republic terrible to all her neighbours, and even enabled her to contend so long with *Rome* for the empire of the world itself^b.

HAVING thus given our readers a general idea of the extensive trade this mighty republick was mistress of, which was the

^a FEST. AVIEN. ubi sup. POSID. & ARIST. de mem. CLAUD. l. 3. STRAB. APOLLON. PHILOST. l. ii. c. 14. l. 5. PINDAR. &c. CHRIST. HENDR. Carth. l. ii. f. i. c. 8. p. 262, 263, &c. HERODOT. l. i. THUCYDID. l. i. sub. init. PLIN. nat. hist. l. vii. c. 56. LIV. POLYB. DIODOR. SIC. JUSTIN. OROS. aliq; pass. ^bCHRIST. HENDR. ubi sup. PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. ii. JUL. POLLUX, l. vi. ISIDOR. orig. l. xx. c. 3. A. SCHOTTI observ. l. iii. c. 7. HIERON. MAGIUS in miscel. l. ii. c. 9. HADR. JUN. animadv. l. vi. c. 17. TURNER. advers. l. x. c. 12. CATEL-
LIANUS COTTA in memorab. VARRO, l. iv. c. 23. de LL. TIBUL. l. ii. eleg. & ad eum PASSERATIUS, l. iii. iv. JOH. BRO-
NUS in miscel. l. vi. c. 24, & l. i. c. 8. ALEX. VANEGAS, l. ii. c. 2. & MENASSEH BEN. ISRAEL. en esper. de Iſr p. 18, 19, &c. En Amsterdam en la Imprenſion de Semuſ Ben Iſrael Sociro, A.M. 5410.

great source of all her wealth and power; we must now beg leave to remark in particular, that no branch of their commerce seems to have been more beneficial to the *Carthaginians*, than that they carried on with the *Persians*, *Garamantes*, and *Ethiopians*. These remote nations, besides other rich commodities, brought with them *carbuncles*, of almost inestimable value, to *Carthage*; to which place they yearly resorted, as is most likely, in caravans. These gems, from the plenty of them at *Carthage*, were called by the antients *Charchedonian* or *Carthaginian*, as *Pliny* relates. From *Polybius* it appears probable, that the *Carthaginian* merchants, at the sale of their wares, had a crier and secretary, or clerk, to attend them. No profession was reckoned more honourable than that of the merchant in the dominions of this state; which is not to be wondered at, considering the vast advantage accruing from thence to all orders and degrees of men therein. After this, it will be needless to observe, that the most considerable personages of the city were not ashamed to apply themselves to it.

WE shall close this section with taking notice of a remarkable custom observed by the *Carthaginians*, and the *Libyans* bordering on the sea-coasts, in their trafficking with each other, as *Herodotus* himself has related it.

“THE *Carthaginians*, says this historian, sailing beyond the straits, or pillars of *Hercules*, traded with the *Libyans* of those parts in the following manner: After they had got into some creek, they landed their goods; and leaving them exposed on some point of land, returned again on board their ships. They then caused a great smoak to be raised, at the sight of which the *Libyans* immediately came to the place where the wares had been left; and laying down a certain quantity of gold, retired at a good distance from them. Upon this the *Carthaginians* went on shore a second time; and if upon viewing the gold it appeared to them sufficient, they carried it off, and sailed without delay; if not, they left it, and continued quiet on board for some time. The *Libyans* finding this, made an addition to what they had before deposited; and if this proved insufficient, they continued increasing the original quantity of gold till the *Carthaginians* were satisfied, and the bargain made. Neither of these nations offered the least injustice to the other. The *Carthaginians* did not so much as touch the *Libyan* gold till it was of equal value with their wares, nor the *Libyans* the *Carthaginian* merchandize, till the gold they offered as an equivalent was accepted and taken away.”

^c *PLIN* nat. hist. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & *DALECAMP.* in loc. *PETRON.* in satiric *POLYB.* l. iii. ^d *HERODOT.* l. iv.

S E C T. IV.

The chronology of the Carthaginians.

Carthagi-
nian chro-
nology
the same
with the
Phœni-
cian.

THE Carthaginian chronology was at first the *Phœnician*, already by us considered, and, in all probability ever afterwards, as to its form and manner, agreed with it. That the *Carthaginians* kept records in the same manner as their ancestors the *Tyrians* did, cannot well be doubted; especially, if we consider, how closely they adhered to the customs and maxims of those ancestors. Sir *Isaac Newton* seems to imagine, that the artificial chronology of *Eratosthenes* did not absolutely prevail amongst the *Romans* even in the *Augustin* age, but thinks that *Virgil* might have taken some of his historical facts from the records of *Carthage*; which evidently supposes, that these records might then have existed. *Servius* seems to insinuate, that they, or at least some part of them, were in being when he wrote; for he tells us, that, according to the *Carthaginians* themselves, *Dido* came from a town called *Charta*. But, however this may be, 'tis certain, from *Solinus* and others, that annals, and an epoch, at the destruction of their city, the *Carthaginians* must have had; otherwise the *Romans* could never have known how many years had elapsed from the foundation to the destruction of that metropolis, as we find they did. But this is so apparent, that we shall insist no further upon it^e.

THE method of computing time from the building of cities was in use throughout a good part of the east in very early ages, though it was of a later date at *Rome*, particularly amongst the *Lydians*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*, as it was likewise amongst their descendants the old *Etruscans* and *Carthaginians*. This is evident beyond contradiction from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Censorinus*, *Scaliger*, and a famous inscription, whose epoch is the foundation of *Interamna* in *Umbria*, which *Gruter* and *Justus Fontaninus*, in his *antiquities of Horta*, have given us^f.

THE antient year of the *Phœnicians*, as well as that of the other eastern nations, was most certainly luni-solar, *i. e.* it consisted of twelve lunar months, containing thirty days each, with intercalary months to make up what the twelve lunar months

^e NEWTON'S chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. SERV. in *Æn.* i. & *Æn.* iv. SOLIN. c. 29. ^f DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. i. CENSORIN. de die natal. c. 17. SCALIG. de emend. temp. l. v. p. 385. GRUTER. cxiii. 2. JUST. FONTANIN. de antiquit. Hort. l. i. c. 7. p. 135, 136, ed. Rom. 1723.

wanted of the solar year. At length the *Egyptians of Thebes*, according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*, introduced the solar year, *i. e.* they added five days annually to the twelve lunar months, in order to make them agree with the course of the sun. Now as the computation by solar years did not take place even in *Egypt* till the time of *Amenophis* (tho' the difference betwixt the solar and kalendar years was discovered in the reign of *Ammon* the father of *Sesac*), *i. e.* about an hundred and thirty-seven years before the æra of *Nabonassar*; nor amongst the *Chaldæans* or *Babylonians* till the commencement of that æra; and as *Dido's* departure from *Tyre* was at least co-eval with, if it did not precede, the former of these events, the luni-solar year was, without dispute, observed then by the *Phœnicians*, and consequently afterwards by the *Carthaginians* ^g.

IN confirmation of which we must not omit remarking, that *Simplicius*, in his commentary on the first of *Aristotle's physical* *acroasis*, affirms the *Damascenes* and *Arabians*, who were either neighbours to the posterity of the old *Phœnicians*, or intermixed with them, to have had the luni-solar year in use amongst them so late as his time; from whence 'tis not a little probable, that this was always the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian* year ^h. *As was that of the Arabians and Damascenes.*

WE have nothing very material to offer farther on this head, the *Carthaginian* annals having for a long series of ages been destroyed. As therefore we cannot pretend to give any tolerable particular account, much less a methodical system, of the *Carthaginian* chronology, all that can be done, in order to satisfy our readers, is, to exhibit to their view a chronological table of some few of the principal transactions, in which that famous republic was concerned, including a list of several of its great men, in order of time, as they lived.

^g CENSORIN. de die natal. c. 19. & 20. CIC. in Ver. GEMINUS, c. 6. GEN. i. 14. viii. 22. NEWTON'S chronol. p. 71—82. DIODOR. SIC. l. i. STRAB. l. xvii. PLUT. de Isid. & Osir. HECATÆUS apud Diod. l. i. ^h SIMPLIC. apud Theodor. Gazam de mensibus.

The Monarchy of CARTHAGE.

Year of Year before
CARTHAGE. CHRIST.

DIDO, the daughter of *Metminus*,
king of *Tyre*, founded *Carthage*.

How long she reigned there, history
informs us not.

890 or
892

The Republic of CARTHAGE.

Year of Year before
CARTHAGE. CHRIST.

AFTER *Dido's* death, there is a chasm in the history of *Carthage* for above three hundred years. Only from *Justin* we learn, that this state was much agitated by intestine commotions during part of that period.

The *Carthaginians* plant a colony in the island *Ebusus* or *Erefus*, on the coast of *Spain*, according to *Diodorus*. . .

160

739

The *Tyrrhenian* and *Carthaginian* united fleets are, according to *Herodotus*, after a bloody engagement, put to flight by the *Phocæans*, in the sea of *Sardinia*. . .

347

543

Which action is likewise mentioned by *Thucydides*, who relates, that the city of *Maffilia*, at present *Marseilles*, built by the said *Phocæans*, was then in its infancy (A). . .

347

Machæus,

(A) That this most antient naval engagement happened not far from the year, in which our most learned archbishop *Usher* has placed it, is, in some measure, evident from a circumstance taken notice of by *Thucydides* in his first book, where he mentions it. That author informs us, that this event happened not long after the foundation of *Maffilia*, or *Marseilles*, which was built by the *Phocæans*. Now it is asserted by *Timæus Siculus*, that *Maffilia* was founded by the *Phocæans* an hundred and twenty years before the battle of *Salamis*, which falls in with the first year of the forty-fifth olympiad, and consequently the foundation of *Maffilia* preceded the action under consideration fifty-seven years. It might then therefore very justly be said, as *Thucydides* relates, to have been in its infancy. That *Maffilia* was built by the *Phocæans* about the time mentioned by *Timæus*, is confirmed by *Aristotle*, *Harpocration*, *Scymnus Chius*, *Justin*, *Athenæus*, and other authors. Both *Thucydides* and *Herodotus* likewise seem to relate some events after this, as happening in the time of *Cambyses*; which may be looked upon as an additional

Year of Year before
CARTHAGE. CHRIST.

<i>Machæus</i> , a famous general, gains some very considerable advantages over the <i>Africans</i> , with whom the <i>Carthaginians</i> are now engaged in a war. This happened, as appears probable from comparing <i>Justin</i> with <i>Orosius</i> , towards the conclusion of <i>Cyrus's</i> reign, or that of his uncle <i>Cyaxares II.</i> and therefore we may place it about the year.	353	537
He reduces part of <i>Sicily</i> to the obedience of the <i>Carthaginians</i> .	354	536
A plague makes great havock at <i>Carthage</i> about this time, when the <i>Carthaginians</i> endeavour to appease the gods by sacrificing children.	355	535
After a long and successful war in <i>Sicily</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> army, under the command of <i>Machæus</i> , thinks proper to retire from that island.	360	530
The same army afterwards invading <i>Sardinia</i> , is intirely defeated by the <i>Sardi</i> , and the greatest part of it cut off.	360	530
The remaining part, upon their return home, are banished by their countrymen, together with <i>Machæus</i> the general. Incensed at this barbarous treatment, they attack <i>Carthage</i> , carry the city, and, after putting ten senators to death, settle the republic upon its former footing.	360	530
<i>Machæus</i> crucifies his son about the same time.	360	530
Some time after this the same general, being accused of a design to make himself		

tional argument in defence of our learned primate's notion, which he has taken from *Eusebius* (1).

(1) *Uss.* ad an. per. Jul. 4171. *Herodot.* l. i. *Timæus Sic.* apud *Marcian* in perieg. *Solin.* *Euseb.* in *chron.* ad olymp. 45, 1. 59, 2. *Ec.* *Aristot.* apud *Harpocration* in voc. *Μασσαλία*, *Athen.* *deipnosoph.* l. xiii. *Just.* l. xliii. *Strab.* l. iv. *Scymnus.* *Chius*, *Ammian.* *Marcellin.* 15, 23. *Gell.* *noct. At.* 10, 16, *Ec.*

absolute, is punished with death, and succeeded by <i>Mago</i> in the command of the army.	367	523
An alliance formed between the <i>Carthaginians</i> and the <i>Romans</i> the year after the regifuge, in the consulship of <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Valerius</i> .	382	508
<i>Mago</i> , after the introduction of military discipline amongst the <i>Carthaginians</i> , dies, leaving their forces in an excellent condition. If <i>Justin</i> is to be credited, this seems to have happened some years before <i>Darius Hystaspis</i> died; and therefore we may look upon it to fall in justly enough with the year.	401	489
Soon after <i>Mago's</i> death, his two sons <i>Asdrubal</i> and <i>Hamilcar</i> attempt the conquest of <i>Sardinia</i> , as likewise to free their country from the annual tribute imposed upon them by the <i>Africans</i> .	401	489
<i>Darius</i> sends ambassadors to <i>Carthage</i> to demand a body of auxiliaries against their common enemy the <i>Greeks</i> , for a war with whom he was then making very great preparations.	402	488
At first <i>Asdrubal</i> and <i>Hamilcar</i> seem to have had great success in <i>Sardinia</i> , by the number of triumphs <i>Justin</i> assigns <i>Asdrubal</i> ; but, towards the conclusion of this war, <i>Asdrubal</i> is mortally wounded, and the intire command of the army thereby devolves upon his brother <i>Hamilcar</i> .	404	486
A treaty of peace is concluded between the <i>Africans</i> and <i>Carthaginians</i> about this period, by which the annual tribute of the latter is continued.	405	485
The <i>Sicilians</i> implore the assistance of <i>Leonidas</i> , to enable them to shake off the <i>Carthaginian</i> yoke.	405	485
Not long after this <i>Hamilcar</i> is killed in <i>Sicily</i> , leaving behind him three sons, <i>Hamileo</i> or <i>Himilco</i> , <i>Hanno</i> , and <i>Gisco</i> .	410	480
		After

Year of Year before
CARTHAGE. CHRIST.

After the death of *Hamilcar*, and the total defeat of the *Carthaginian* army by *Gelon*, a peace is made, and *Gisco*, the son of *Hamilcar*, banished. 410 480

The *Carthaginians* engage at once in a war with the *Moors*, *Numidians*, and other *Africans*; the result of which is, that they are excused the annual tribute before exacted of them. 430 460

Some time after this period the two brothers *Philæni* sacrificed themselves for the honour, as they apprehended, of their country.

The *centumvirate* instituted, somewhere in this interval, to reduce the exorbitant power of *Mago's* family within proper bounds, and be a curb upon their generals, according to *Justin*.

Hannibal, the son of *Gisco*, makes an expedition into *Sicily*, takes and razes *Selinus* and *Himera*. 482 408

The same general, in conjunction with *Imilcar*, makes another campaign in *Sicily*; but dies of the plague in his camp before *Agrigentum*, of which distemper a great part of his army likewise perishes. 486 404

Imilcar, *Hannibal's* colleague, takes *Agrigentum*. 486 404

He likewise reduces *Gela*. 486 404

He puts an end to this war by a treaty concluded with *Dionysius*. 486 404

Dionysius takes *Motya* from the *Carthaginians*. 494 396

Himilco retakes *Motya* by storm, reduces *Messana*, and razes it. *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, likewise defeats the *Sicilian* fleet under *Leptines*. *Himilco* advances with his army, drawn up in order of battle, to the very walls of *Syracuse*, and plunders the temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* in the suburb of *Acradina*; but the plague carrying off

a great

a great part of his troops, he is obliged to withdraw.	495	395
The <i>Africans</i> , to the number of two hundred thousand, seize upon <i>Tunis</i> , and threaten <i>Carthage</i> itself. But famine and divisions oblige them at last to disperse. <i>Himilco</i> , not being able to survive his misfortunes, puts an end to them by a voluntary death.	495	395
<i>Mago</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, is routed by <i>Dionysius</i> at <i>Abacænum</i> .	498	392
A second peace concluded between <i>Dionysius</i> and the <i>Carthaginians</i> .	499	391
<i>Dionysius</i> routs the <i>Carthaginians</i> at <i>Cabala</i> in <i>Sicily</i> , but is beaten by them at <i>Cronion</i> , upon which a peace ensues.	508	382
A plague breaks out in <i>Carthage</i> , which sweeps away an infinite number of people. The <i>Africans</i> and <i>Sardi</i> rise up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the <i>Carthaginian</i> state. A particular species of madness seizes many of the inhabitants of <i>Carthage</i> , and produces dismal effects there.	512	378
<i>Dionysius</i> advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, into the <i>Carthaginian</i> territories. With this force he soon takes <i>Selinus</i> and <i>Entella</i> , and plunders all the adjacent country. The <i>Carthaginians</i> , on the other hand, enter the port of <i>Eryx</i> with two hundred sail, and carry off most of the best <i>Syracusan</i> galleys laid up in that harbour.	522	368
<i>Dionysius</i> II. succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the <i>Carthaginians</i> .	523	367
<i>Paralus</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> governor of <i>Minoa</i> , permits <i>Dion</i> to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to <i>Syracuse</i> ; by which means that prince is enabled		

to

	Year of CARTHAGE.	Year before CHRIST.
to proceed in his expedition against <i>Dionysius II.</i>	534	356
<i>Timoleon</i> brings succours from <i>Corinth</i> to the <i>Syracusians</i> , and lands his forces in <i>Sicily</i> by a stratagem.	546	344
He defeats <i>Ictas</i> at <i>Adranum</i> , and pos- sesses himself of <i>Syracuse</i> and <i>Messana</i> , according to <i>Diodorus</i>	547	343
A second treaty concluded between the <i>Carthaginians</i> and the <i>Romans</i> , in which the inhabitants of <i>Tyre</i> and <i>Uti-</i> <i>ca</i> are comprehended.	547	343
<i>Timoleon</i> gives a total overthrow to the <i>Carthaginian</i> forces under <i>Mago</i> , upon the banks of the river <i>Crimesus</i>	551	339
And concludes a peace with that nation.	552	338
About this time, in all probability, <i>Hanno</i> forms a design at <i>Carthage</i> to assume the sovereignty to himself, by destroy- ing the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having re- course afterwards to arms, and endea- vouring to support himself in his re- bellion by an alliance with the <i>African</i> princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigour and severity.	554	336
<i>Alexander</i> forms the siege of <i>Tyre</i> , upon which the <i>Tyrians</i> send their wives and children to <i>Carthage</i> , where they are kindly received.	559	331
The <i>Carthaginians</i> send <i>Hamilcar</i> , sur- named <i>Rhodanus</i> , as their minister to <i>Alexander</i> at his camp before <i>Tyre</i> ; and put him to death on his return home.	559	331
The <i>Cyreneans</i> apply to the <i>Carthaginians</i> for succours against a body of <i>Greek</i> mercenaries, that invaded them, but in vain.	568	322
The <i>Carthaginians</i> send some troops to the assistance of <i>Sosistratus</i> , and the <i>Syracusan</i> exiles, against <i>Agathocles</i> .	574	316
They oblige <i>Agathocles</i> to restore the castle of <i>Mylæ</i> to the <i>Messanians</i>	576	314 <i>Hannibal</i>

Year of Year before
CARTHAGE. CHRIST.

<i>Hamilcar</i> routs <i>Agathocles</i> at <i>Himera</i> , according to <i>Diodorus Siculus</i>	580	310
<i>Agathocles</i> invades <i>Africa</i> , and gives a memorable defeat there to <i>Hanno</i> and <i>Bomilcar</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> generals, according to <i>Diodorus</i>	581	309
<i>Hamilcar</i> is taken by the <i>Syracusians</i> , and has his head struck off, which is sent to <i>Agathocles</i> in <i>Africa</i>	582	308
<i>Agathocles</i> prevails upon <i>Ophellas</i> , prince of the <i>Cyreneans</i> , to march to his assistance, and then cuts him off by treachery.	583	307
<i>Bomilcar</i> crucified for forming a design to make himself tyrant of <i>Carthage</i> . .	583	307
<i>Agathocles</i> receives a great defeat from the <i>Carthaginians</i> , and is forced to abandon <i>Africa</i> , which produces a peace between the two powers. . . .	584	306
The articles of the peace signed. . .	585	305
A third treaty concluded between the <i>Romans</i> and the <i>Carthaginians</i> about the time of <i>Pyrrhus's</i> arrival in <i>Italy</i> . .	610	280
The <i>Carthaginians</i> offer the <i>Romans</i> assistance in their war with <i>Pyrrhus</i> , and for that purpose send a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail under the command of <i>Mago</i> ; tho' the <i>Romans</i> decline accepting it. . . .	610	280
The <i>Carthaginians</i> besiege <i>Syracuse</i> with an army of fifty thousand men, and a fleet of an hundred sail. . . .	611	278
<i>Pyrrhus</i> makes a descent in <i>Sicily</i> , reduces all the <i>Carthaginian</i> towns in that island, except <i>Lilybæum</i> , almost as soon as he appears before them; and loses them again with the same rapidity to the <i>Carthaginians</i>	613	227
<i>Hannibal</i> , the <i>Carthaginian</i> general, sends a detachment to reinforce the <i>Mamertine</i> garison of <i>Messana</i> , and thereby prevents <i>Hiero</i> from possessing himself of that place, which occasions the first <i>Punic</i> war. . . .	614	276
	625	265
The first <i>Punic</i> war begins. . . .	626	264
		The

Year of Year before
CARTHAGE. CHRIST.

The <i>Romans</i> , after a siege of seven months, take <i>Agrigentum</i> , and gain a victory over the <i>Carthaginian</i> forces under <i>Hanno</i> , sent to its relief. . . .	628	262
The consul <i>C. Duilius</i> gains a complete victory over the <i>Carthaginians</i> by sea, their admiral <i>Hannibal</i> escaping with much difficulty. The other consul, <i>Cn. Cornelius Scipio</i> , being surpris'd, surrenders himself to the enemy under <i>Boodes</i>	630	260
A drawn naval engagement between the <i>Carthaginians</i> and the <i>Romans</i> . . .	633	257
The <i>Carthaginians</i> receive a great blow by sea from the <i>Romans</i> ; above thirty of their ships being sunk, and sixty-three taken. <i>Hanno</i> , who had behaved so ill at <i>Agrigentum</i> , and <i>Hamilcar</i> , are their admirals at the time of this disaster. <i>Regulus</i> also lands this year in <i>Africa</i> , reduces <i>Adis</i> a strong fortress, and many other places. He gives the <i>Carthaginian</i> army, commanded by <i>Hanno</i> , <i>Bostar</i> , and <i>Hamilcar</i> , a most memorable defeat. . . .	634	256
The <i>Roman</i> army under <i>Regulus</i> overthrown by <i>Xantippus</i> the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> , who, at the desire of the <i>Carthaginian</i> senate, takes upon him the command of their forces. <i>Regulus</i> himself is taken prisoner in this action. . .	635	255
The <i>Carthaginians</i> become once more masters of the sea. . . .	638	252
<i>Lilybæum</i> , a <i>Punic</i> town in <i>Sicily</i> , besieged by the <i>Romans</i>	640	250
The great <i>Hannibal</i> born. . . .	642	248
<i>Hamilcar</i> behaves himself with great bravery for three years together in <i>Sicily</i>	645	245
The <i>Carthaginians</i> under <i>Hanno</i> are routed by the <i>Romans</i> near the islands <i>Ægusæ</i> or <i>Ægates</i>	648	242
<i>Hamilcar</i> , having received full powers from the <i>Carthaginian</i> senate for that		
VOL. XVI. X x x		purpose,

purpose, concludes a peace with the <i>Romans</i> . This put a period to the first <i>Punic</i> war, after it had lasted four and twenty years.	649	241
After various turns of fortune, the <i>Afri-</i> <i>can</i> or <i>Libyan</i> war is brought to a hap- py conclusion by <i>Hamilcar</i> , tho' the <i>Carthaginians</i> were reduced to the last extremity through the incapacity of <i>Hanno</i> , and <i>Hannibal</i> , by his indolence, had given a great advantage to the enemy.	652	238
<i>Hamilcar</i> , being sent by the <i>Carthagini-</i> <i>ans</i> as their general into <i>Spain</i> , partly by force, and partly by persuasion, sub- dues many nations there; but expos- ing himself too much in a battle with some of the most warlike <i>Spaniards</i> as yet unconquered, he is slain, and suc- ceeded in his post by <i>Asdrubal</i>	661	229
<i>Asdrubal</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Hanni-</i> <i>bal</i> . That general takes <i>Althæa</i> , the capital of the <i>Olcades</i> ; conquers that nation; the <i>Vaccæi</i> , <i>Carpetani</i> , &c. The <i>Saguntines</i> apprise the <i>Romans</i> of these proceedings.	670	220
The <i>Romans</i> , by their ambassadors, de- mand <i>Hannibal</i> of the <i>Carthaginians</i> for taking of <i>Saguntum</i> . That general, having settled matters in <i>Spain</i> , makes preparations for a war with the <i>Ro-</i> <i>mans</i>	671	219
This year the second <i>Punic</i> war com- mences, according to <i>Polybius</i> . <i>Han-</i> <i>nibal</i> passes the <i>Alps</i> , and defeats <i>Sci-</i> <i>pio</i> near the <i>Ticinus</i> , now called the <i>Tesino</i> , after taking <i>Turin</i> , and routing the <i>Gauls</i> , who disputed the passage of the <i>Rhone</i>	672	218
The same general overthrows <i>Sempronius</i> on the banks of the <i>Trebia</i>	672	218
<i>Hanno</i> is defeated in <i>Spain</i> by <i>Scipio</i> , who extends his conquests as far as the <i>Iberus</i> .	672	218
<i>C. Flaminius</i> is overthrown by <i>Hannibal</i> at the lake of <i>Thrasymene</i> , now the		

Lago

Year of Year before
CARTHAGE. CHRIST.

<i>Lago di Perugia</i> , with the slaughter of fifteen thousand men. He likewise gives a terrible repulse to <i>Minucius</i> ; but is checked in his progress by <i>Fabius</i> . <i>Cn. Scipio</i> defeats <i>Hanno</i> at the town of <i>Cissa</i> in <i>Spain</i>	673	217
The Roman army commanded by <i>Terentius Varro</i> and <i>Æmilius Paulus</i> , is totally defeated at <i>Cannæ</i> upon the <i>Aufidus</i> in <i>Apulia</i> . This was the greatest blow the Romans ever received. The Carthaginians in <i>Spain</i> under <i>Asdrubal</i> , are overcome by the Romans.	674	216
<i>Philip</i> king of <i>Macedon</i> , by his minister <i>Xenophanes</i> , concludes a treaty with <i>nibal</i>	675	215
<i>Hannibal</i> takes <i>Tarentum</i>	678	212
<i>Capua</i> besieged by the Romans. The two <i>Scipios</i> , with their armies, destroyed in <i>Spain</i> by the Carthaginians and their allies.	678	212
<i>Hannibal</i> , in order to raise the siege of <i>Capua</i> , bends his march towards <i>Rome</i> , and advances within five miles of that capital.	679	211
<i>Tarentum</i> retaken by <i>Fabius</i>	681	209
<i>Hannibal</i> , by a stratagem circumventing <i>M. Claudius Marcellus</i> and <i>T. Quintius Crispinus</i> , cuts off <i>Marcellus</i> , and other Romans of distinction.	682	208
<i>Edeco</i> , <i>Indibilis</i> , <i>Mandonius</i> , &c. petty kings or <i>reguli</i> of <i>Spain</i> , join <i>Scipio</i> . By the accession of their forces he is enabled to vanquish <i>Asdrubal</i> , the brother of <i>Hannibal</i> , at <i>Bætula</i> , and to drive him out of <i>Spain</i>	682	208
<i>Asdrubal</i> , coming with a powerful army into <i>Italy</i> to join <i>Hannibal</i> , is overthrown, and his army utterly ruined.	683	207
<i>Scipio</i> in <i>Spain</i> vanquishes <i>Asdrubal</i> the son of <i>Gisco</i> , <i>Mago</i> , and <i>Indibilis</i> ; draws off <i>Masiniſſa</i> from the Cartha-		

ginian interest; reduces all Spain; and is then recalled to Rome.	684	206
Scipio lands in Africa; besieges Utica; burns the camps of Syphax and Asdrubal; overthrows the Carthaginian, Numidian and Celtiberian forces; and takes Tunis. Hannibal is obliged to quit Italy, and return to Africa.	687	203
An interview between Scipio and Hannibal. The latter of these is intirely defeated at the battle of Zama; which produces a peace, and terminates the second Punic war.	688	202
Hannibal, being obliged to leave his native country, lands at Tyre, and afterwards seeks an asylum at the court of Antiochus.	689	201
Hannibal dies, according to Livy and Cornelius Nepos.	695	195
Masiniſſa, depending on his friendship with Rome, makes an irruption into the province of Tyſca, and invades the Carthaginian territories.	708	182
	730	160
	or	or
An embassy is sent from Rome, at the head of which is Cato, to dispose both parties to an accommodation, and determine all differences between them upon the spot. But the Carthaginians reject the mediation of the Romans, tho' they had before admitted it; which occasions the third Punic war.	731	159
	732	158
A bloody war breaks out between Carthage and Masiniſſa.	740	150
The Carthaginians, after the Romans had most perfidiously and inhumanly deprived them of all means of defence, are commanded to abandon their city; which they not complying with, it is totally destroyed by Æmilianus, and levelled with the ground.	744	146
	Or, according to Sir Isaac Newton and Salmaſius in conjunction with Solinus.	
	746	146

Appian tells us in round numbers, that *Carthage* stood seven hundred years; but *Solinus*, with greater accuracy, determines its duration to have been seven hundred and thirty-seven years,
i. e.

i. e. either so many complete years precisely, or so many complete years, with part of another elapsed, which was not reckoned in the computation. Now, if with Sir *Isaac Newton* and *Salmasius*, we suppose this term to have commenced at the *encænia* or dedication of the city; which, they have proved, fell upon the sixteenth year of *Pygmalion's* reign at *Tyre*, the beginning of the foundation of *Carthage* must be placed nine years higher, since *Dido* came to *Africa* in the seventh year of that prince's reign; and consequently this happened seven hundred and forty-six years before the final destruction of that city by *Æmilianus*. Since therefore *Josephus*, from *Menander Ephesius*, or, according to *Tatian*, *Menander of Pergamus*, as he is corrected by *Petavius*, intimates, that *Carthage* preceded *Rome* an hundred and forty-years, which almost exactly corresponds with Sir *Isaac Newton* and *Salmasius*; and since the æra of *Petavius*, which we have followed, does not differ from that of *Solinus* as stated by the two great men above-mentioned, above two years, a trifle in a point of so remote antiquity, we may look upon these æras as the same. This is a strong presumption, that both of them approach very near the truth; and therefore we may venture to assure our readers, that they cannot greatly err, chuse which of them they please ¹.

THE chronological synopsis here inserted, gives our readers the whole plan of the affairs of *Carthage* at one view, and, by enabling them to form a general idea of all the principal events that happened to this republic at once, prepares them for the perusal of the following history with double advantage.

It may not be improper to inform our readers, that the first part of this synopsis depends chiefly upon the authority of *Justin* and *Orosius*, compared with *Diodorus Siculus*, as the latter does upon that of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, in conjunction with archbishop *Usher* (B). The times of the first transactions of this

¹ APPIAN. in Lybic. SOLIN. c. 30. SALMAS. in SOLIN. ibid. NEWTON'S chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. 5. l. ix. c. 14. & cont. Apion. l. i. DION. PETAV. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. SOLIN. c. 27. TATIAN. adv. Græc.

(B) We doubt not but the whole learned world will intirely concur with us in our notion of the incomparable archbishop *Usher*; and, to shew our regard to the memory of so profound a chronologer, we shall endeavour to clear up a point, which he has left a little confused. That most learned prelate fixes the foundation of *Rome*, with *Fabius Pictor*, towards the close of the seventh, or beginning of the eighth olympiad; and yet he will have the year of *Rome* six hundred and seven (in which *Carthage* was finally destroyed)

this state it is impossible to determine to any tolerable degree of exactness, yet, we hope, our determination of them is not very remote from the truth. In ascertaining the years of those of a later date, we have paid no regard to the sentiments of those writers who differ from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, as being in point of authority vastly inferior to them ^k.

^k JUSTIN. OROS. DIODOR. SIC. & POLYB. passim. Uss. annal. vet. test. pass. Vide etiam GLAREANI chronol. in Liv. per Badium Ascensium, Paris. ex. officin. Mich. Vascosani, 1543.

to have preceded the christian æra an hundred and forty-six years. This seems to render him a little inconsistent with himself; for an hundred forty-six years, added to six hundred and seven, makes seven hundred and fifty-three years, which, he appears to intimate, was the age of *Rome* at the birth of Christ. But this seeming inconsistency will vanish, when we consider, that he all along follows *Fabius Pictor*, who places the foundation of *Rome* five years lower than *Varro*, whom *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and most of the *Roman* authors, follow. This observation will obviate all difficulties that might otherwise occur in some material points, from comparing archbishop *Usher* with the generality of the *Roman* chronologers, and thereby prevent confusion. The year of *Rome*, in which the destruction of *Carthage* happened, according to *Fabius Pictor*, must have been the six hundred and second, to which add an hundred and forty-six, and it corresponds, as well as the other, with the christian æra. This is a demonstration of the truth of archbishop *Usher*'s computation in this particular; and therefore nothing further can be added to it. We think it proper to inform our readers here, that, from the commencement of the olympiads, our numbers perfectly agree with them, and consequently are not repugnant either to the *Varronian* or *Fabian* accounts, tho', with archbishop *Usher*, we are of opinion, that the latter points out the true epoch of *Rome*. It must not be forgot, that we were mistaken in the *Roman* history, vol. xi. p. 154. when we made archbishop *Usher* to prefer *Varro*'s opinion to that of *Fabius*; and yet at the same time observed, that the archbishop places the birth of Christ seven hundred and forty-eight years distant from the foundation of *Rome*, in direct agreement with *Fabius*. What led us to that mistake, was a passage in him, wherein he seems to follow *Varro*; but, upon a second perusal of that passage, we are fully convinced, that he there only gives us what, he conceived, was *Pliny*'s opinion.

(2) *Jac. Uss. annal. par. post. ad ann. Jul. period.* 4568. p. 87. & *annal. vet. test. ad ann. Jul. period.* 3966 p. 87. edit. Lond. 1650, & 1654.

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

The history of the Carthaginians, from the foundation of their city, to the first Punic war.

ELISA, known also by the name of *Dido*, fled from *Tyre* Cause of in the seventh year of the reign of *Pygmalion* king of that *Elisa's* de-city. Her flight is said to have been occasioned by the cruel and *parture* insatiable avarice of *Pygmalion*, who was her brother. This *from Tyre*. prince, in order to secure to himself the immense treasures of his uncle *Sichæus*, who had married his sister *Dido*, was the priest of *Hercules*, and, by virtue of that post, the second person in the kingdom, found means to destroy him. The manner in which this was effected, is differently related: *Virgil* will have it, that *Pygmalion* barbarously murdered his uncle at the altar; but *Eustathius* and *Cedrenus* intimate, that he dispatched him at a hunting-match, and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occasion of his death. However, as *Sichæus* was well acquainted with the sordid and avaricious temper of his nephew, he had, by way of precaution, buried his riches under ground; which, with the prudent and artful conduct of *Elisa*, rendered abortive the tyrant's design. *Sichæus*, appearing to his disconsolate widow in a dream, apprised her of his tragical exit, and advised her to fly immediately, in order to avoid the same fate. Upon this she determined to make her escape, and carry off those treasures, which had prompted her brother to so inhuman an action; but, in order to this, she judged it proper for some time to amuse him, which she did, by dissembling her resentment, and keeping up the appearance of an affection for him, till an opportunity offered of assembling her friends, and concerting with them the proper measures for speedily abandoning *Tyre*. The principal of these were her brother *Barca*, and several senators, who, hating *Pygmalion*, and apprehending themselves every moment in danger of being sacrificed by a prince, who had broken through all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. To execute the design she had formed the more effectually, she applied to the king for vessels to carry her, *Barca*, and their effects, to *Chartica* or *Chartaca*, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of residing there. To this *Pygmalion* readily agreed, as imagining, that by such a step he should become master of what had so long been the object of his most ardent desires. *Elisa*, being thus supplied with men and ships, weighed anchor; and being got into

into the ocean at a proper distance from *Tyre*, commanded her men to throw into the sea some bags filled with sand, which, she told them, contained the wealth of her husband *Sichæus*, and, in a doleful tone, intreated his manes to accept of those riches as an oblation, which had been the cause of his destruction. Then, addressing herself to her companions, she gave them to understand, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant's resentment, for being instrumental in defeating his avaricious purposes, if ever they fell into his hands; by which means having fixed them more firmly in her interest, she pursued her voyage, and got out of her brother's reach, before he was apprised of her resolution ^a.

Pygmalion prevented from pursuing Elisa.

Pygmalion, finding all his hopes thus defeated by his sister's subtlety, and being grieved, that those treasures should be snatched from him in a moment, which he thought himself so sure of, and which he had so long enjoyed in imagination, gave orders to fit out a fleet with all possible expedition, in order to pursue the fugitives; but he was diverted from this design by the intreaties of his mother, and the menaces of the inspired college of vates, who threatened him with the indignation of the gods, if he offered to obstruct in any manner the grand project *Elisa* was gone upon ^b.

Elisa touched first at Cyprus.

THE first place our heroine touched at was some port in the island of *Cyprus*, possibly *Salamis*, which was then in its infancy; since, according to *Virgil* and *Servius*, in conjunction with the *Arundelian* marbles, *Teucer* and *Mettinus*, *Elisa's* father, seized upon *Cyprus*, or at least a part of it, not very long before, when the former of these built *Salamis*. Here she met with a priest of *Jupiter*, who offered to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her future fortune; which she readily accepted of. As this motion of the priest proceeded from an impulse, or rather command, of the deity himself,

^a JUSTIN. l. xviii. TACIT. annal. xvi. TERTUL. in Pal. SIL. ITAL. l. i. APPIAN. in Lib. sub init. EUSTATH. in Dionys. Afr. ut & ipse DIONYS. HERODIAN. l. v. LIV. l. xxxiv. VEL. PATERC. l. i. VIRGIL. Æn. i. & iv. SERV. in Virg. Æn. i. & iv. GEORG. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 13. cont. Apion. l. i. SOLIN. c. 30. & 27. edit. Salm. Vide & SALIAN. & TORNIEL. in annal. PETAV. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 63. & rationar. temp. par. ii. l. ii. c. 13. TATIAN. cont. Græc. THEOPHIL. Antiochen. apud Autolyc. l. iii. TERTUL. apol. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. STRABO, l. xvii. PLIN. l. v. AMMIAN MARCEL. PLUTARCH. EUTROP. FLOR. OROS. ZONAR. REINECC. hist. Jul. vol. i. & ii HENDR. de rep. Carth. l. i. sect. i. c. 1. ^b JUSTIN. l. xviii.

she

c Id
TON'S
VOL

she looked upon it as a good omen, and settled the priesthood of *Jupiter* in that family ^c.

It was a prevailing custom in this island at the time of *Elisa's* Cyprian arrival, for the maids to go on certain stated days, before marriage, to the sea-side, there to look for strangers that might possibly arrive on their coasts, in order to prostitute themselves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. Out of these the Tyrians selected a certain number, *Justin* says eighty; and carrying them on board, found them very subservient to their design of planting a new colony ^d.

FROM hence they steered their course for the coasts of *Africa*, She lands and at last happily landed in the province called afterwards in Africa, *Africa Propria*, not far from *Utica*, a Tyrian colony, and city of great antiquity; which we have already described. The inhabitants received their countrymen with all possible demonstrations of joy, and giving them a most kind reception, advised them to build a city upon that spot, to which the fates had conducted them ^e.

It was *Elisa's* first care, upon her arrival, to cultivate a good understanding with the natives, to which they were by no means, for any considerable time, averse, on account of the advantages they perceived would naturally flow to them from an established commerce and harmony betwixt the two nations. She then purchased a tract of land of them, for her and her wearied Tyrians to settle upon. *Justin*, *Appian*, *Virgil*, *Eustathius*, *Themistius*, &c. intimate, that the Phœnicians imposed upon the Africans, when a bargain was made betwixt them, in the following manner: They desired for their intended settlement only so much ground as an ox's hide would encompass. This request the Africans at first laughed at; but were surprised, when, upon their granting it, they found *Elisa* cut the hide into the smallest shreds, and with them surrounded a large extent of territory, on which she built a citadel, from this incident called *Byrsa*. The learned, however, unanimously agree in exploding this fable, which seems to owe its origin either to the envy and malice of the Romans, or the vanity of the Greeks, who ridiculously affected to deduce every thing that favoured of high antiquity from their own nation or language, though never so remote from them. *Appian* seems to insinuate, that at first *Elisa* met with some opposition from the native; which may possibly be true, since it is certain an annual tribute for the ground the Tyrians possessed was, by their first agree-

^c Idem ibid. *VIRG. Æn. i. SERV. in loc. APOLLONOR. NEWTON'S chronol. p. 65.* ^d *JUSTIN. ubi supra.* ^e Idem ibid.

ment with the *Africans*, exacted from them, which they were obliged to pay for many years after ^f.

*Either
builds a
new city
there, or
enlarges an
old one.*

THE neighbouring people, at first invited by the prospect of lucre, and with this view repairing to the *Phœnician* settlement to sell these foreigners the necessaries of life, in a short time incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants soon growing very numerous, *Elisa* followed the advice of the *Utican* ambassadors, who were sent to congratulate her upon her happy arrival in the name of their state; and built a new city, or at least much enlarged the old one, which could make no very considerable figure before. As the natives of the country, or *Aborigines*, were of the same sentiments with the *Uticans* in this particular, and, as may reasonably be presumed, gave the *Tyrians* all necessary assistance, both in the building their city, and peopling it afterwards, *Carthage* soon became a place of great fame, and demanded the respect of all its neighbours ^g.

*A horse's
head found
whilst the
Tyrians
were dig-
ging for
the found-
ations of
Carthage.*

WE are told by *Justin*, that, in digging for the foundations of the city, the workmen first found an ox's head, which was indeed a symbol of fertility of soil, but at the same time presaged continual toil and perpetual servitude to the city. Upon this they removed to another spot, where, in digging, they discovered a horse's head, which they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the inhabitants. *Eustathius* adds, that the horse's head had a palm-tree, or at least a branch of palm, discovered with it; which they considered, without doubt, as an emblem of victory. This determined *Elisa* to fix upon that spot for the situation of her city; and in allusion to this it was, that the *Carthaginians* had, in after-ages, a horse's head, or a horse and a palm-tree, so frequently upon the reverses of their coins ^h (C).

^f JUSTIN. l. xviii. VIRG. *Æn.* i. EUSTATH. in Dionys. Afr. APPIAN. in Lib. sub init. THEMIST. orat. xxi. p. 260, 261. SERV. in *Æn.* i. LIV. l. xxxiv. DIONYS. in perieg. JUSTIN. l. xix. SIL. ITAL. l. i. Vide VOSS. th. gent. l. i. c. 32. BOCHART. Chan. &c. ^g VIRG. SERV. & JUSTIN. ubi sup. ^h VLRG. & JUSTIN. ubi sup. ISIDOR. l. xv. c. 2. & l. ix. c. 2. EUSTATH. in Dionys. Afr. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. ANTON. AUGUSTIN. dial. ant. 6. SUID. CÆL. RHODIGIN. ant. lect. l. xviii. c. 38. & BOCH. Chan. l. i.

(C) Some of these coins, particularly of the silver and gold ones, are of exquisite workmanship, nothing at all inferior to any of the Greek or Roman. They are found in the kingdom of *Tunis* and *Algiers*, in those parts of *Spain* the *Carthaginians* first possessed, and in *Sicily*. Numbers of them may be seen in *Aldrete*, *Paruta*, *Haym*, and the cabinets of the curious.

THE

THE principal names of *Carthage* have already been given in the first section of the history we are now upon. However, it may not be improper to remark, that the *Carthaginians* are sometimes called *Sidonians*, and their city *Tyre*, by antient authors. *Eusebius* seems to affirm, that its most antient name was *Origo*; but as *Carthage* and its foundress are both mentioned in that passage; and as her name, *Elisa* (D) or *Elissa*, imports the same thing in *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* as *Virago* in *Latin*, *Bochart* takes the word *Ὀρίγυν* or *Origo* to be a corruption of *Ὀυισάγυν* or *Virago*; and consequently supposes it to refer not to *Carthage*, but to *Elisa* or *Dido*. As *Servius* asserts, tho' falsely, *Dido* in *Punic* to have answered to *Virago* in *Latin*, and it is very possible *Eusebius* might have been imposed upon by this mistake, we cannot help declaring ourselves intirely of *Bochart's* opinion. It is likewise denominated by *Stephanus Oenusa*, or *Oenussa*; by *Eustathius*, *Cadmea*; and by *Suidas*, *Apbrice*. According to some, the name *Tarshish* in scripture sometimes denotes *Carthage*; in one passage particularly this word seems so plainly to point at that city, that it is rendered by the *vulgate* version *Carthago*. *Theodoret* and others countenance this notion ⁱ.

EVERY thing thus conspiring with *Elisa's* views, and succeeding according to her desire, by the coalition of different nations, the new city, in a short time, grew wealthy and flourishing; which agreeable situation tempted *Iarbas*, a neighbouring prince,

Dido
sought in
marriage
by Iarbas,
a neigh-
bouring
prince.

ⁱ VIRG. & SIL. ITAL. pass. SAL. de bell. Jugurth. TIBUL. l. iv. ver. 137. OVID. ep. her. D. AUGUST. de unit. eccles. EZEK. xxvii. 12. THEODORET. HIERONYM. EUSEB. in chron. BOCH. in præfat. Phal. & Chan. l. i.

(D). According to the author of the *etymologicon magnum*, *Elisa* or *Elissa* was the first name of this princess, which, as *Bochart* shews, may either be interpreted *divina virgo*, or, with the *Arabic* article prefixed, *virago*, καὶ ἰξοχύν. *Phavorinus*, in conjunction with the author of the *etymologicon* aforesaid, will have the name *Dido* to have been given her after her arrival in *Africa*, as importing the traveller, or wanderer, to which *Bochart* agrees. *Eustathius* absurdly says, *Dido* signifies a murderer of a husband; whereas *Elisa* or *Elissa* will admit of such an interpretation; and *Servius*, with as much impropriety, translates *Dido* *virago*, the undoubted signification of *Elisa* or *Elissa*. Many more conjectures about these words may be seen in *Bochart* and *Vossius*, which it is not worth while to recite (3).

(3) *Bochart*. Chan. l. i. c. 24. & l. ii. c. 24. *Eustath.* in *Dionys.* Afr. *Voss.* idol. gent. l. i. c. 32. *Serv.* in *Æn.* *Rein.* in *hist.* Jul. t. 1, 2.

to endeavour at making himself master of it without any effusion of blood. In order to which he desired that an embassy of ten of the most noble *Carthaginians* might be sent him; which having obtained, he proposed to them a marriage with *Elisa* or *Dido*, for that, in all probability, was the name she went by after her departure from her native country, threatening them with a war, in case of a refusal. The ambassadors, being afraid to deliver the message, told their sovereign with *Punic* subtlety, that *Iarbas* desired some person might be sent him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his *Africans*; but that there was no possibility of finding any of her subjects, who would leave his relations for the conversation of barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts. Here being reprimanded by the queen, she asked them, if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed their very lives? They then opened to her the king's commands, adding, that, according to her own decision of the point, and to set her subjects a good example, she ought to sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. Being thus ensnared, she called upon her husband *Sichæus* with tears and lamentations, and at last answered, that she would go where her own fate and that of her city called her. In the mean time, she caused a pile to be erected in the farthest part of, the city; and at the expiration of three months, which time she required for the execution of her design, killing many victims, as tho' she intended to sacrifice to, and appease the manes of, her first husband before her second marriage, she ascended it. Then looking all around her upon the spectators, she told them, she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her: and immediately, with a dagger she had taken with her for that purpose, put a period to her days^k.

Justin and
Virgil differ
in their
opinion of
Dido's
dis b.

THIS is *Justin's* account of the death of that princess, which, we need not tell our readers, is different from *Virgil's*. *Cedrenus* and Sir *Isaac Newton* favour *Virgil's* notion, though they do not in all points agree with him. The former of these relates, that *Aeneas* the *Phrygian*, after the destruction of *Troy*, came to *Africa*, and resided some time with *Dido* there; but perceiving *Iarbas*, king of the *Numidians*, the *Mauritanians*, the *Massyli* or the *Getulians*, to take umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and resentment. This passage of *Cedrenus*, whom we take to have been a very good compiler and collector of antient history, seems greatly to support Sir *Isaac Newton's* opinion, in relation to *Aeneas* and *Dido's* being cotemporaries, and likewise to evince a

^k JUSTIN. ubi sup.

most material point, viz. that *Virgil* and *Trogus*, whom *Justin* epitomized, agree in their chronology. What *Sir Isaac Newton* advances concerning *Dido's* father *Mettinus* and *Teucer's* seizing upon *Cyprus*, about the time of the *Trojan* war, renders *Virgil's* chronology likewise more probable, than the generality of learned men are willing to allow. But this we shall just touch upon immediately ¹.

How long *Dido* reigned at *Carthage*, or when she came to the violent death above-mentioned, we cannot take upon us to determine. What seems to be the best supported by antient history is, that her brother *Barca* and sister *Anna* attended her from *Tyre* to *Africa*; and that, by their committing every thing to her management and direction, it should seem she was a woman of an uncommon genius. This likewise appears from the artful manner in which she imposed upon her brother *Pygmalion* before her departure from *Tyre*, when, under the pretence of diverting her melancholy on account of her husband's death, which, she insinuated, *Carthage* could not fail of perpetuating, she had the address to persuade him, that her intention really was to retire to, and reside at, *Chartaca*. The secrecy and prudence with which her grand enterprize was conducted, as well as the cunning device by which she fixed even *Pygmalion's* men in her interest, above-recited, indisputably evince the same thing. That she was a lady of most attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chastity, is attested by the best authors ^m.

Macrobius tells us, that *Virgil's* relation of *Dido's* amours with *Aeneas*, and of her laying violent hands on herself at his departure from *Africa*, after he had debauched her, was universally esteemed as fabulous in his age. This indeed we disbelieve, but not upon *Macrobius's* authority; for that author is inconsistent with himself in respect to *Dido's* character. In one place he celebrates her temperance and chastity, which is exactly agreeable to the faith of history; whereas in another he makes her guilty of the greatest intemperance, luxury, and profusion, at her entertainments; which, in our opinion, deserves no credit at all, as being not only contrary to the general character of our princess, but likewise to the *Carthaginian* genius, as has been above observed. *Virgil*, as a *Roman*, we believe, in this particular did not pay the greatest regard to truth, the antipathy betwixt his nation and the *Carthaginians* not permitting it; but notwithstanding this, we cannot help imagining his chronology to be something nearer the truth than is generally

Dido's
character.

Macrobius
inconsistent
with him-
self in re-
lation to
Dido's
character.

¹ CEDREN. ubi supra. NEWTON's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c.
^m REINEC. hist. Jul. t. i. SIL. ITALIC. JUST. ubi supra. TERTULLIAN. MACROB. AUSON. &c.

supposed,

supposed, and that for the reasons hinted above, as well as for the following one, which to us seems something cogent, and which therefore we beg leave to transcribe from the excellent Sir *Isaac Newton*: “The *Phœnicians*, after the death of *Melcartus*, says this incomparable author, built a temple to him in the island *Gades*, and adorned it with the sculptures of the labours of *Hercules*, and of his *hydra*, and the horses, to whom he threw *Diomedes*, king of the *Bistones* in *Thrace*, be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of *Teucer*, and the golden olive of *Pygmalion*, bearing *smaragdine* fruit; and by these consecrated gifts of *Teucer* and *Pygmalion* you may know, that it was built in their days.” If these facts, and the reasoning built upon them, be admitted, it will follow, that *Teucer* and *Pygmalion* were cotemporaries, and consequently that *Æneas* and *Dido* might be so. Now, though we cannot pretend to assert, that this argument is demonstrative, because there is no absolute necessity to suppose, that all these ornaments were brought into the temple at once, yet, considering what we have before offered from Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Apollodorus*, *Servius*, and the marbles, in proof of *Teucer* and *Mettinus*’s being jointly concerned in the conquest of *Cyprus*, we cannot look upon it as void of a tolerable degree of probabilityⁿ.

Achasm: in the history of Carthage for above three hundred years.

How long monarchical government prevailed at *Carthage*, or what accidents beset this state in its infancy, or even what transactions it was concerned in for several ages at first, we cannot inform our readers, since there is a chasm in the *Carthaginian* history for above three hundred years after the tragical end of *Dido*. In general, *Justin*, and he alone, gives us to understand, that *Carthage* was much agitated by civil dissensions, and harrassed with the plague during part of this period. It likewise appears from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, that this republic had got a strong footing in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and made considerable acquisitions elsewhere, before the date of any of those transactions it bore a part in, the knowledge of which has reached us. *Thucydides* and *Herodotus* moreover put it beyond dispute, that it was very formidable by sea even in the time of *Cyrus* and *Cambyfes*, and that it must have performed many brave exploits upon that element even before the reigns of those puissant monarchs. But this is not to be wondered at, it not being possible for any nation endued with such a genius, and possessed of so much power as the *Carthaginians* must have been famous for in very early ages, to have long remained in a state

Carthage very formidable by sea in the time of Cyrus and Cambyfes.

ⁿ MACROB. saturn. l. v. c. 17. & l. vii. c. 1. PHILOSTRAT. in vit. Apollon. l. v. c. 1. apud Phot. NEWTON’S chronol. p. 112, 113, &c.

of inaction, either by land or sea. A flourishing state of commerce naturally begets riches, and riches power; and, considering that ambition is a darling passion in the minds of great men, and almost inseparable from power, and that war, for the most part, is the effect of ambition, it cannot well be doubted, but that our republic made many expeditions against, and incursions into, the territories of its neighbours, long before the beginning of, what may be termed with respect to us, the *Carthaginian* historical period of time. Had the writings of *Philistus Syracusanus*, *Ephorus*, *Timæus Siculus*, *Aratus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, books of *Diodorus Siculus*, or any of the *Punic* historians, been now extant, we might have received sufficient light from them in many material points relating to the first ages of *Carthage*; but all these have, for a long series of generations, been no more. The *Punic* archives would also most certainly have set us right in all particulars of moment relating to the history we are now upon, had they been in being; but these the *ROMAN* virtue, generosity, greatness of soul, and love of truth, thought proper to deny posterity, lest they should have given their minds a wrong bias, and been prejudicial to the cause of truth. We are therefore obliged, though with great regret, to pass over the transactions of the *Carthaginian* state during the chasm aforesaid, as buried in oblivion, and proceed to continue this work in the best manner we can from those pieces and fragments of antiquity that, through the injuries of time, have been handed down to us.

WE have just hinted, that the *Carthaginians* were very *The Car-*
 powerful by sea in the time of *Cyrus* and his son *Cambyses*, not *thagini-*
 to say much earlier. This appears from several considerations, *ans, in*
 particularly from a naval engagement that happened between the *conjunction*
 united fleets of the *Carthaginians* and *Etruscans* and that of the *with the*
Phocæans, one of the most formidable nations in the world by *Etruscans,*
 sea in *Cyrus's* reign, wherein though the *Phocæans* got the *defeated in*
 victory, yet their whole fleet was either sunk or disabled; in- *a sea-fight*
 somuch, that they durst not venture a second engagement, but *by the Pho-*
 abandoned the island of *Cyrnus*, now *Corfica*, to the *caræans.*
Cartha-
ginians and *Etruscans*. The *Phocæans* retired to *Rhegium*,
 and soon after to *OEnotria*, now *Ponza*, a small island in the
Tyrrhenian or *Etruscan* sea, over-against *Velia* in *Lucania*,
 which their ancestors had first peopled; and the *Carthaginians*,
 with the *Etruscans*, took quiet possession of *Cyrnus*. *Herodo-*
tus and *Thucydides* both take notice of this sea-fight, as one of
 the most antient to be met with in history. The *Carthaginian*
 and *Etruscan* united fleets consisted of an hundred and twenty-
 sail, the most active part of which, we may suppose, was the
Carthaginian, since the *Etruscans* at that time did not make so
 great.

great a figure by sea ; and the *Phocæan* of sixty. *Herodotus* seems to sneer the *Phocæans* upon their victory, as being in a manner ruined by it. According to *Thucydides*, the *Phocæans* built *Maffilia*, now *Marfeilles*, some time near this period °.

They reduce
a good part
of the
island of
Sicily.

Incense the
gods by sa-
crificing
children to
them.

Banish
their ge-
neral Ma-
chæus,

TOWARDS the conclusion of *Cyrus's* reign, or that of his uncle *Cyaxares* the second, as we have stated it, the *Carthaginians* carried on a war with the neighbouring *African* princes, wherein they obtained great advantages, which, according to *Justin*, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of their general *Machæus* (E). Soon after the conclusion of this war, they sent a great body of forces, with a powerful fleet, to *Sicily*, under the command of the same general, who reduced a good part of that island to their obedience. But notwithstanding the happy situation of their affairs abroad, the author above-mentioned insinuates, that they were much agitated by civil dissensions at home, and afflicted with other evils, of which the pestilence, that then made dreadful havock at *Carthage*, seems to have been the most terrible. This they attributed to the anger of the gods, and endeavoured to appease them with human sacrifices ; nay, in order to render them more propitious to their city, they scrupled not to offer up their children themselves on this melancholy occasion. This detestable practice, so contrary to the dictates of humanity, and all the tender impulses of nature, instead of producing the desired effect, incensed the gods still more against them. In consequence of which, according to *Justin's* observation, their arms were attended afterwards with ill success, though they had before been so fortunate in *Sicily* (which, by the way, proves their settlement in that island to have been coeval with, if not prior to, the beginning of the *Persian* empire), for, immediately after the conclusion of the *Sicilian* war, transporting their forces into the island of *Sardinia*, they intended nothing less than making an absolute conquest of it ; but the displeasure of the gods now pursuing them, they received a notable defeat here from the *Sardi*, in which above half of their army was cut off. Enraged at so many disasters, instead of endeavouring to discover the true cause of them, they banished their general *Machæus*, with the remainder of the

° HERODOT. l. i. THUCYD. l. i. sub init.

(E) This general's name, in some manuscripts of *Justin*, is *Malæus*, in others *Machæus* or *Macheus*. *Orosius* calls him *Maxeus* ; and *Grævius*, *Malchus*. *Vossius* likewise seems to prefer the last to the others ; but offers no solid argument for this preference. We beg leave therefore to follow *Reinccius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, and *Hendrich*, who chuse *Machæus*, notwithstanding many of our late editions of *Justin* have *Malæus*.

army

army under his command. That commander, covered with glory and victory before the last unhappy expedition to *Sardinia*, could not but highly resent such ungrateful, as well as inhuman, treatment, especially as, by his conduct and bravery, he had reduced a great part of the island of *Sicily* to the obedience of the *Carthaginians*, and greatly extended their frontiers in *Africa*. First therefore he sends to *Carthage* in an amicable manner, begging the senate not to impute to him and the troops the misfortunes that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; adding withal, that, in case of a refusal, they would do themselves justice by force of arms. But neither this friendly remonstrance, nor the menace annexed to it, making any impression on the senate, after waiting in vain some days for an answer, they went on board their ships, and advanced with great expedition towards the city. As soon as they had invested it, they appealed to the gods above for the purity of their intentions, and declared in the presence of gods and men, that their design was not to hurt their fellow-citizens, but only to demonstrate to them what wrong sentiments they had entertained of their valour, when they attributed the loss above-mentioned to a want of bravery in the troops; whereas it ought to be ascribed to the caprice of fortune. This not availing, after they had cut off all communication betwixt the city and the continent, they besieged it in form, and soon reduced it to the last extremity for want of provisions. The *Carthaginians*, involved in these deplorable circumstances, began now to reflect upon their past folly and ingratitude; but how to extricate themselves out of their present difficulties, was the grand question. In the mean time, *Cartalo*, the general's son, arrived in the city from *Tyre*, and, had matters taken a right turn, might have had a conference with his father, and possibly have disposed him to an accommodation. This *Cartalo* had been sent by his countrymen to *Tyre*, with the tenths of an immense quantity of plunder taken by his father in *Sicily*, intended as a donation or offering to the *Tyrian Hercules*; and passing by the camp in his return home, was ordered by his father to come to him immediately; but this command, for the present, he refused complying with, under pretence, that he must perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an instance of filial duty. *Machæus* was far from being pleased with this answer; however, for the present he took care to conceal his resentment, as not daring to do any thing that might look like the least violence offered to religion. Soon after this incident, having obtained leave for that purpose, he came out of the city to the camp, dressed in his pontifical robes; for he was, as it should seem, the priest of *Hercules*. His father, far from be-

*Who be-
sieges Car-
thage,*

*And cruci-
fies his son
Cartalo.
The city
surrenders.*

ing struck with such a pompous appearance, taking him in private, addressed himself to him in the following terms: "Hast thou the assurance, most abandoned wretch, to appear in this rich and splendid habit before so many miserable citizens, and a camp overwhelmed with woe? What mean these ensigns of peace and felicity at this juncture, but to insult all of us? Was there no other place for thee to display thy pride and haughtiness in, but this spot of ground, which is the scene of thy father's misery and disgrace? How came you so lately to despise, with such an insolent air, the command, I will not say of your father, but of your general? And what are these gorgeous robes but the fruit of my victories? Since therefore you have considered me not as a father, but an exile, I, in return, will behave to you not as a father, but a general." And he was as good as his word; for immediately ordering a high cross to be erected, he had him crucified thereon in his sacred vestments, in the sight of all the citizens. Some days after, the city surrendered; when convening the senate and people, he complained of the injury and indignity offered him, and excused the hostile manner in which he had behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice, but necessity. He, for the present, made no alterations in the established form of government; but contented himself with putting to death ten of the senators, by whose advice the late violent resolutions against him and the army had been taken * (F).

ALL

* JUSTIN. & OROS. ubi supra.

(F) In this note we shall endeavour to give some account of crucifixion, which was a capital punishment used amongst the *Syrians, Egyptians, Persians, Jews, Africans, Greeks, and Romans*. According to *Fagius*, it was not at first in use amongst the *Jews*; and indeed this appears from the law of *Moses* itself. The learned *Casaubon* concurs with him herein, though *Baronius* and *Lipsius* maintain the contrary opinion. *Sigonius* confounds this with hanging or suspension, as does father *Calmet* in many instances, particularly those of the worshippers of *Baal-peor*, and the king of *Ai*, who were hung up alive. The *Talmudists* refer it to stoning or lapidation. There were three different sorts of crosses erected for the execution of malefactors. The first was the *crux decussata*, in the form of the letter X, as St. *Andrew's* cross is pictured. The second the *crux commissa*, like the letter T. The third the *crux immissa*, when one piece of wood was transversely fastened to another in such a manner, as to cut it at right angles at some distance from the top, so †. Such, according to antient medals, and the tradition of the christian church in all ages, was our blessed Saviour's cross. Crucifixion was the punishment appointed for slaves, and

ALL things in *Carthage* being thus set upon the antient foot, the republic enjoyed some repose. But this was not of long continuance ;

and the scum of the people, when guilty of the most enormous crimes, and was therefore called *servile supplicium* ; the freemen, or persons of distinction, in such cases, falling by the ax or sword. The criminals, before execution, were taken either from home or the prætorium amongst the *Romans*, and scourged in a most cruel manner. Sometimes they were tied to the cross, as we find our blessed Saviour was, and always obliged to carry it, or part of it. When they arrived at the place of execution, they were stripped naked, and nailed to the cross, either lying on the ground, or erect. Their hands and feet were first tied to it with cords, and afterwards nailed with three or four nails, as the executioner pleased, beginning with the right hand or foot, and proceeding from thence to the left. Upon the piece of wood rising above the arms of the cross, an inscription was posted, specifying the crime for which the malefactor suffered, though sometimes, instead of this, the crier proclaimed it to the spectators attending the execution. In *Judea*, the thighs of the malefactors were broken, in case they were not dead by sunset ; because the *Jews*, by their law, were obliged to take them from the cross at that time, which the *Romans*, their governors, permitted them to do. By the *Roman* laws, the bodies remained on the cross, till they were intirely consumed, as our notorious offenders do now upon gibbets ; nevertheless the judge, or supreme magistrate, had the power of giving the bodies to friends or relations, in order to be interred. On the emperor's birth-day, or such-like festivals, they were frequently taken down from the cross, and buried, without the intercession of friends. The *Jews* constantly buried the bodies of crucified malefactors, in conformity to their law, though the pagans left them exposed on the cross as aforesaid. According to some authors, the *patibulum*, or gallows, and the antient cross, were the same, though *Isidorus* makes them different. He calls the transverse piece of wood *patibulum*, and the erect one *stipes* and *crux*. Afterwards *patibulum* and *furca*, the gallows, were the same, and the punishment on them was looked upon as much milder and less ignominious, than that on the cross ; for on the gallows the criminals soon expired, whereas on the cross they continued a long time in torture. Sometimes offenders suffered death on the cross with their heads downwards, as *St. Peter* ; and sometimes with their thighs as well as arms expanded, in like manner as *St. Andrew* is supposed to have been crucified. The crosses were made of the hardest wood, frequently of oak, as some believe our Saviour's was. The places of execution were either near the public roads and high-ways, or on the top of some mountain or eminence, that the bodies might be seen by all people, and thereby a terror struck into them. If the *crux* and *patibulum* were originally the same, crucifixion prevailed at *Rome* in the time of the kings. The persons condemned to be crucified, or deserving it, were called by

He endeavours to introduce arbitrary power; but his design being discovered, he receives condign punishment.

tinuance; for *Machæus*, puffed up with the late advantages he had gained, endeavoured to subvert the constitution, and introduce

the *Romans cruciarii*. To be crucified was a mark of great infamy to soldiers, officers, and men of quality. This punishment was so common amongst the *Romans* in the times of the republic, and afterwards, that pains, afflictions, troubles, and unprosperous affairs, were called *crosses*, and the verb *cruciare* frequently denoted the infliction of all sorts of chastisements, and pains of body and mind.

Friends and relations generally attended the execution, in order to beg the bodies of the supreme magistrate or commanding officer, at least in *Judæa*. When this did not happen, parties of soldiers were posted near them, to prevent their being carried off. *Constantine* abolished crucifixion, thinking enormous villains, and persons guilty of the most flagrant crimes, unworthy of suffering death in the same manner our blessed Saviour did, and introduced hanging in its stead. The *Jews* did not permit the relations of the persons executed to place their kinsmen in the tombs belonging to their families, till their flesh had been first consumed in the public sepulchres; then they were allowed to remove their bones into private sepulchres. It was perhaps for this reason that *Joseph of Arimathea* desired leave from *Pilate* to lodge the body of *Jesus* in his own tomb, that he might not be thrown into the public burying place appointed for criminals (6).

The *Carthaginians*, contrary to the practice of other nations, crucified their nobility, suffetes, and even the generals of their armies themselves, however absolute they might be in the field, if their enterprises were not attended with success. The crosses of malefactors amongst them seem to have been higher or lower, in proportion to the quality of the person suffering, and the heinousness of the crime for which they suffered. If any notorious offender of distinction escaped justice in his life-time, his body, after death, was exposed on a cross, in order to deter others from committing the same crime, especially when it merited the most severe and ignominious punishment. Of this *Hann*, in *Justin*, not to mention others, is a pregnant instance (7). We must not omit observing, that the Greek word *σταυρός*, which signifies a cross, is put often for a

(6) *Paulus. Fagius ad Deut. xxi. xxii. Casaub. exerc. xvi. num. 77. Baron in annal. Just. Lips. de cruc. Sigon. de rep. Hebræor. l. vi. c. 8. Liv. & Senec. pass. Lucian. Plut. Plaut. Petron. in satyric. pass. Apul. de asin. aur. l. iii. Joseph. l. v. c. 32. B. Gerhardi harmon. evang. hist. pass. Christ. c. 19 Philo in Flac. Cic. 5. in Ver. & Tusc. quest. Joseph. And. Quenstedius de sepult. vet. c. 3. Durand. variar. l. ii c. 15. Cerda in adversar. Isidor. l. i. Gretser. & Joseph. Laurent. de torment. c. 7. Aur. Vict. in Constant. Sozom. in hist. eccles. Vide & alios quamplurimos apud Calmet. in dict. bibl. sub voc. croix.*
 (7) *Hendr. in repub. Carthag. l. ii. sect. 1. c. 5. & Justin. l. xxi. c. 24.*

duce arbitrary power. But his pernicious views being happily discovered, his scheme was defeated, and he received the punishment due to so great a crime; upon which event *Justin* makes this reflection: "He was justly rewarded for the cruelty he had been guilty of both to his son and country ^p".

WE are told by *Herodotus*, that *Cambyfes*, in the sixth year of his reign, resolved upon an expedition against the *Carthaginians*; but that he was forced to drop his project, by reason the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him therein, because the *Carthaginians* were their descendants. This is a plain proof, that the whole naval power of the *Persian* empire at that time, without the assistance of the *Tyrians*, was not able to cope with the *Carthaginian* ^q.

The Phœnicians refuse to assist Cambyfes against the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians conclude their first treaty with the Romans.

IN the year after the refuge, the *Carthaginians* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, and concluded a treaty with the *Romans*. They were the first nation the *Romans* were acquainted with out of *Italy*, and with whom they entered into an alliance. This treaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen, in *Polybius's* time, on the base of a column, in the antient *Roman* language, which, as that writer tells us, was so different from what was spoken in his time, that those who were most conversant in the *Latin* tongue, could not, without much study and labour, understand it. As in a former volume we have inserted this treaty as transmitted to us by the *Greek* historian, it will be intirely unnecessary to repeat it here. However, we shall beg leave to make four or five short observations upon it ^r.

FIRST, This treaty was signed twenty-eight years before *Xerexes* invaded *Greece*, and gives us to understand, that the whole island of *Sardinia*, and part of that of *Sicily*, were then subject to the *Carthaginians*.

SECONDLY, It appears, that the *Carthaginians* were very well acquainted with the coasts of *Italy*, had visited several of the petty nations seated there, and even made some attempts upon them, before this period.

THIRDLY, It is evident, that this nation was tolerably versed in the art of fortification, and made it a common practice to build forts or castles upon their making a descent into any country; since they are prohibited by one article of this treaty to

^p JUT. ubi supra. ^q HERODOT. I. iii. ^r POLYB. I. iii.
p. 245, 246, 247. edit. Gronov.

piece of wood only fixed in the ground, by the *Latins* called *palus* or *vallum*. Our readers will find a fuller account of this punishment in the authors referred to in this note.

erect any forts whatsoever in the country of *Latium*, even in case they at any time invaded it in a hostile manner.

FOURTHLY, This treaty makes it manifest, that the *Carthaginians* were particularly careful to exclude the *Romans* from all the territories subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though, even at that time, they took umbrage at the growing power of the *Romans*. They seemed, even in these early times, to harbour in their bosoms the secret seeds of the jealousy and diffidence, which were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could extinguish, but the ruin of one of these two most potent republics.

FIFTHLY, The *Carthaginians*, according to *Polybius*, would not allow the *Romans* to sail beyond the promontory called the *Fair promontory*, lying to the north of *Carthage*, lest they should discover the fruitfulness of the land, and the happy situation of the cities, and consequently should be tempted to make a settlement there. This, it must be owned, was a wise precaution, and shewed, that the *Carthaginians* were not only a people of foresight, but likewise acquainted with the enterprising genius of the *Romans*, long before they came to blows with them.

Mago succeeds Machæus in all his high posts;

And is succeeded by his two sons, Asdrubal and Hamilcar; him in all his high employments*.

Who commands the army appointed to act against Sardinia.

THE republic being delivered from the imminent danger that threatened it in the manner above related, chose *Mago* to succeed *Machæus* in all the high posts he filled. If we may judge of *Mago's* capacity from the good effects of his administration, he was a person of most consummate merit and abilities. *Justin* tells us, that he was the first who introduced military discipline amongst the *Carthaginian* soldiery; that in his time the dominions of *Carthage* were much enlarged, its commerce rendered more extensive, its riches increased, its military glory raised to a high pitch, virtue alone countenanced both in the army and state; in short, that he left his country in a most flourishing condition. His two sons, *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, succeeded Hamilcar; him in all his high employments*.

Asdrubal and *Hamilcar* being adorned with the same virtues that rendered their father so conspicuous, the people of *Carthage* thought they could not do better than confer upon them the command of the army that was to act against *Sardinia*; which island, it seems, had then revolted from them. Accordingly they landed their forces here, and for some time carried on a war against the *Sardi*; but with what success, is not said: only we are told, that towards the close of it *Asdrubal* was mortally wounded, by which melancholy accident the intire com-

* JUSTIN. l. xix. sub init.

mand of the forces devolved upon his brother. The *Carthaginians* made great lamentation for this general, as indeed they had good reason; for he had been eleven times one of the *sufetes*, and discharged the duties of that high function with great applause, and in his military capacity had triumphed no less than four times; nay, the enemy themselves looked upon his death as a blow given the *Carthaginians* equivalent to the cutting off of their whole army^t.

SOMEWHERE near this period, the *Carthaginians* had a mind to shake off the *African* yoke, that is, to discontinue the tribute, which, by their original contract with that people, they were obliged to pay; in order to which they declared war against them. The *Africans* having justice on their side, success attended their arms; and, notwithstanding the power of their enemies, a peace was concluded to their advantage, the principal article of the treaty being, that the tribute at first imposed upon them, for the ground on which their city stood, should be continued^u.

ABOUT this time, *Darius Hystaspis*, king of *Persia*, sent an embassy to *Carthage*, requiring the people of that city to abstain from human sacrifices, and eating dogs flesh; to burn their dead, and not bury them, as had always been the practice in their territories; and lastly, to furnish him with a body of auxiliary forces to serve in the war he was going to declare against *Greece*, for which he was then making vast preparations. Every thing was complied with, at least in appearance, for some time, till all the apprehensions of feeling his resentment were vanished, except the last article, which the *Carthaginians* desired to be excused from paying regard to, because all their troops were then otherwise employed. *Justin* insinuates, that this monarch laid his commands upon the *Carthaginians* on this occasion; but this we can scarce believe, since it does not appear from history, that *Carthage* was ever subject, or even tributary, to the *Persians*; besides, this author, from whom the particulars here mentioned are drawn, affirms *Darius* to have sent ambassadors to *Carthage*; which is a plain intimation, that the people of that city were not his subjects. That the *Carthaginians*, and consequently the *Phœnicians*, buried their dead antiently, may be collected from hence; but this is so clear from scripture, that it stands in no need of any other testimony to support it. *Justin* likewise here observes, that the *Carthaginians* at this juncture were much embroiled with their neighbours; which seems to suggest, that either the war with the *Sardi* and *Africans* above-mentioned, or some other, was then

The Carthaginians attempt to shake off the African yoke; but do not meet with success.

Darius sends an embassy to Carthage, inviting the people of that city to enter into an alliance with him against the Greeks.

^t Idem ibid^u Idem ibid.

carried on. It is no wonder *Darius* should apply to the people of *Carthage* for assistance against the *Greeks*, since both the *Persians* and *Carthaginians* looked upon that nation as their common enemy.

Gelon
gains some
advantages
over
the Car-
thaginians
in Sicily.

SOME few years afterwards, the *Greeks* of *Sicily*, being extremely harrassed by the *Carthaginians*, solicited *Leonidas* to send some *Lacedæmonian* forces to their relief^w. From *Herodotus* it appears, that they could not obtain their request; but that, however, *Gelon*, the tyrant of *Syracuse*, was so happy as to preserve his own dominions, and even to enlarge them. From the prodigious forces with which the *Carthaginians* invaded *Sicily* almost immediately after, it is probable they did not sustain any very considerable loss in that war. It cannot be inferred from *Herodotus*, as we formerly imagined, that the *Carthaginians* were driven out of *Sicily* by *Gelon* at this time; but only that the tyrant gained some advantages over them, extended his frontiers, and supported himself without the assistance of the *Greeks*, as the passage referred to implies. It is rather probable from thence, that both parties in the main kept what they were in possession of before the beginning of the war, though the *Carthaginians* might lose some particular districts, especially since, according to *Justin*, there was no considerable, much less decisive, action in it. The excellent character *Herodotus* has given us of *Hamilcar*, and the high encomium he has passed upon that general's conduct, seem likewise to determine in favour of our present opinion^x.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Carthaginians*, by reason of the various wars they were then engaged in, could not supply *Darius* with any succours against the *Greeks*, as has been just observed; yet it appears extremely probable from history^a, that an offensive and defensive league was made betwixt these two powers towards the close of that prince's reign. At least it is most certain, that an alliance was formed between *Darius's* successor *Xerxes* and the state of *Carthage*, not many years after the *Persian* embassy above-mentioned was sent to that city. By the treaty concluded with *Xerxes*, the *Carthaginians* were to invade *Sicily* with all their forces, and endeavour to drive the *Greeks* from thence, as well as the continent of *Italy*, whilst that prince should march in person with the whole strength of the *Persian* empire against *Greece* itself. But of this more hereafter^b.

BEFORE we enter directly upon the transactions of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, we shall beg leave to give a short account

^w HERODOT. l. vii.

^x HERODOT. l. vii. JUSTIN. l. xix.

^a JUSTIN. l. xix.

^b DIODOR. SIC. l. xi. c. 1, 2.

of the first footing this nation got in *Spain*. We are no-where told in history precisely when this happened; nevertheless there is good reason to believe, from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Justin*, that it was very early, and before the times we are now speaking of. The former of these authors asserts, that the great nerve of the *Carthaginian* power were the mines of *Spain*; that by them they were enabled to equip such powerful fleets, and bring such formidable armies into the field; nay, that by their assistance they made such great conquests in *Sicily* and *Africa*. Hence 'tis apparent, that the first *Carthaginian* settlement in *Spain* must have long preceded, not only the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Darius*, but even that of *Cyrus* himself. But this is still rendered more evident by *Justin*, who intimates, that this happened when the city of *Gades*, now *Cadiz*, was but of late standing, or even in its infancy. The neighbouring *Spaniards*, finding this new city beginning to flourish, attacked it with all their forces; insomuch, that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the *Carthaginians* to their aid. Both of them being originally colonies from *Tyre*, the *Carthaginians* readily granted their request; and furnishing them with powerful succours, not only repulsed the *Spaniards*, but likewise made themselves masters of almost the whole province in which the new city stood.

THIS happy beginning made that ambitious nation entertain thoughts of subduing the whole country, to which they were also strongly excited by the rich mines above-mentioned. 'Tis probable they could not push their conquests far at first, because they had there to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great courage and resolution. It appears from the accounts of *Livy* and *Polybius*, that the greatest part of *Spain* remained unsubdued till the wars of *Hamilcar*, *Asdrubal*, and *Hannibal*. Nay, 'tis very probable the *Carthaginians* could never have intirely reduced so many provinces there, as *Strabo* observes, had all the *Spaniards* formed but one state, or mutually assisted one another. But as every canton, every people, were intirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence with them, they all by degrees fell a prey to the common enemy.

WE are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, as has been taken notice of in the chronological table, that the *Carthaginians* planted a colony in the island *Ebusus* or *Eresus*, now *Yvica*, on the coast of *Spain*, an hundred and sixty years after the foundation of their city. The city *Eresus*, the capital of the island, built by this colony, was surrounded with a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ships. The houses in it were for the most

Greatest
part of
Spain re-
mained un-
subdued
till the
time of
Hannibal.

The Car-
thaginians
plant a co-
lony in the
island E-
busus, or
Eresus,
now
Yvica.

part built in an elegant taste, and inhabited by a variety of barbarous nations, as *Diodorus* calls them; but the most numerous of these were the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*. 'Tis highly probable therefore, that about this time the *Balearic* islands, at present known by the names of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, were likewise either planted or reduced by the same people. This can scarce be doubted, if we consider, that the name itself is *Phœnician* or *Punic*; that *Ebusus* is but seven hundred stadia, *i. e.* not an hundred miles, distant from the *Balearic* islands; that the *Carthaginians* possessed these islands from so remote an antiquity, that their first arrival here is prior to every thing related of them by any historian now extant, except their peopling the island *Ebusus*; and that, according to *Vitruvius*, *Ebusus* was reckoned to belong to the *Balearic* islands, which 'tis very natural to suppose. Now as we learn from *Justin*, that the first expedition the *Carthaginians* made to *Spain* was in order to assist the new city of *Gades* (A) above-mentioned; and as the *Carthaginian* fleet sailing from *Carthage* to *Gades* easily might, nay, almost naturally would, take *Ebusus* and the other *Balearic* islands, in its way, there is pretty good reason to believe, that *Gades* was succoured, and *Ebusus*, with the other *Balearic*

(A) It appears from the word *Gadir* or *Gaddir*, the true *Phœnician* or *Punic* name of *Cadix*, that the city received its name from the island on which it was seated, and therefore that the *Tyrians* were in possession of it some time before they built the city. For *Gadir* properly signifies an inclosure, or spot of ground separated from all other tracts, as this island was by the sea. It likewise denotes a fence or mound, as this island was doubtless considered by the *Phœnicians*, after their long and fatiguing voyages, against the rage and fury of the sea. According to *Strabo*, the *Tyrians* first sailed to this island a considerable time after *Hercules* was deified; and made several fruitless expeditions, at considerable distances of time, before they could settle upon it; which, in conjunction with what has been advanced by *Philostratus*, renders it highly probable, that the city was, at least, of as late a foundation as we have supposed. The author of the *etymologicon* indeed insinuates it to have been built by *Archelaus*, the son of *Phœnix*, which will carry it back to a very remote antiquity; but this favours so much of fable, that but little credit is to be given to it. We shall only at present farther observe, that *Cadix* and *Tartessus* were frequently mistaken for one another. A particular description and history of this city may be expected from us, when we come to the history of *Spain* (1).

(1) *Strab.* l. iii. *Philostat.* in vit. *Apollon.* l. v. c. 1. apud *Phot.* & *Newton's chronol.* p. 112, 113. *Sallust.* in fragment. ex hist. l. ii. *Festus Avienus* in or. marit. *Plin.* *Arrian.* &c. apud *Bochart.* in *Chan.* l. i. c. 34. *Solin.* *Isidor.* *Hesych.* apud eund. & *Liv.* l. xxviii.

islands, planted or reduced much about the same time. The particular periods likewise, in which *Justin* and *Diodorus* have related these events to have happened, seem nearly to correspond; which in some measure confirms our opinion. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the *Carthaginians* made their first descent in *Spain* about an hundred and sixty years after the building of their city, which we apprehend to be one of the most early foreign transactions they were concerned in. Farther, since *Carthage* was so potent when *Gades* was in its infancy, we must suppose the former to have been at least eighty or an hundred years older than the latter; and if so, *Dido* might have founded her city not far from the time of the *Trojan* war, since, according to *Velleius*, *Gades* was built by the *Tyrians* about that number of years after the destruction of *Troy*. This is an additional argument in favour of what *Sir Isaac Newton* has advanced as to the time of that destruction, and seems to carry with it an air of probability. As to *Velleius's* assertion, that *Gades* was more ancient than *Carthage*, he is plainly refuted by *Diodorus* and *Justin*, and the reason of the thing; neither had he asserted this, had it not been in consequence of an hypothesis. The *Romans* in his time generally followed the technical chronology of *Eratoſthenes*, supposing it to be true: *Velleius* finding therefore in some good author, that *Gades* was absolutely affirmed to be built by the *Tyrians* eighty or an hundred years after the *Trojan* war; and by the *Punic* records, that *Carthage* was betwixt two and three hundred years later than that war, according to the artificial chronology of *Eratoſthenes*, which he took for granted was true; he thence concluded, that *Gades* was older than *Carthage*. But the *Eratoſthenian* chronology is now by some very learned men believed to have placed the destruction of *Troy* near three hundred years too high; and if so, no great stress is to be laid upon it. *Velleius's* authority therefore, when he asserts the city of *Gades* to have been built about eighty or an hundred years after the *Trojan* war, depends upon some good author, as is plain from *Justin* compared with *Virgil*, *Servius*, *Apollodorus*, and the marbles; but when he makes it older than *Carthage*, upon the chronology of *Eratoſthenes*, which cannot be intirely relied upon, particularly in the point before us, as appears from *Justin*, *Diodorus*, and others; in the first case therefore it is pretty widely different from what it is in the other. *Justin* clearly intimates, that the inhabitants of the island *Gades* had a temple there sacred to *Hercules*, before the city was built; so that nothing can be inferred from that temple's being erected either about or immediately after the time of the *Trojan* war, in prejudice of what has been advanced; which yet we are far from positively insisting upon as matter of

fact, but only propose it to our readers as a point deserving farther consideration. On this occasion it may not be improper to remind our readers, that, according to the common computation, *Troy* was taken the twenty-fourth day of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ; whereas *Sir Isaac Newton* places it 904 years only before the commencement of the christian æra ^d.

*Soldiers
from Spain
one great
nerve of
the Car-
thaginian
power.*

ANOTHER motive to the *Carthaginians* to make themselves masters of *Spain*, was the great number of brave recruits found in that country. The *Spaniards* were valiant, easily disciplined, and capable of enduring all kinds of labour and fatigue. With such immense treasure therefore as they annually drew from thence, and such bodies of the best soldiers as were continually formed there for their service, 'tis no wonder the *Carthaginians* should make such prodigious efforts, as we learn from history they did, to enslave all their neighbours ^e.

*First set-
tlement of
the Car-
thaginians
in Corsica.*

As *Diodorus Siculus* has given us a description of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the *Balearic* islands, *Corsica*, &c. in the same chapter, we think this authorizes us to speak a word or two here concerning the first *Carthaginian* settlement in the island last-mentioned. *Sardinia*, as has been intimated above, was in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, and had been so for some time, when the first treaty was concluded between them and the *Romans*. *Corsica* likewise, we have reason to imagine, was possessed by them either wholly, or in part, in very antient times. This island was called by the *Greeks* *Cyrnus*, by the *Romans* and natives *Corsica*, had a beautiful large harbour, according to *Diodorus*, named *Syracusum*, together with two considerable cities, *Calaris*, or *Aleria*, built by the *Phœacians*, and *Nicaea* by the *Etruscans*. Notwithstanding the defeat of the *Carthaginian* and *Etruscan* fleets by the *Phœacians*, in the reign of *Cyrus* above-mentioned, the victory cost the latter so dear, that they were obliged to abandon *Cyrnus* to the former. And we are farther informed by *Herodotus*, that the *Cyrnians*, i. e. the *Corsicans*, were one of those nations, out of which the *Carthaginians* formed that vast army, with which they invaded *Sicily* in the days of *Gelon*. These, to omit many others, that might easily be produced, are sufficient proofs, that the state of *Carthage* had a footing, at least, in *Corsica* in very remote times ^f.

THE small islands of *Melita* and *Gaulos*, now *Malta* and *Gozo* or *Gozzo*, being conveniently situated for trade, and hav-

^d DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 1. VITRUV. JUSTIN. ubi sup. VELL. PATR. l. i. sub init. NEWTON'S chronol. p. 3, 66, 112, &c.

^e DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 2. ^f DIOD. SIC. ubi sup c. 1. HERODOT. l. vii.

ing commodious ports, were indisputably in subjection likewise Malta and to the Carthaginians. It appears from *Diodorus*, that these Gozo ant- islands were at first peopled either by the Carthaginians, or their tiently sub- ancestors the Phœnicians ^{ject to}.

WE have above observed, that part of the isle of Sicily was Carthage. subject to the state of Carthage before the beginning of the Per- When the- sian empire; but when the Carthaginians first carried their arms Carthagi- thither, for want of sufficient light from history, we cannot nians first take upon us to determine. M. Rollin affirms Xerxes to have their arms been the first who prompted that people to attempt conquering into Sicily the island at present under consideration, which is contrary to unknown. the faith of history; and immediately after, almost in the same breath, declares the period, in which the Carthaginians first landed there in an hostile manner, not to be exactly known ^b. This is a plain inconsistency, but not the only one in his system of antient history. As we have already given so particular a description of Sicily, as well as those heroic atchievements and great transactions, of which it was for so many ages the theatre, we shall have occasion to refer our readers frequently to some of the preceding parts of this work; though after all, in order to preserve and continue the thread of our history, we shall find repetitions in many places unavoidable.

HOWEVER, in order to render these the more tolerable, whenever we are obliged to them, we shall endeavour to diversify the narration with several fresh incidents, not mentioned in any of our former volumes, as not so immediately relating to the histories of the countries we were then upon, drawn either from the historians quoted by us there, or others which at that time had escaped us.

AFTER the conclusion of the treaty with Xerxes, the Car- The Car- thaginians, in pursuance of their engagements, made vast pre- thaginians parations for a war with the Greeks of Sicily, both by sea and make great land. The Carthaginians at this time were the most powerful preparati- people of all the west; and while the Persians invaded Greece, ons for an they were to fall upon the Greek colonies, both in Sicily and expedition to Sicily. Magna Græcia, as above, that thereby the Greeks, of all countries and denominations, might be diverted from helping one another. The preparations for this war were so prodigious, that it was three years before they were completed, notwithstanding Xerxes sent them vast sums of money from Persia for that purpose. With these they hired great numbers of mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, Liguria, Corsica, &c. and raised what forces they could in Africa. All things at last being in readi-

^a DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.
thag. p. 2. c. 1. sub init.

^b M. ROLLIN. in hist. antien. des Car-

ness, they set sail from *Carthage* with an army of three hundred thousand men, composed of different nations, and a fleet of above two thousand ships of war, with three thousand transports, not doubting but to make an intire conquest of *Sicily* the first campaign ^l.

Hamil-
car's horfes
and cha-
riot lost in
a storm.

THE general who commanded in this expedition was *Hamilcar*, the son of *Hanno*, according to *Herodotus*, or of *Mago*, as *Justin* will have it, a person of great authority both in the army and the city, who had behaved himself with uncommon conduct and bravery on many occasions in the service of his country. In his passage from *Carthage* to *Sicily*, his horses and chariots, with the vessels they were on board, perished in a storm, which the *Carthaginians* doubtless, being extremely addicted to superstition, looked upon as ominous. However the general himself, upon his arrival at *Panormus*, now *Palermo*, endeavoured to dissipate all gloomy apprehensions, by declaring, that since they were happily arrived in *Sicily*, he looked upon the war as concluded, and that all the pain the late storm gave him was a fear of the *Sicilians* escaping the danger that threatened them ^k.

He invests
Himera.

AFTER he had landed his troops, he halted three days to refresh them, and repair the damage his fleet had sustained in the late storm; and then marching to *Himera*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Panormus*, immediately caused it to be invested. To give some idea of the capacity of this general, *Diodorus* tells us, that, upon his sitting down before *Himera*, he disposed his army in two camps, the one destined for the land forces, the other for the ships and marines. He took care to secure his long ships or galleys, by drawing them on shore, surrounding them with an entrenchment, and placing all his marines there for their defence. The land forces were encamped in front, opposite to the city, extending themselves from the lines of the other camp to the hills overlooking the town. The place being thus blocked up on the west side, he unladed the ships of burden of their provisions, and sent away what vessels he had left to *Africa* and *Sardinia* for a further supply. After this he advanced with the flower of his army to the very walls of the city, routed a party of the garison in a sally they made upon him, and thereby struck a great terror into the besieged ^l.

Celon d.
feats the
Carthagi-
nian so-
ragers.

Theron, tyrant of the *Agrigentines*, at that time commanded in the place, who, though his garison was very strong, being intimidated by the last disaster, as well as the numerous forces

^l DIOD. SIC. l. xi. c. 2. HERODOT. l. vii. EPHOR. apud schol. Pind. Pyth. 1. ad ver. ἡλδοῖ ἐξέλασθαι. ^k DIOD. SIC. & HERODOT. ubi sup. ^l DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

of the enemy, dispatched an express to *Gelon* at *Syracuse*, with all possible expedition, for immediate relief. *Gelon* having got his troops in readiness to march at an hour's warning, upon advice of what had befallen the *Himeræans*, advanced to their city without delay, with an army of fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse. He first encamped near the city, and afterwards fortified his camp in such a manner as to put it out of danger of being insulted by the enemy. By this means he infused new life and vigour into the garison, and freed them from all apprehensions of the *Carthaginian* power. He sent his horse in quest of the enemy, who were dispersed in small parties all over the country, in order to forage. These, meeting with the *Carthaginians* straggling about the country, without any discipline or order, fell upon them, took above ten thousand prisoners, and brought them triumphantly into the town. By this action *Gelon's* glory was raised to a very high pitch, and the *Himeræans* inspired with a contempt of the enemy.

To demonstrate to the *Carthaginians* the high contempt he had them in, he caused the gates *Theron* had before built, to be pulled down, and built others, more essential to the defence of the place, in their room. In fine, *Gelon* being an able warrior, and excelling in stratagems, set his head to work to find out some method of destroying the *Carthaginian* forces without any danger to himself or his army, which in strength was so much inferior to the enemy. Fortune favoured the project he was upon by the following accident, which brought on a battle, and occasioned the death of *Hamilcar*, and the total overthrow of his army ^m.

A courier was brought to *Gelon*, having been intercepted by a party of his horse, carrying letters from the inhabitants of *Selinus*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*; whereby he understood, that *Hamilcar* was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a solemn sacrifice to *Nep- tunc*, and that he had appointed the *Selinuntine* cavalry to join him the same day in the said camp. *Gelon*, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horse, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the *Selinuntines*. Upon receiving these orders, by favour of the night, they conveyed themselves privately to certain posts close by the *Carthaginian* camp, of which they took immediate possession; and the next morning, approaching the said camp, were admitted into it about sunrise, without the least suspicion. *Hamilcar* was then busy in sacrificing, and the greater part of the soldiery attending him

^m Idem ibid.

without arms, according to *Diodorus*. But *Herodotus* intimates, that this general staid in the camp during the whole time of the engagement, which continued from morning till the dusk of the evening, without intermission. *Diodorus* adds, that the *Syracusians*, without the least opposition, making up to *Hamilcar*, killed him, pursuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces most of his marines, and set fire to the ships. *Herodotus*, on the contrary, gives us to understand, that *Hamilcar* was employed the whole day in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but that seeing his troops put to the rout, he himself rushed into the fire, and was intirely consumed. Upon the firing of the ships, *Gelon*, who had notice of the success by a signal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army, and attacked the other camp. The *Carthaginians* at first made a gallant resistance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the same time seeing all their fleet in a blaze, they had no longer courage to stand their ground, but betook themselves to a precipitate flight; and then the slaughter was dreadful. As *Gelon's* orders were, that no quarter should be given during the heat of the engagement, no less than an hundred and fifty thousand men were slain in the battle and the pursuit. The rest retired to an eminence, where they for some time defended themselves; but at last, for want of water, were obliged to surrender at discretion. This was the greatest blow the *Carthaginians* had ever received before that time; for they did not only lose their general *Hamilcar*, who was himself by his mother's side a *Syracusian*, but had their whole army in such a manner cut off, or taken prisoners, that not a single man of it escaped to *Carthage*, to carry thither the news of this unparalleled defeat^a.

Polyænus, in his account of the *Carthaginian* general's death, differs something both from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Herodotus*. According to this author, *Gelon*, finding himself not strong enough to attack the enemy, sent *Pediarchus*, the captain of his archers, who much resembled him, dressed in royal robes, out of the camp, with orders to offer sacrifice upon some altars near the spot of ground on which *Hamilcar* used daily to sacrifice. *Pediarchus* was attended by a party of his archers, cloathed in white garments, with large sprigs of myrtle in their hands, as an evident sign of their going to perform so solemn an act of devotion. Under the myrtle each of them had concealed his bow, with several arrows, which they were to let fly at the general as soon as he came within some distance. *Hamilcar*, suspecting nothing of violence, came as usual, with his

^a HERODOT. & DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

attendants,

attendants, to address himself to the gods, and was immediately slain. However this may be, the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians*, both of them ambitious of claiming so great a man to themselves, gave out, that *Hamilcar*, upon the defeat of his troops, vanished, and was never afterwards seen. The former, notwithstanding his misfortune, and their immediate resentment of it, in after-ages paid him divine honours, both in their capital city, and every other place where their colonies seated themselves.^o *The Carthaginians deify Hamilcar.*

WE must not here omit observing, that *Terillus*, the son of *Crinippus*, invited the *Carthaginians* at this time into *Sicily*, and therefore was, in some respect, as well as *Xerxes*, the occasion of this fatal war. *Terillus* was tyrant of *Himera*; but being driven from thence by *Theron*, the son of *Ænesidemus*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, he meditated revenge. To gratify which, at the instigation of *Anaxilaus*, the son of *Critineus*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, who married his daughter *Cydippe*, he had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, being well assured they would not let slip so favourable an opportunity of enlarging their dominions in the island of *Sicily*. *Hamilcar*, in order to secure his fidelity, obliged him to send his sons to him for hostages. This account *Herodotus* tells us he received from the *Sicilian* writers of his time, who made no mention, as far as we can find, of the alliance between the *Persians* and the *Carthaginians*.^p *Terillus invites the Carthaginians into Sicily.*

Herodotus farther informs us, that the battle of *Himera* was fought the same day with that of *Salamis*: but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the *Carthaginians* to have been defeated the same day that *Leonidas*, with his brave body of *Spartans*, perished at *Thermopylæ*. Upon which he makes this reflection: "The gods on purpose seemed to have destined the *Greeks* at the same time a glorious victory in one place, and a most honourable death in another."^q *Battles of Himera and Salamis fought the same day.*

THE first thing after the battle *Gelon* did was, amply to reward all those who had signalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse to whom the victory was chiefly owing. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of *Syracuse* and *Himera*. What remained, together with the captives, he distributed amongst his soldiers, in proportion to the degree of bravery and valour they had shewn. Many of the last, to whatever city's share they fell, were employed in public works for the common good; and so many were taken, that all *Africa* seemed to have been transplanted into *Sicily*. Some of *Gelon rewards his soldiers for their bravery.*

^o POLYÆN. strat. l. i. c. 27. ex. 2. HERODOT. ubi sup. ^p Idem ibid. ^q DIOD. SIC. & HERODOT. ubi sup.

the citizens of *Agrigentum* in particular, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred a-piece. The fugitives, upon the defeat of their army, being in the utmost consternation, fled into the inland provinces of *Sicily*, especially the territory of *Agrigentum*, where, being taken alive, that city was in a manner filled with prisoners. The greatest part of them were put in irons, and set apart for the public service. The work they were chiefly employed in at first was, cutting and hewing of stone; of which afterwards they built the largest of the temples at *Agrigentum*, and made those conduits or aqueducts to convey water from the city, which were so much admired by the antients, and called *Pheaces*, from one *Pheax*, who was the overseer of the work. The *Agrigentines* likewise, by their labour, sunk a fish-pond at great expence, seven stadia in circumference and twenty cubits deep * (B).

Gelon
compared
to the most
famous
Greek
command-
ers.

By the late victory, which was complete both in itself and its consequences, *Gelon* acquired great glory, and was justly celebrated by foreigners as well as his own subjects, as one of the most renowned and experienced generals any age or nation ever produced. The stratagem by which the *Carthaginian* army was overthrown he himself contrived, and conducted throughout, being the life and soul of the army in the execution of it. Some authors have not scrupled to prefer him to *Themistocles*, and the advantage accruing to the *Greek* nation in general from this action to that gained by the battle of *Platæa*. However this may be, it is certain we find no account in history of any engagement, wherein the like carnage was made, and such a number of prisoners taken. Neither did the *Carthaginian* fleet, consisting of that vast number of ships of war and transports above-mentioned, meet with a much better fate than their land-forces had done. Only twenty long ships or galleys, which *Hamilcar* had occasionally drawn out for necessary services, happened to be out at sea, when the camp of the marines was taken, and consequently escaped the general conflagration. These

* DIOD SIC. ubi sup.

(B) This famous pond, the effect of *Carthaginian* labour, was supplied with water both from fountains and rivers, and excellently well stocked with fish of all kinds, serving both for food and pleasure. Great numbers of swans likewise rested upon it, which afforded a most pleasant prospect to the eye. By the negligence of succeeding ages, it was gradually filled up with mud, and at last became wholly dry ground. The soil was so rich in *Diodorus's* time, that the *Agrigentines* planted vines and all kinds of trees there, which brought them in a very considerable revenue (1).

(1) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.*

failed

ailed directly for *Carthage*; but meeting with contrary winds and tempests, before they reached that place, they were all cast away, a few men only being saved in a small boat. These arriving at *Carthage* brought the dismal news of the intire defeat of their army, and the loss of their fleet. The *Carthaginians*, little expecting to hear of such a signal disaster, but on the contrary pleasing themselves with the imagination of reducing the whole island of *Sicily* almost without striking a stroke, were most strangely shocked at receiving this melancholy advice. As in all great reverses of fortune the nation we are discoursing of ever lost their courage, and abandoned themselves to despair, so in the present case they gave every thing up for lost. Nothing but outcries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the whole city; the enemy was already imagined to be at their gates, and all orders and degrees of people amongst them were overwhelmed with inexpressible grief, despondency, and consternation.

IN this deplorable situation, the *Carthaginians* thought they could have recourse to nothing but *Gelon's* clemency; and therefore immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Sicily*, injoining them to strike up a peace with him upon any terms.

The Carthaginians apply to Gelon for a peace.

UPON the arrival of these ambassadors at *Syracuse*, *Gelon* afforded them an instance of great moderation and humanity. Notwithstanding by the late victory he was become the arbiter of peace and war, and had the *Carthaginians* intirely at his mercy, he received these ministers in a most affable and courteous manner. His prosperity had not in the least elated him, nor rendered him at all haughty or untractable. On the other hand, tho' this deputation consisted of persons the most famed of any in *Carthage* for their merit and abilities, yet they behaved in a most mean and abject manner. They threw themselves at *Gelon's* feet, with tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he should think proper to prescribe. This plainly shews how void the *Carthaginians* then were of that true resolution and magnanimity, which supported the old *Romans* in all adversity, and carried them through all dangers; that resolution and magnanimity, which enabled them to lay the foundations of an almost universal empire, and even to destroy the dangerous rival of theirs we are now writing the history of; though it must be owned this heroic virtue and greatness of soul was much tarnished in their posterity, to say no worse, by some actions they were guilty of towards the decline of the *Carthaginian* state.

His moderation and humanity.

Gelon, like a good-natured prince, being touched with compassion for the miseries of the *Carthaginians*, granted them a peace upon the following easy conditions: First, that they

The terms on which he grants them a peace.

should pay two thousand talents of silver towards defraying the expences of the war. Secondly, that they should build two temples, where this treaty of peace should be deposited, and at all times be exposed to public view. Thirdly, that for the future they should abstain from offering human sacrifices. This last article shews the great humanity of *Gelon's* temper, and is a proof, that the people of *Carthage* were obliged a second time to abolish that barbarous practice for a certain period, at least in appearance; for it cannot be doubted, but they ratified this treaty, it being so advantageous to them, at a juncture when they were upon the very brink of destruction.

THE *Carthaginians*, having recovered their spirits, by the happy turn their affairs had taken, through the conqueror's great clemency and moderation, thought proper now to shew their gratitude to *Damareta*, *Gelon's* wife, who had forwarded an accommodation betwixt the two powers, and been chiefly instrumental in bringing it to a happy conclusion. They therefore, immediately after the peace, sent her a crown of gold, valued at an hundred talents of that metal. This crown *Gelon* turned into money, and coined pieces, called from his wife's name *Damaretia*, each of them being worth ten *Attic* drachmas. The *Sicilians* gave them the name of *Pentecontalitra*, from their being fifty pounds in weight* (C).

An instance of
Gelon's
military
capacity.

WE must not omit one circumstance, which may serve as a further instance of *Gelon's* military capacity. Upon his first approach to *Himera*, to succour the besieged, a detachment of his forces defeated many of the *Carthaginian* parties sent to

* Idem ibid. & PLUT. apoph. 175. & de ser. vindic. deor. p. 552. Vide & schol. PIND. ad Pyth. od. 2. necnon. JAC. PERIZON. comment. in Ælian. var. hist. l. vi. c. 11.

(C) These pieces seem to have been rather medals struck on occasion of *Gelon's* victory over the *Carthaginians*, than common coins. The size of them supplies us with an argument in favour of this notion. The brass *litra* of *Sicily* was at first a pound weight, as the *libra* or *as* was amongst the *Romans*; and sixty such *litrae* made a talent. According to *Pollux*, *Damareta* and the other *Syracusan* ladies of distinction brought all their silver utensils to the mint, and the coin formed from thence was called *ὀμίσμα ἀμυαρέτιον*. But *Diodorus's* relation is more probable; since, if *Gelon* had been in great want of money, he would undoubtedly have stamped it in the smallest species, and not in pieces of such a magnitude, which seemed to allude to the great victory obtained over the *Carthaginians*, as well as the immense booty found in their camp (2).

(2) Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Jul. Pol. p. 437, & alib. Vide & schol. Pind. olyn. ii.

forage in different parts of the island. Besides what they killed, they took ten thousand prisoners, as above related. These probably were the worst troops in the *Carthaginian* army; and therefore a stratagem *Frontinus* relates *Gelon* to have been the author of seems to bid fair for this particular period of time. This prince, having a large number of prisoners, picked out the weakest of them, who were auxiliaries, mostly tawny, and of a very despicable appearance; and exposed them quite naked before his soldiers, that they might have the most contemptible notion of the enemy^t. Something like this happened, if we mistake not, in the late war betwixt the *Turks* and the *Russians*, when the former, to give their people at *Constantinople* the meaner opinion of the latter, led the most miserable of the captives they had taken from that nation in triumph through their capital.

BESIDES the public works above-mentioned, the *Carthaginian* spoils enabled *Gelon* to build two noble temples, the one to *Ceres*, and the other to *Proserpina*. A tripod of gold likewise, of sixteen talents, he caused to be made out of them, and sent it as a donation to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, as an acknowledgment of his gratitude to that deity. If an inscription given us by the scholiast on *Pindar* may be depended upon as genuine, there were more tripods than one sent thither on this occasion in the name of *Gelon* and his brothers, who had all of them a great share in the successes they gave thanks for (D).

*What use
Gelon
made of
the Car-
thaginian
spoils.*

THE

^t FRONTIN. l. i. c. 11, 18.

(D) We are further assured by *Pausanias*, that *Gelon* sent several valuable presents to the temple of *Jupiter Olympius* at *Olympia*, as a grateful return to that pagan divinity for the good success that attended his arms, with which he was furnished from the booty found in the *Carthaginian* camp. Among the rest there were three curious vestments of fine *Carthaginian* linen, each of them representing a coat of mail, which undoubtedly were looked upon as something particularly rare, since *Xenophon* intimates the *Carthaginian* flax to have been of a very fine nature. A statue of *Jupiter* also, of a prodigious size, was sent to the same place in the name of *Gelon* and the *Syracusians*, when they were full of the most grateful sentiments for the signal victory obtained over the *Carthaginians* both by sea and land. The cell or apartment, in which these donations were deposited, was of exquisite workmanship, being made by those celebrated artificers *Pothæus*, *Antiphilus*, and *Megacles*, at *Gelon*'s order. Besides the golden tripod above-mentioned, *Gelon* sent a golden statue of *Victory* to *Delphi*, which seems to have been the third offering of metal ever brought thither. This we learn from *Phanias Eresius*, and *Theopompus*, as cited by *Athenæus*, who inform us that before the

Gisco, the
son of Ha-
milcar,
banished
Carthage.

THE Carthaginians, incensed at *Hamilcar*, as imputing the late disaster intirely to his conduct, notwithstanding the great services he had done the state on other occasions, resolved, that his family should feel the effects of their resentment; and therefore banished his son *Gisco*, who, being thus obliged to leave his native country, retired to *Selinus*, where he died for want of necessaries. The *Sicilian* cities, that sided with the Carthaginians, upon their first application to *Gelon*, were received into favour, and had a confirmation of all their antient privileges granted them, though the conqueror, with a very good grace, might have treated them in a far different manner ^u.

Little said
of the Car-
thaginians
for seventy
years.

FROM this time for full seventy years, that is to say, till towards the close of the ninety-second, or the beginning of the ninety-third, olympiad, we scarce find any mention of the Carthaginians, or their affairs, in the *Sicilian* history. The last blow they received in *Sicily* was so terrible, that a peace of some duration was absolutely necessary for the re-establishment of their affairs; and it is natural to suppose, that, of all places in the world, *Sicily* would be the last they would, for a considerable period of time, chuse for the scene of action. However, a fair opportunity offering at the time above-mentioned, moved by their ambition, they embarked in another war there, which, though pretty bloody and expensive, ended with much better success to them than the former.

The Car-
thaginians
render
themselves
independ-
ent in
Africa.

HOWEVER, in some part of this interval, several remarkable incidents, mentioned by *Justin*, *Sallust*, and *Valerius Maximus*, seem to have happened. The Carthaginians carried their arms against the *Moors*, *Numidians*, and other *African* nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in *Africa*. They likewise shook off the tribute, which, for a long time, had given them so much uneasiness, and rendered themselves absolutely independent.

Have
warm dis-
putes with
the Cyre-
neans, on
account of
a regula-
tion of
limits.

THEY had warm disputes with the people of *Cyrene*, a *Mediterranean* city, the capital of *Cyrenaica*, built by the *Theræans* under *Battus*, who were a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, which arose from the want of a regulation of limits between the two

^u DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. vi. c. 11.

the days of *Gyges* and *Crasus*, kings of *Lydia*, all the votive gifts sent to *Delfhi* consisted of brass, and these not statues, but chaldrons and tripods. As this observation seemed to us curious, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit it (4).

(4) *Pausan* in *Eliac. postler.* l. vi. p. 379. ed. *Hanov.* 1613. *Xenoph.* de *venat.* p. 975. ed. *Leunclaw* *Francof.* 1594. *Phan. Eres.* & *Theopomp.* apud *Athen.* in *deipnosoph.* l. vi.

states.

states. As the *Cyreneans* were very powerful, much blood was shed on this occasion ; but at last the two nations, after having almost exhausted each other by a long and expensive war, accommodated their differences in the following manner *.

BEING so weakened, that they were both afraid of becoming a prey to some foreign invader, they consented first to a cessation of arms, in order to a pacification. Afterwards it was agreed, that each city should appoint two commissaries, who should set out from their respective towns upon the same day, and that the spot they met upon should be the common boundary to both states. Upon this, two brothers, called *Philæni*, were dispatched from *Carthage*, who advanced with great celerity, whilst the *Cyreneans* proceeded more slowly. Whether this was to be imputed to the laziness of the latter, or to some accident intervening, is not certain. However, the latter is not improbable, since in those sandy regions, at certain seasons of the year, there are as violent storms and tempests as upon the sea ; which is not to be wondered at, considering, that in such countries, which are open and level, and have not so much as a shrub to break the force of the wind, sometimes boisterous weather must almost necessarily happen ; and then the sand, being put into a violent commotion, is blown up into the air in great quantities, fills the eyes, mouths, nostrils, &c. of travellers, and by that means greatly retards at least, if it does not put an intire stop to, their journey. *Valerius Maximus* intimates, that the *Philæni* acted perfidiously, by setting out before the appointed time, and thereby imposed upon the others. Be this as it will, the *Cyreneans*, finding themselves too tardy, and fearing to be called to an account for their conduct at their return home, accused the *Carthaginians* of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the stipulated time ; insisted, that the convention agreed upon between their principals was broken ; and declared they would suffer all extremities, rather than submit to such a base and ignominious treatment. On the other hand, the *Philæni*, with much seeming calmness and moderation, desired the *Cyreneans* not to talk in so lofty a strain, but themselves to propose some expedient, whereby their differences might be terminated, promising at the same time to submit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then proposed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or suffer themselves to be buried alive there, not in the least imagining they would comply with so hard a condition. But herein they were disappointed ; for the *Carthaginian* brothers, without hesitation, consented to it, laid down

*But at last
come to an
accommo-
dation.*

* SAL. Jug. c 79.

The Philæni suffer themselves to be buried alive, in order to enlarge the dominions of their state.

their lives, and gained a large extent of territory by that means to their country. The *Carthaginians* ever afterwards celebrated this as a most brave and heroic action, paid them divine honours, and endeavoured to immortalize their names, by erecting there two altars, with suitable inscriptions upon them. *Strabo* informs us, that no traces of these were to be seen in his days, though the place still retained the name of *the altars of the Philæni*. However, 'tis not to be doubted, but the state of *Carthage*, as long as it existed, kept them up, this being ever their boundary on the side of *Cyrenaica*. *Sallust* relates, that there was a sandy tract of ground betwixt the territories of *Carthage* and *Cyrene*, without hill, river, or spot, in it, whereby to ascertain the borders of the two nations; so that they were obliged to have recourse to the method aforesaid. The love of one's country is certainly a most amiable virtue; but that any civilized nation should carry this so far, as to allow the building of it upon fraud, perfidy, and a violation of public faith, is very strange; yet this the *Carthaginians* did, if *Valerius Maximus* may be credited, by paying so high a regard to the memory of the *Philæni*. That author, however, runs out into a wild and frantic encomium upon them, and thereby discovers much of the *Punic* disposition. In short, this piece of history gives us a lively idea of the *Carthaginian* notion of bravery and heroism, as do several other incidents to be found in the course of this history.

The Egestines occasion another war between the Carthaginians and Syracusians.

THE *Egestines*, allies of the *Athenians*, after the conclusion of the *Syracusan* war, of which they had been the principal occasion, by inviting the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, entertained strong apprehensions of being called to an account by the *Syracusians* for all the acts of hostility they had committed against them. About this time also the *Egestines* had some disputes with the *Selinuntines* about a regulation of limits, which at last broke out into an open rupture betwixt the two states; but the former dreading the resentment of the *Syracusians*, and believing they would assist their enemy with a large body of forces, clapped up a peace with the latter upon their own terms. Though by this peace the *Egestines* gave up all the points in dispute, the *Selinuntines*, not contented herewith, made farther encroachments upon them; which greatly irritating the *Egestines*, they had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, imploring their protection, both against the *Selinuntines*, and their confederates the *Syracusians*. The affair meeting with great difficulties, it was for some time debated at *Carthage* what course it would be proper to take.

Y Idem ibid. STRAB. l. iii. POMP. MEL. l. i. c. 7. VALER. MAX. l. v. c. 6. Vide & CELLAR. geogr. ant l. iv. c. 3.

On the one hand, the *Carthaginians* were very desirous to possess themselves of *Egesta*, a city which lay so convenient for them; and which would much facilitate the reduction of the whole island of *Sicily*, the favourite project this state always had in view. On the other, they dreaded the power and forces of *Syracuse*, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the *Athenians*, and was become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last their thirst after empire prevailed, and, through the desire of getting the city into their hands, they promised the *Egestines* succours.

THE general appointed to command in this war, if matters Hannibal came to the last extremity, was *Hannibal*, the grandson of *Hamilcar*, killed at the battle of *Himera*, and son of *Gisco*, the exile above-mentioned. He was at this time invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the *suffetes*, and a person of very great consideration. As he bore a natural hatred to all the *Greeks*, and was desirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the disgrace of that defeat, which he considered as a stain upon his family, he sought, by all means possible, to distinguish himself on this occasion for the service of his country. He was indefatigable, all that summer and the ensuing winter, in raising forces, not only in *Africa*, but in *Spain* and *Italy*, and making the other necessary preparations; insomuch, that, in the beginning of the spring, he had an incredible number of soldiers of different nations listed under his standard. But, before he came to an open rupture with the *Selinuntines*, he had recourse to *Punic* policy, endeavouring, by a trick of his, to over-reach both them and the *Syracusians* their allies. Being apprised, that the *Selinuntines* were not satisfied with the tract of land ceded them by the *Egestines* in the last treaty of peace, but laid farther claim to a great part of their territories, he desired the *Syracusians* to act as mediators in this affair, and endeavour to accommodate the differences betwixt the contending parties in an amicable manner. His view in this was, to sow the seeds of dissension betwixt the *Syracusians* and the *Selinuntines*, imagining, that if the latter should reject the mediation of the former, the confederacy betwixt them would of course be dissolved, and consequently that each of them would more easily fall a prey to the *Carthaginians*. But his scheme proved abortive; for tho' the *Syracusians* interposed their good offices, in order to bring about an accommodation betwixt the *Selinuntines* and *Egestines*, yet finding these ineffectual, they did not think proper to make use of any compulsive methods, nor to renounce the alliance they had entered into with the former. The *Carthaginians*, finding their artifices thus eluded, upon the return of their ambassadors, openly espoused the cause of the *Egestines*, and sent

Hannibal
appointed
to com-
mand in
the Sicilian
expedition.

a supply of five thousand *Africans*, and eight hundred *Campanians*, to their assistance. The latter had been hired by the *Chalcidians* to assist the *Athenians* against the *Syracusians*; but after their overthrow, sailing back into *Campania*, staid there, in hopes that some state might soon stand in need of their assistance. Accordingly, the *Carthaginians* took them into their service, bought them horses, and placed them in garison at *Egesta*; which place, at all events, they were determined to make themselves masters of. Notwithstanding this powerful body of *Carthaginian* auxiliaries, the *Selinuntines*, being both rich and numerous, held the *Egestines* in great contempt ^w.

The Carthaginians and Campanians surpris'd the Selinuntines, and cut off a thousand of them.

THE *Selinuntines*, having drawn together a strong body of regular troops, ravaged all the country about *Egesta*, and despising the enemy, who were far inferior to them in number, dispersed themselves in parties, without order or discipline, all over the territory of the *Egestines*, for the sake of plunder. The *Carthaginians* and *Campanians* in garison, observing this, took the first opportunity that offered, in conjunction with the *Egestines*, of surprising them; which they did so effectually, that they put them to flight, killed a thousand on the spot, and carried off all their baggage. Immediately after this action, both cities dispatched ambassadors to solicit succours from their respective confederates, the *Selinuntines* from the *Syracusians*, and the *Egestines* from the *Carthaginians*; which being readily agreed to on both sides, a most dreadful war broke out between the *Egestines* and *Carthaginians* on one hand, and the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusians* on the other.

The Carthaginians make great preparations for a war with the Selinuntines.

THE *Carthaginians*, before they directly engaged in this war, took care to make an estimate of the prodigious sums necessary to support it, and the numerous body of forces requisite to carry it on with vigour; and having empowered their general *Hannibal* to raise an army equal to the undertaking, as above-mentioned, and to equip a suitable fleet, they appropriated certain funds to the defraying all the expences of the war, intending to attack the island of *Sicily* with their whole power the beginning of the following spring.

Hannibal and his forces in Sicily.

Hannibal, at the time appointed, put his army on board sixty long galleys, and fifteen hundred transports, together with an immense quantity of provisions he had amassed for their subsistence, military engines, arms, and all other things necessary for a siege. Setting sail with these, as soon as the season would permit, he crossed the *African* sea, and arrived at *Lilybaeum*, a promontory of *Sicily*, opposite to the coast of *Africa*. Before he landed his troops, he was discovered by a party of *Selinun-*

^w Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

time horse, who posted away with great expedition, to give their countrymen intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Upon this the *Selinuntines* dispatched couriers to *Syracuse* for immediate relief. *Hannibal* in the mean time, landing his army, marked out a camp, beginning at a place called *The well of Lilybæum*, where the city of *Lilybæum* was afterwards built. Here he staid a short time to refresh his troops, before he entered upon the operations of the campaign.

ACCORDING to *Ephorus* the historian (E), the *Carthaginian* army consisted of two hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse,

Ephorus and Timaeus Siculus differ in their relations of the strength of the Carthaginian army.

(E) *Ephorus*, an orator and historian, was born in the city (1) of *Cumæ* or *Cyme* in *Æolia*, and one of *Isocrates's* (2) scholars. His history contained chiefly the transactions of his countrymen the *Greeks* for the space of seven hundred and fifty years; that is, from the return of the *Heracidae*, to the twentieth year of *Philip* king of *Macedon* (3), in which year he besieged *Perinthus*. *Plutarch* intimates (4), that he wrote a particular history of *Cumæ*. He was a writer of flow parts, according to *Tully*, and much inferior, in point of genius (5), to his school-fellow *Theopompus*. *Seneca* says (6), he had little regard to veracity; which seems confirmed by most of the passages taken from him by *Diodorus*. His ignorance in geography is very apparent, from his making all the *Iberians* inhabitants of the same city; from whence *Josephus* rightly infers (7), that the knowledge of the western parts of the world came very late to the *Greeks*. Notwithstanding what has been said, *Diodorus* informs us (8), that he wrote with great accuracy, and in an elegant style; tho' in the last article he is contradicted by *Duris Samius* (9) and *Dion Chrysostomus*, whose testimony is of great weight in this particular. His grand history he divided into thirty books (10), to each of which he added a preface. Besides the performances above-mentioned, he composed a treatise *de rebus inventis*, of which *Strabo* (11) takes notice; another *de bonis & malis*, divided (12) into twenty-four books; another *de rebus passim admirabilibus* (13), divided into fifteen books; another *de civitatibus Thraciæ*, of which *Harpocration* quotes (14) the fourth book. Father *Harduin* ascribes to him a particular treatise (15) of the origin of cities, and another of the increase of the *Nile*; but, according to *M. Bayle* (16), the authors

- (1) *Strab. l. xiii. p. 428.* (2) *Plut. in vit. Isocrat. p. 837.*
 (3) *Diod. Sic. l. iv. & l. xx.* (4) *Plut. de vit. Homer. sub init.*
 (5) *Cic. in Brut. Quint. l. ii. c. 9.* (6) *Senec. quæst. natural. l. vii. c. 16. Vide & Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl. 245, &c.* (7) *Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i.* (8) *Diod. Sic. l. v. sub init.* (9) *Duris Samius in hist. l. i. apud Phot. bibl. 176: Dion Chrysost. in orat. de dicend. exercit.* (10) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.* (11) *Strab. ubi supra.* (12) *Suid in Eop.* (13) *Idem ibid.* (14) *Harpocration. voce Aiv.* (15) *Harduin. in judic. auctor. Plin.* (16) *Bayle, in dict. hist. & crit.*

horse, though *Timæus Siculus* (F) will not allow them to have been much above an hundred thousand. *Hannibal*, after landing his

alleged by him prove no such thing; and indeed this he makes out very clearly. *Ephorus* is complimented (17) by *Polybius* and *Strabo*; but notwithstanding *Diodorus* seems so fond of him, yet, in another passage, that writer tells us, he related so many falsities (18) of *Egypt*, that we must not expect to meet with any thing of truth in him. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (19), as well as *Diodorus*, speaks favourably of his style. The two other historians this last author ranks with him, are *Theopompus* (20) and *Callisthenes*. We find a valuable fragment of *Porphyry* preserved by *Eusebius*, from which it appears, that *Ephorus* was accused of being a plagiarist; nay of stealing three thousand lines (21), word for word, from *Daimachus*, *Anaximenes*, and *Callisthenes*. *Lyfmachus* is said to have written a piece, containing all his plagiarisms; and *Alcaeus*, (22) a satirical poet, is affirmed by *Porphyry* likewise to have exposed them. He is ridiculed by *Strabo* (23) for the mention he makes of his native country. A son, called *Demophilus*, survived him, who, (24) being a scholar, was thought by some to have put the finishing hand to what his father left imperfect. A fuller account of him may be seen in *Vossius* (25) and *M. Bayle*, to whom we refer our readers.

(F) *Timæus Siculus*, a Greek historian of good note (26), the son of *Andromachus*, a noble Sicilian, who according to *Diodorus* (27), assembling the fugitives of *Naxos*, settled with them on a hill called *Taurus*, to which settlement the city of *Taurominium* owed its origin. *Timæus* flourished in the time of *Agathocles*, and *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. *Suidas* and *Hesychius* will not allow him to have been a judicious compiler of history; and *Polybius* accuses him of betraying too great credulity, a want of judgment, and a trifling genius, on several occasions (28). He was a person of violent passions, as appeared both from his shameful calumnies, and impious flattery, which prejudiced many writers, and some of these even too much, against him. Because he was banished by *Agathocles*, he gave that tyrant no quarter after his death, not only describing his crimes and ill qualities in the blackest manner, but loading him with fabulous calumnies. He was acted so much by a spirit of revenge on this occasion, that he contradicted himself in a most flagrant manner; for which (29) reason the five last books of his history, which treated of the actions of *Agathocles*, were undoubtedly very deficient in

- (17) *Polyb. apud Strabon. l. x. & alib.* (18) *Diod. Sic. l. i.*
 (19) *Dionys. Halicar. de col. verb. c. 81.* (20) *Diod. Sic. l. iv.*
 (21) *Porphy. de erud. audit. apud Euseb. in præp. evang. l. x.* (22) *Idem ibid.*
 (23) *Strab. ubi supra.* (24) *Conf. Jonfium de script. hist. philos. p. 43, 44. cum Athen. in deipnosoph. l. vi.* (25) *Voss. de hist. Græc. & Bayle, ubi supra.* (26) *Athen. deipnosoph. l. ii. & alib.*
 (27) *Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 7.* (28) *Hesych. & Suid. in Typa. &.* (29) *Suid. ubi supra.*

point

his forces, caused all his ships to be drawn ashore, for fear of giving umbrage to the *Syracusians*, and then, being joined by the

point of veracity. On the other hand, if we may believe *Suidas*, he exalted his hero *Timoleon* (30) to a superiority above the highest divinities; to which that author adds, that for this he deserved a greater punishment than *Callisthenes*, who suffered death for designing to deify *Alexander*, a prince infinitely more illustrious than *Timoleon*. He composed several pieces; one consisting of three books, *de Syria, & ejus urbibus regibusque*; another divided into sixty-eight books, *de argumentis rhetoricæ*; another intitled *olympionica, seu acta chronica*; two more, whose titles were, *Ἰταλικά καὶ Σικελικά* consisting of eight books; and *Ἑλληνικά καὶ Σικελικά*, whose number of books is not known. In the former of these two last works he wrote the history of *Sicily*, as far as it was coincident with the *Roman* history; and in the other he gave an account of the *Sicilian* transactions, as they were intermixed with those of the *Greeks*. His history of *Pyrrhus* was a distinct piece, as we are informed by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Cicero* (31). *Diogenes Laertius* quoted no book of his history beyond the eighteenth though *Athenæus* (32) cited the twenty-eighth; which is a proof, that those authors paid no great regard to the division of his *Greek, Roman, and Sicilian*, history, as given us by *Vossius*. Notwithstanding what has been offered by *Suidas* to invalidate the authority of *Timæus* in the five last books of his history, yet this author himself allows (33), that, in all other parts of it, he adhered strictly to truth; and even according to *Polybius*, though he blames our historian in several respects, particularly for trusting too much to the reports of others, he laid it down as a maxim (34), that truth was the life and soul of history. However he might be imposed upon in what related to *Africa, Corsica*, and other countries that he was a stranger to, as *Polybius* intimates he was (35), yet we cannot help being of opinion, that he was an excellent and most faithful historian as to the *Sicilian* affairs, except when he discharged all the impetuous torrents of his rage against *Agathocles*, which indeed could never be vindicated. In most of those passages of *Diodorus*, wherein *Timæus* and *Ephorus* are cited as differing in their relations, the former has apparently a much greater degree of probability on his side, of which we shall at present only give one instance, not having time to produce all the rest: *Ephorus* informs us, that the *Carthaginian* army, which reduced *Selinus* consisted of two hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse; but, according to *Timæus*, it could not well have consisted of above an hundred and ten or an hundred and twenty thousand men. Now,

(30) *Idem ibid. & Voss. de hist. Græc. p. 82. Vide & Antigon. ἐν θαυμαστ. hist. i & Parthen. erot. xxix.* (31) *Dionys. Halicar. l. i. c. 6. Cic. epist. l. v. 22. ad Luccium.* (32) *Diog. Laert. in Empedocl. l. viii. n. 60. Athen. in deoprosoph. l. xi. p. 471.* (33) *Suid. ubi sup.* (34) *Polyb. l. xii.* (35) *Idem ibid. & l. ii. p. 105.*

Hannibal the *Egestines*, marched to *Selinus*, which city he immediately *lays siege to* caused to be invested, and began to batter the walls with incredible *Selinus*.

it is evident from *Diodorus*, that upon *Hannibal's* marching to *Himera*, immediately after the reduction of *Selinus*, his army consisted but of an hundred thousand men; for he was joined by twenty thousand *Sicani* on his march, and, upon his arrival before *Himera*, his army, including both camps, amounted but to an hundred and twenty thousand men. Since therefore we cannot well suppose the *Carthaginians* to have lost above ten or twenty thousand men before *Selinus*, because the siege of that place was a very short one, it will follow, that when *Hannibal* first invested *Selinus*, his army, in all probability, consisted of about an hundred and ten, or an hundred and twenty thousand men, nearly as *Timæus* related. It is certain *Diodorus* very well agrees with this historian; for that author tells us, *Hannibal's* army, upon his laying siege to *Himera*, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand men, as above-mentioned. However therefore in words he may have extolled *Ephorus*, and depreciated *Timæus*, yet, in fact and reality, he, in this place, as well as several others that might be recited, preferred the latter to the former. Both *Diodorus* and *Cicero* (36) celebrated his learning and eloquence, the last of which was of the *Asiatic* kind. *Plutarch* (37) entertained different sentiments of his style; and *Longinus* censures him for his affectation and puerility therein, as well as the eager desire he shews to reprehend the vices of others, while he is blind to his own. However, *M. Bayle* has plainly proved, that the instances (38) produced by *Longinus*, in support of his criticism, do not come up to the point, and that he deserved censure in this particular, rather than *Timæus*. *Longinus* owned, that sometimes he came up to the lofty and sublime style, had a great share of knowledge, and expressed himself very judiciously; but still he seems to us to have been so much prejudiced against our historian, on account of the numerous instances of ill-nature visible in the latter part of his work, that he had rather too strong a disposition to discover blemishes in him; which made him copy after *Cecilius* in finding imaginary faults, and thereby fall into the very same crime he condemned *Timæus* for. He lived to a very old age (39), some say, ninety-six years. According to *Polybius* (40), he lived a sedentary life, which, in the opinion of that historian, must have disqualified him for writing history. *Plutarch* informs us (41), that he fell into the follies of *Xenarchus* in several parts of his works, in drawing good or bad omens from the most minute, and even ridiculous, circumstances. *Cicero* (42) puts him on a level with *Herodo-*

(36) *Diod. Sic. l. v. sub init. Cic. de orat. l. ii. & in Bruto, sub fin.* (37) *Plut. in Nic. Longin. πρὸς τὸν ὁμιλ. c. 3.* (38) *Bayle, in dict. hist. & crit.* (39) *Lucian. in macrobiis, p. 642. tit. 2.* (40) *Polyb. l. xii.* (41) *Plut. ubi supra.* (42) *Cic. de orat. l. ii. Vide & Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl. 244. Aut. Gell. l. xi. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. &c.*

dible fury. In his way he took *Emporium*, a town seated on the river *Mazara* (G), by storm; and having closely begirt *Selinus* with his army, which he divided into two parts, he formed the siege of that city. In order to push this on with the greater vigour, he erected six high towers, and brought as many battering-rams to the town. His slingers and darters likewise greatly annoyed the besieged, by forcing them from many fortified posts. The *Selinuntines*, little expecting such a visit from the *Carthaginians*, as having been the only people of *Sicily* who sided with them against *Gelon*, and having long been disused to sieges, were struck with great terror at the approach of so formidable an army, and the resolution with which they carried on their attacks. However, as they had good reason to expect, that the *Syracusians* and their other confederates would send them speedy succours, they defended themselves with great bravery. They all joined together as one man in their efforts to repel so barbarous and ungrateful an enemy; even the men worn out with age, women and children, regardless of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their country *.

IN order to inspire his troops with courage, *Hannibal* promised them the plunder of the place, by which they were greatly animated. The walls being incessantly battered day and night

* EPHORUS & TIMEUS SICULUS apud DIOD. SIC. l. xiii.

tus, Thucydides, Philistus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Xenophon, and Callisthenes. That he was superior, in point of authority, to *Ephorus*, when he treated of the affairs of *Sicily*, we think pretty evident from what we have just advanced, which we remember not to have seen taken notice of by any other author.

(G) *Rhodomannus*, in his *Latin* version of *Diodorus*, calls this river *Mazarus*; but we chuse rather to follow *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Diodorus* himself, who give it a feminine termination. Some believe the word *emporium* here not to be a proper, but a common, name; and we are inclined to come into this opinion. The name of this town, we believe, was *Mazara*; for *Stephanus* tells us, *Mazara* was a castle or fortress of the *Selinuntines*. Nothing was more common than to give rivers, and the fortresses seated on them, the same names, and that even in *Sicily* itself. To wave all other instances at present, it may be sufficient to observe, that *Gela*, a city of great note in this island, had a river of the same name running close by its walls. On or near this spot there is a fine city, called *Mazara*, at this day, but no monuments of antiquity, according to *Fazellus*, are found near it. However, as it retains the old name of the river, and of *Stephanus's* *Selinuntine* castle, it seems to point out the true name of the town *Hannibal* took by storm on his march to *Selinus*.

by

by the rams and other warlike engines, a breach was soon made, and the first who entered it were the *Campanians*, out of an ambition of distinguishing themselves above the rest; but they were repulsed with great loss, as were the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* sent to support them. The fight lasted from noon to night, when *Hannibal* sounded the retreat. In the mean time the *Selinuntines* sent expresses to *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, and *Syracuse*, acquainting them, that, without speedy assistance, it would be impossible for the garison of *Selinus* to defend itself against so numerous an army, provided with such a train of battering engines. The *Agrigentines* and *Geleans* held themselves in readiness to march; but, however, thought it proper to wait for the *Syracusan* auxiliaries, that they might more successfully fall upon the enemy with their united forces. The *Syracusians* also, having certain advice, that *Selinus* was besieged, immediately struck up a peace with the *Chalcideans*, with whom they were then at war, and drew together what forces they could; but as they did not think them sufficient to relieve effectually the besieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for some days, till they had got together a stronger force. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* pressed the siege with the utmost vigour. *Hannibal*, as soon as it was light, renewing the assault, possessed himself of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another, which his rams had opened near it; and, after removing the rubbish, with the flower of his troops charged the *Selinuntines* with such fury, that he obliged them to give ground; but could not put them into disorder, nor enter the city, they fighting like men in despair. Many fell on both sides; but the *Carthaginians* were constantly supplied with fresh men; whereas the *Selinuntines* had none to reinforce them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the assault was daily renewed for the space of nine days with great courage and resolution, and with incredible slaughter on both sides. At length the besieged being quite tired out, the *Iberians*, after a sharp dispute, lodged themselves on the ramparts, and from thence advanced into the body of the town; upon which the women from the tops of the houses filled all places with cries and lamentations. The *Selinuntines*, now giving up every thing for lost, barricaded all the streets and passages, being determined to defend themselves to the last drop of blood; which occasioned a long and bloody contest. The women also, notwithstanding their first panic, sorely galled the *Carthaginians* with showers of tiles and stones thrown by them from the tops of the houses, which kept the fate of this city for some time in suspense; but the *Carthaginians* returning to the charge with inexpressible ardor,

ardor, and continually pouring fresh men into the town, the poor *Selinuntines* were at length forced to give way, and having abandoned the narrow streets, were pursued by the conquerors into the market-place, where, making a stand, they were all to a man cut in pieces.

Selinus being thus taken by storm, and the plunder of it given up to the soldiers, it is impossible to express the misery to which the poor inhabitants were reduced, and the cruelties exercised upon them by the *Carthaginians*, who, it must be owned, on such melancholy occasions as these, generally shewed themselves to be most savage barbarians. They raged in all parts of the town without restraint, rifled the houses, and then set fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children they found in them, or dragging them into the streets, put them all, without distinction, to the sword. Neither did their inhumanity rest here; they carried it so far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others, out of ostentation, bearing the heads of the slain on the points of their swords and spears. The women indeed, who fled with their children to the temples, escaped the common destruction; but this was owing to the avarice, not compassion, of the victors; for believing that these poor wretches would, if excluded all hopes of mercy, set fire to the temples, and by that means consume all the treasure and valuable effects they expected to find in those places, they did not judge it proper to drive them to a state of desperation. The ravages in the city continued most part of the night, insomuch, that every place was full of blood, horror, and confusion. The surviving matrons had the mortification to see their daughters forced to be subservient to the brutal lust of the barbarians, which, with a sense of the dismal servitude prepared for them in *Africa*, made them wish they had not survived their friends and relations. In fine, after sixteen thousand miserable wretches had been cruelly massacred, and two thousand six hundred escaped to *Agrigentum*, the city was razed, two hundred and fifty years after its foundation. The women and children, about five thousand in number, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives^r.

An instance of the Carthaginian barbarity.

THE body of *Selinuntines* that retired to *Agrigentum*, made their escape by the favour of the night, having found an opportunity of abandoning the city, before the enemy had forced the narrow passes. Upon their arrival at *Agrigentum*, they were received with great humanity and tenderness; corn was distributed to them out of the public stores; and every private per-

A body of Selinuntines escapes to Agrigentum.

^r DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

son, out of his own generous disposition, liberally supplied them with all kinds of necessaries for their subsistence.

The Carthaginians plunder the temples at Selinus.

A few days after the city was taken, three thousand *Syracusians* arrived at *Agrigentum*, on their march to *Selinus*; but understanding that the city was taken, they sent ambassadors to *Hannibal*, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him, that he would at least spare the temples. *Hannibal* returned answer, that since the *Selinuntines* had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deserved to be treated like slaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedness, had forsaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no sacrilege to strip them of their ornaments. This answer is a clear demonstration of the *Punic* genius at that time, and exactly corresponds with what *Diodorus* has related of the *Carthaginians* in this particular: "These barbarians, says that author, exceed all men in impiety; for whereas other nations, spare those who fly into temples, out of a principle of religion, not daring to be guilty of any act of violence there, lest they should offend the deity; the *Carthaginians*, on the contrary, moderate their cruelty to these persons, that they may have a better opportunity of pillaging the temples themselves." The *Syracusians* however, not acquiescing in this answer, sent another embassy, and at the head of it one *Empediones*, a *Selinuntine*, who had always been in the interest of the *Carthaginians*, and had even advised his countrymen to open their gates to *Hannibal* at his first appearing before the town. The *Carthaginian* general received him with great demonstrations of kindness, restored him to his estate, pardoned all the prisoners related to him, and even permitted the *Selinuntines*, who had fled to *Agrigentum*, to rebuild and repeople their city, and manure their lands, upon paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians* ².

Hannibal attacks Himera.

AFTER the reduction of *Selinus*, *Hannibal* marched with his army to attack *Himera*, which above all things he desired, in order to revenge the death of his grandfather *Hamilcar*, who had been slain there by *Gelon*, with above an hundred and fifty thousand *Carthaginians*, and almost as many taken prisoners. Besides, as he had already punished the *Selinuntines* for the insults they had offered his father *Gisco* in his banishment, he now resolved to take vengeance of the *Himereans*, for being the occasion of that banishment. On his march he was joined by twenty thousand *Siculi* and *Sicani*, whom he sent, with the main body of the army, to lay siege to the city, while he, with

² Idem ibid.

a body

a body of forty thousand men, encamped on a rising ground at a small distance from it. His troops being flushed with their late success, he pushed on the siege with the utmost vigour, battering the wall with his engines in several places at once; but finding this not fully to answer his intention, he undermined it and by supporting it with large pieces of timber, which were afterwards set on fire, laid great part of it flat on the ground. Upon this a warm dispute ensued, the *Carthaginians* making all possible efforts to enter the town; and the *Himereans*, having the fate of the *Selinuntines* always before their eyes, their parents, children, country, and every thing dear to them, to defend, and being moreover reinforced by four thousand *Syracusan* auxiliaries, with some troops from their other allies under the command of *Diocles*, distinguished themselves on this occasion in a most extraordinary manner; and repulsing the enemy with great bravery, immediately repaired the wall. In fine, the *Carthaginians*, having been constantly repulsed in their attacks for several days successively, were obliged for the present to desist from all further attempts to storm the town; which mortified them extremely, especially as they had not hitherto been able to gain an inch of ground^a.

THE *Himereans*, animated by this advantage, resolved not to be any longer cooped up in the city, as the *Selinuntines* had been, but to endeavour, by one strenuous effort, intirely to dislodge the enemy. Having therefore posted detachments of their garison at proper distances on the wall, to repel any assault that might be given, they made a sally on the besiegers with their whole remaining force, consisting of ten thousand men. The *Carthaginians*, little dreaming that the besieged were capable of such an attempt, at first imagined, that the confederates of the *Himereans* had drawn together all their forces, to oblige them to raise the siege; which throwing them into a very great panic, the *Himereans* for some time easily bore down all that opposed them; and tho' the *Carthaginians* afterwards not only rallied, but collected their whole force before the town, to make head against them, yet their great number, an impediment to them at the present juncture, throwing them into disorder, they incommoded one another more than the enemy. The besieged, taking advantage of this, and being moreover inspired with fresh courage at the sight of their parents, children, and friends, who, for this purpose, exposed themselves on the ramparts, charged them with such intrepidity, that they put their whole army to flight, pursuing them to the very hill where *Hannibal* was encamped. That general, seeing his army

The Himereans make a vigorous sally upon the Carthaginians.

^a Idem ibid.

*But are
repulsed.*

*The Car
thaginians
sustain a
great loss
in this
action.*

in confusion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length the *Himereans*, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole *Carthaginian* army, till they all died upon the spot ^b.

THE *Carthaginian* army, tho' victorious, was yet rudely handled, the *Himerean* troops being much more active, and better disciplined (H), and, by reason of the cruel treatment they expected from their enemies, if conquered, inspired with a much greater degree of resolution. *Ephorus* says, the *Carthaginians* lost twenty thousand men in the first action, before they were pursued to *Hannibal's* camp; tho' *Timæus Siculus* reduces this number to six thousand. As there was a very sharp engagement afterwards betwixt the *Himereans* and *Hannibal*, many more must undoubtedly have perished, though the precise number of them is not given us by any historian. According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the *Carthaginian* army, that laid siege to the town, exclusive of *Hannibal's* camp, consisted of eighty thousand effective men ^c.

AFTER this action, five and twenty galleys, which had been sent by the *Siculi* some time before to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now returning home, appeared off of *Himera*; upon which a report was spread all over the city, and the enemy's camp, that the *Syracusians*, with all their forces and allies, were coming to the relief of the city. This was so far from discouraging the *Carthaginians*, that it put *Hannibal* upon a new enterprise; for imagining that the *Syracusians* had sent

^b DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. ^c Idem ibid.

(H) Though the native *Carthaginians* were well armed and good troops, yet the *Africans* and *Numidians* were, for the most part, a disorderly rabble, very little acquainted with military discipline. These last troops always made up a considerable part of the *Carthaginian* armies, and frequently permitted themselves to be surprised by the enemy; which sometimes produced dismal effects. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Timoleon*, shews us how they were posted, and the order they observed, when the *Carthaginian* forces were in full motion to attack the enemy, and even when they engaged them. It is probable, a great part of the army besieging *Himera*, consisted of these troops, whilst that under the command of *Hannibal*, which covered the siege, was composed of the national forces (20).

(20) *Plut. in Timol. Polyb. l. xiv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 3. & l. xxv. c. 13. & l. xxviii. c. 1. Hendr. l. ii. sect. 2. memb. 1. c. 7.*

all their strength to support their confederates, he doubted not but the city must be left in a manner defenceless; and therefore, immediately imbarquing with the flower of his troops in the galleys which lay at *Motya*, prepared to sail for *Syracuse*, in order to surprise that city. In the mean time, *Diocles*, commander in chief of the *Syracusan* troops in *Himera*, a man of great foresight and penetration, advised the captains of the *Sicilian* vessels to sail with all possible expedition to *Syracuse*, lest *Hannibal* should make an attempt upon it; and this he was the more strongly induced to, since, if in another action the besiegers should cut off the best of his men, he plainly perceived, that their own city must of course fall a prey to the *Carthaginians*. He therefore thought it adviseable to leave *Himera* for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to *Syracuse* on the galleys, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought sufficient to hold out, till he, after putting his own city in a state of defence, should return. This the besieged took very ill; but not being able to prevail upon *Diocles* to alter his measures, the greatest part of their wives, children, and other effects, they took care to send on board the galleys by night, in order to have them transported to *Messana* ^d.

Diocles imbarques part of his troops for the defence of Syracuse.

As *Diocles* and his men imbarqued in a great hurry, they were obliged to leave the bodies of their companions slain in the siege uninterred. However, they carried off with them many of the *Himereans*, with their wives and children, who could not find room in the other vessels. Upon his departure, the *Carthaginians* redoubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermission. On the other hand, the besieged, believing the ships would return speedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repelling the enemy. Thus they held out against the repeated assaults and utmost efforts of above an hundred thousand men, till the very day the fleet appeared, when the *Carthaginians*, summoning all their courage and resolution, gave a general assault, and with their numbers bearing down all before them, drove the garison from the ramparts, and, in spite of their utmost efforts, entered the city sword in hand. The *Iberians* signalized themselves greatly on this occasion, being the first that forced the besieged from the walls, and entered with them pell-mell into the town. There is no sort of cruelty which the barbarous *Carthaginians* and *Iberians* did not practise on their carrying the place; all they met, without regard to sex or age, were inhumanly butchered, till the general himself put a stop to the slaughter. The houses were plundered, the temples

Which occasions the loss of Himera.

^d Idem ibid.

pillaged and burnt, after they had taken out of them those wretches who had fled thither for refuge; and the city itself levelled with the ground. *Hannibal* caused the women and children, that survived the first fury of the soldiers, to be preserved; neither durst any one offer the least injury to them: but the men, to the number of three thousand, he commanded to be carried to an eminence near the city, where his grandfather *Hamilcar* had been defeated and killed by *Gelon's* cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be cruelly massacred.

The Campanians think themselves ill used by the Carthaginians.

THUS ended this campaign, one of the most prosperous the *Carthaginians* had ever met with in *Sicily*; after which *Hannibal*, dismissing the *Siculi* and confederates, and disbanding the *Campanians*, embarked with the rest of his forces, and set sail for *Africa*. The *Siculi*, upon their dismissal, went home, as did likewise the *Campanians*; but the latter complained bitterly of the *Carthaginians*, because they looked upon themselves as slighted by that nation, tho' they had remarkably distinguished themselves in their service at the siege of *Selinus*, and indeed through the whole course of the campaign. *Himera* had stood, at the time it was razed by *Hannibal*, two hundred and forty years^e.

Hannibal, at his departure from *Sicily*, leaves some troops to protect his confederates there.

The Carthaginians make preparations for another campaign in *Sicily*.

Hannibal, upon his quitting *Sicily*, left a small body of troops with his confederates, that they might not be too much exposed to the resentment or ambition of their neighbours. After a short passage, he arrived safe at *Carthage*, loaden with the plunder he had carried off from *Selinus* and *Himera*. The whole city went out to meet him on his arrival, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things, in so short a time, than any ever before him^f.

ANIMATED by the late success in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* resolved now in earnest to pursue the design which they had ever entertained of reducing the whole island. With this view they began to make new preparations, and raise another army, committing the whole management of the war to the same *Hannibal*. But, as by reason of his great age he endeavoured to get himself excused from taking upon him the command in this new expedition, they joined in commission with him *Imilcar* the son of *Hanno*, one of the same family. These two generals being plentifully supplied with money, and impowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers

^e Diod. Sic ubi sup.

^f Idem ibid.

with

with large sums into *Spain, Libya, Sardinia* (I), and the *Balearic* islands, to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. They received likewise large succours from the princes and states with whom they were in alliance, viz. from the *Mauritanians, Numidians*, and even the nations bordering on *Cyrenaica*. Besides all which, they took a body of *Campanians* out of *Italy* into their pay, which by experience they had found to be good troops, and such as they could intirely depend upon, especially when intermixed with those of other nations. When all their forces were mustered at *Carthage*, the army was found to consist of three hundred thousand effective men, as *Ephorus* informs us; but *Timæus Siculus*, with more probability, says, that they did not much exceed an hundred and twenty thousand: a force, however, sufficient, as it should seem, to over-run *Sicily* in one campaign.

THE *Carthaginians*, in the interval betwixt the first beginning of their preparations and their embarquing for the *Sicilian* expedition, drew together, out of *Carthage* and other cities in *Africa*, all persons who were willing to transplant themselves, and with them peopled a new city they had built near the hot-baths in *Sicily*, which was from thence called by the *Greeks* *Therma*. They peopled a new city in that island, called by the Greeks, from its situation, Therma.

BEFORE the grand fleet, which was composed of a thousand transport, besides a numerous squadron of galleys, with the forces on board, set sail for *Sicily*, *Hannibal* sent forty galleys

(I) *Livy* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* armies were generally made up of a great variety of barbarous nations, of different habits, different laws, different religions, and different languages, in so much, that they did not understand one another. As the *Carthaginians* applied themselves wholly to naval affairs, they employed most of their own hands on board their ships; and the most opulent citizens did not care to expose their persons in the war, but contented themselves with enabling the state to hire foreigners in their room. They might likewise have some political views in this conduct; for by it they might imagine their state to be rendered more secure, than if their armies consisted wholly of *Carthaginian* citizens, since these could not be so intirely trusted, on account of the different powerful factions prevailing at *Carthage*; besides, such an army as we have mentioned could not easily mutiny, or revolt, since 'tis impossible so many different nations should act in concert, or form any dangerous scheme against their principals. However, *Polybius* condemns this practice, and not without reason, since it not a little contributed to the decline of the *Carthaginian* state, and once brought it to the very brink of destruction (2).

(2) *Liv.* l. xxviii. c. 12. *Polyb.* l. i. & l. vi. *Diod. Sic.* l. xx. & l. v. *Christ. Heudr.* l. ii. sect. 2. mem. 1. c. 4.

The Syracu-
sians de-
feat the
Carthagi-
nians by
sea.

Hannibal
lands his
troops in
Sicily, and
advances
to Agri-
gentum;

Which city
he besieges,
but meets
with a
warm re-
ception.

to reconnoitre the coasts, and get intelligence of the enemy. These fell in with a *Syracusan* squadron of equal force off of *Eryx*, and immediately engaged them. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last victory inclined to the *Syracusians*. Of the *Carthaginian* galleys, fifteen were sunk, and the rest, by the favour of the night, made their escape. When the news of this unexpected defeat reached *Carthage*, *Hannibal* sailed immediately with fifty galleys, designing both to prevent any ill consequences from thence to the *Carthaginians*, and to secure the passage and landing of the army^g.

UPON *Hannibal's* arrival, the whole island was alarmed, and every city of consequence, having been before apprised of the great preparations of the *Carthaginians*, expected to be attacked first. Soon after, the whole fleet arriving safe in *Sicily*, the troops landed on the coast of *Agrigentum*, and marched strait to that city.

THE *Syracusians*, and their confederates, had sent ambassadors to *Carthage* to complain of the late hostilities practised upon them by *Hannibal*, and persuade the senate to forbear sending any more troops into *Sicily*. But the *Carthaginians* returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the *Syracusians* had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. They had sent to the *Greeks* of *Italy* and the *Lacedæmonians* to solicit succours, and dispatched expresses to all the *Sicilian* cities in their interest, desiring them to unite their forces in defence of the common cause. But of all the people of *Sicily*, none were under such apprehensions as the *Agrigentines*; they seemed fully satisfied, that this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, and had therefore carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following therein the directions of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, an officer of great courage and experience. The *Carthaginians*, upon their investing *Agrigentum*, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, consisting of forty thousand *Africans* and *Iberians*, encamped on certain eminences at some distance from the town; the other carried on the siege, and fortified their camp with a wall and an intrenchment, that they might be the better enabled to repulse the sallies of the besieged. When they first sat down before the town, they invited the *Agrigentines* either to join them, or stand neuter, declaring they would be well satisfied with either point of conduct, and forbear all hostilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendship. Both proposals being rejected, they attacked

^g DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. atq; EPHORUS & TIMÆUS SICULUS. apud eund. ibid.

the town in form, expecting to meet with a vigorous resistance. And this indeed was not without reason; for the *Agrigentines* had obliged all who were capable of bearing arms, to assist in the defence of the place, and had moreover received a reinforcement of five hundred men from *Gela*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who was in high esteem at that time on account of his country, according to *Timæus Siculus*. Eight hundred *Campanians* also, who had formerly served under *Imilcar*, were taken into the service of the *Agrigentines*, and defended the hill *Athenæum*, which commanded the city, and was therefore a post of the utmost consequence. But notwithstanding these precautions, *Imilcar* and *Hannibal*, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. The machines chiefly made use of on this occasion were of surprising force; and two towers (K) were brought against the city of a monstrous size. The first day out of these they made an assault; and, after having cut off many of the besieged, sounded a retreat. However, the next night the *Agrigentines* made a sally, burnt the engines, destroyed the towers raised against them, and, after having made a great slaughter, retired in good order into the town. Hereupon *Hannibal*, intending to storm the place in different parts at once, commanded all the tombs and stately monuments, standing round the city, to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the rubbish as high as the walls. But whilst they were executing the general's orders, a religious panic seized the army, occasioned by *Theron's* monument being destroyed by a thunderbolt, which, by the advice of the soothsayers present, put a stop to the design. Soon after, the plague broke out in the army, and in a short time carried off a great number of the soldiers, and

Theron's monument destroyed by lightning, which occasions a panic in the Carthaginian army.

(K) Soon after the *Carthaginians* had invested a town they raised a mount of equal height with the walls, if not superior to them; and thereon erected moveable towers, which overtopped the highest battlements and towers of stone, either upon the walls or within the town. These moved upon wheels, and with them the besiegers gradually made their approaches towards the body of the place. They were very large, and capable of containing considerable numbers of men, and some of the smaller engines of battery, whereby the besieged were greatly annoyed. From these towers they made their assaults, and frequently stormed towns, or at least opened breaches in the walls, in order to facilitate that operation. *Justus Lipsius* gives us a minute and particular account of them (3).

(3) *Just. Lips. polior. l. ii. c. 3, 4, &c. Vide etiam Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Sil. Ital. l. i. & Cæsar. Hædr. l. ii. sect. 2. memb. 1. c. 9.*

the general *Hannibal* himself. The *Carthaginian* soothsayers above-mentioned interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Nay, some of the soldiers upon guard affirmed, that they saw in the night-time the ghosts of the deceased. Wherefore *Imilcar*, in whom the whole power was now vested, ordered supplications to be made, according to the practice of *Carthage*, and the demolition of the tombs to be intirely discontinued. A boy was also sacrificed to *Saturn*, in compliance with a custom which had from remote antiquity prevailed amongst the *Carthaginians*: by his orders *Neptune* likewise was appeased, and several priests thrown into the sea, as the most pleasing victims to that deity. *Imilcar* having, as he imagined, by these cruelties atoned for the sacrileges of *Hannibal*, and pacified the gods, renewed the assaults with more vigour than ever, filled the river with rubbish close to the walls, by which means he brought up his engines nearer the place, and played with them upon the town in such a manner as reduced the besieged to great straits^b.

The Syracu-
sians
send an ar-
my to ob-
lige him to
raise the
siege.

Which is
attacked
by the Car-
thaginians,
but
d feats
them.

IN the mean time, the *Syracusians* taking into consideration the deplorable condition of *Agrigentum*, and fearing it would undergo the same fate that *Himera* and *Selinus* had done, began to think in earnest of marching to its relief. Having therefore drawn together the forces of their confederates from *Italy* and *Messana*, and being joined by the *Camarineans*, *Geleans*, and others out of the heart of the country, upon a review of their troops, they found them to amount to above thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. Judging these sufficient for their purpose, they gave orders to *Daphneus*, their general, to advance at the head of them immediately into the territory of the *Agrigentines*, a fleet of thirty galleys, which sailed close by the shore, at the same time keeping pace with him. *Imilcar*, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the *Iberians* and *Campanians*, with forty thousand *Carthaginians*, injoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river *Himera*. Pursuant to his orders, the *Syracusians* were attacked a few hours after they had passed the river, as they were advancing in good order towards *Agrigentum*. The dispute was sharp, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemy being far superior in number to the *Syracusians*. But at length the latter carried the day, and pursued the *Carthaginians* to the very walls of *Agrigentum*. *Daphneus* fearing, lest *Imilcar* should take advantage of the confusion his troops were thrown into by their eagerness in the pursuit, and thereby wrest the victory out of his hands,

^b DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

as had formerly happened to the *Himereans* on the like occasion, rallied them, and marched after the fugitives in good order to the spot they were before encamped upon, which he took immediate possession of. The *Carthaginians* lost six thousand men in this actionⁱ (L).

THE *Carthaginians* escaped a total defeat, either through the fear or corruption, as it should seem, of the *Agrigentine* commanders. For the besieged, seeing them fly to that part of *The Agri-* their camp that lay next to the town in the utmost confusion, *gentine* immediately concluded, that they were routed; and therefore *command-* pressed their officers to sally out upon them without loss of time, *ers guilty* that they might complete their ruin. They were, however, *of a false* deaf to these solicitations, and would not permit a man to stir *step, which* out of the town. To what motive such an unaccountable pro- *occasions* cedure was to be attributed, is hard to say; however, the fu- *the loss of* gitives were hereby saved, and arrived safe in their other camp. *the place.* This fatal step could never afterwards be retrieved, but was followed by the loss of the city^k.

UPON *Daphneus's* arrival, a great part of the garison, with *Dexippus* at the head of them, waited upon him, and a council of war was immediately held. Every one here shewed himself highly dissatisfied, that so fair an opportunity had been lost of taking a full revenge of the enemy, and destroying so many myriads of them. Hereupon great disputes arose, insomuch, that four *A mutiny,* of the *Agrigentine* commanders, at the instigation of one *Menes, wherein* a *Camarinean*, were stoned by the enraged multitude, and a *four of* fifth, called *Argeus*, only by reason of his youth, escaped. *these com-* *Dexippus* himself was highly reflected upon, and lost much of *manders* the reputation he had before acquired, by concurring with the *are stoned,* rest. After the council broke up, *Daphneus* formed a design *and a fifth* to attack *Imilcar's* camp; but finding it strongly fortified, he *narrowly* *escapes.*

ⁱ Idem ibid.^k Idem ibid.

(L) We are told by *Polyænus*, that *Daphneus* defeated the *Carthaginians* by the following stratagem: The armies being engaged, that general heard a great noise in the left wing, where the *Italian* forces were posted; and hastening thither, he found them almost defeated: upon which immediately repairing to the right wing, composed of *Syracusians*, he told them, that the *Italians* had routed the enemy; and therefore, to render the victory complete, intreated them to exert themselves on the present occasion. Animated by this good news, they immediately cried out, *Let us fall upon the enemy with the utmost fury.* Upon which, charging them with incredible bravery, they soon put them to flight (4).

(4) *Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 7.*

Imilcar
in great
straights
for want
of provi-
sions.

But sup-
plies him-
self plenti-
fully by in-
ter cepting
a Syracu-
sian fleet
of trans-
ports laden
with corn,
and all
sorts of
provisions.

altered his resolution. However, he guarded all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, intending by that means either to oblige the enemy to perish with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the passages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was soon brought to such straits, that the *Campanians* and other mercenaries began to mutiny; and going in a body to *Imilcar's* tent, threatened to join the enemy, if they had not their usual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their present want for a few days, assuring them they should be very soon plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions, and in the mean time pawned to them the drinking vessels of the *Carthaginian* soldiers. He had been informed, that the *Syracusians* were then loading many ships with corn, to be sent to *Agrigentum*, and did not in the least doubt but he should intercept the convoy, the *Syracusians* not suspecting, that he would attempt any thing by sea. Accordingly, he dispatched messengers to *Panormus* and *Motya*, where his fleet lay, injoining the commanders to man the galleys with all possible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ships that were to bring the provisions. His orders were put in execution; and forty galleys being speedily equipped, the *Syracusan* fleet, consisting of threescore transports, laden with corn and all sorts of provisions, was intercepted. Of their convoy, eight ships were sunk, and the rest driven on shore. This changed the face of affairs on both sides; for as such an unexpected relief gave the *Carthaginians* fresh courage, so it greatly disheartened the *Agrigentines*, who, having already held out for the space of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved so quickly as their present necessity required. Besides, at the beginning of the siege, when bad success attended the *Carthaginians*, they had squandered away their corn and other provisions in a very profuse manner, by which means they were now reduced to the greater distress. The *Campanians*, in the service of the *Agrigentines*, observing the desperate condition the city was in, upon receiving fifteen talents from *Imilcar*, went all over in a body to to the *Carthaginians*. *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian* also, according to *Diodorus*, was said to have been bribed with the same sum; for he on a sudden advised the *Italian* commanders to withdraw their troops out of the town, insinuating, that they were likely to be starved there, without the least prospect of rendering any service to those who had hired them: whereas, by retiring in time, they might carry on the war to greater advantage

advantage in some other part: with which advice complying, they left the *Agrigentines* to shift for themselves¹ (M).

THE mercenaries thus falling off, and the inhabitants desponding for want of necessaries, a council of war was summoned, when it was judged absolutely impossible to hold out any longer, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the soldiery and people two days. It was therefore resolved, that the city should be abandoned, and the inhabitants conveyed to some place of safety; and the following night was fixed upon for their departure. The people, being apprised of this resolution, were thereby thrown into the utmost consternation. Lamentable outcries were heard in every house; and the grief and dread they were all seized with, in seeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and estates, or else expose themselves to the fury of a merciless enemy, were inexpressible. However, though their riches were immense, yet they esteemed life still more valuable; and therefore, as they expected no mercy from such cruel barbarians, the greatest part of them gave way to unavoidable necessity. We shall not here expatiate upon the scene of horror now before us, *Diodorus Siculus* having done this in a most affecting manner, but only observe, that the place appointed for these miserable wretches to retire to was *Gela*, where, when they arrived, they were received with great kindness and humanity, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries at the expence of the public. What happened to them afterwards may be seen in a former part of this history^m.

Upon which the Agrigentines resolved to leave their city to the enemy.

¹ DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. p. 146, & seq.

^m Idem ibid. Univers. hist. vol. vii.

(M) *Polyænus* tells us, that *Imilcar* (whom he calls *Aimilco*) gave private orders to his men to fly before the besieged whenever they made a sally, in order to draw them into an ambuscade. There happened to be a wood just before the town, in which he posted a detachment of his troops, with orders to set this on fire as soon as the enemy were got at a considerable distance from the town. This stratagem had the desired effect; for the *Agrigentines* pursued the *Carthaginians* with great ardor for some time; but at last looking back towards the city, they perceived the wood all in a blaze; which they imagined was a fire issuing out of the city itself. Upon this they retired with great precipitation towards the town; but falling into the ambuscade, and being hotly pursued by the party that drew them out, they were all either killed or taken prisoners (5).

(5) *Polyæn. stratagem. l. v. c. 10. ex. 4. Vid. & Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 10. ex. 5.*

Imilcar
enters the
city, where
he commits
great cru-
elties,

THE garison was no sooner withdrawn, and the *Syracusan* army retired, But *Imilcar*, marching out of his trenches, entered the city not without some fear and jealousy, and put all those he found in it to the sword, not sparing even such as had fled to the temples. Among these was *Gellias* (M), a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity, who seeing that the *Carthaginians*, without respecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered those who had taken sanctuary in them, set fire to the temple of *Minerva*, and consumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. *Gellias*, according to *Diodorus*, was induced to this action in order to prevent three evils: first, the impiety of the enemy to the gods; secondly, the sacrilegious carrying off of the vast treasure lodged there; and, thirdly, the abuse of his own bodyⁿ.

And pil-
lages every
part of it.

Imilcar, having pillaged every part of the city, both sacred and profane, found himself master of an immense treasure. Nothing less could be expected from the spoils of a city, which was

ⁿ Idem ibid. See also Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 146. not (X).

(M) The munificence of *Gellias* may be learned not only from *Diodorus Siculus*, but *Valerius Maximus* and *Athenæus* (6). He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens of *Agrigentum* from perishing with hunger. He gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair. He had built houses in the city and country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dismissed with handsome presents. In short, *Gellius*'s riches, immense as they were, were surpassed by his greatness of soul, his treasures being, as it were, to use *Valerius Maximus*'s phrase, the patrimony of the public. No wonder then that the inhabitants of *Agrigentum*, and all the neighbouring provinces, should so ardently pray for his health and prosperity. No greater loss could have happened to that part of *Sicily* than the fatal end of so excellent a person, but the death and destruction of all those poor wretches, who should have regretted him. *Athenæus*, in all the present MSS. calls him *Tellias*; but *Nicholaus Sturio* has discovered this to be a fault of the transcribers, though it must have been a very antient one, since *Eusebius* oftener than once calls him likewise *Tellias*. What *Athenæus* has concerning him is taken almost word for word out of the eleventh book of *Timæus*'s history, and possibly *Diodorus*'s may have been deduced from the same source. The great resemblance betwixt the capital tau (T) and gamma (Γ) might possibly occasion the mistake above-mentioned; for that it is a mistake, the printed copies and MSS. of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Valerius Maximus* sufficiently evince:

(6) *Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Athen. deipnosoph. l. i. Vid. & If. Casaub. animadvers. in Athen. l. i. p. 12.*

one of the most opulent in *Sicily*, containing two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An infinite number of pictures, vases, and statues, done by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemy's hands, the *Agrigentines* having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. To give our readers some idea of *Agrigentum*, it will be sufficient to observe, that the very sepulchral monuments shewed the luxury and magnificence of this city, they being adorned with statues of birds and horses, famous for their elegance. *Empedocles*, the philosopher, born in *Agrigentum*, *Empedocles's* has a memorable saying concerning his fellow-citizens; *That* the *Agrigentines* squandered away their money so excessively every saying of day, as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built the *Agri-* with such solidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should *gentines.* live for ever. The most valuable part of the plunder *Imilcar* sent to *Carthage*; every thing else he caused to be sold under the spear. Among other curiosities, the famous bull of *Phalaris* was sent to *Carthage*°.

THE people of *Syracuse*, being prodigiously alarmed at the reduction of *Agrigentum*, had a decree passed for the raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the *Carthaginians*, who with a mighty army hovered over the frontiers. *Imilcar* having gained the city, after eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently raze it, but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the necessary refreshment. The *Sicilians* in general, as well as the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, were struck with terror at the *Carthaginian* conquests, and many of them fled to *Syracuse* for protection, whilst others transported themselves, with all their effects, to the continent of *Italy*. Those, who took sanctuary in *Syracuse*, were treated with extraordinary kindness, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among them were many *Agrigentines*, who filled the city with their complaints against the *Syracusan* commanders, as if they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the enemy's hands. This raised such disturbances in *Syracuse*, as at last gave *Dionysius* an opportunity of seizing upon the sovereign power. *Imilcar*, after laying it intirely in ruins, towards the beginning of the spring, left *Agrigentum* P.

THE *Gelaens*, receiving intelligence that the *Carthaginians* intended to open the campaign with the siege of their city, and in the mean time falling out among themselves, implored the protection of *Syracuse*; upon which *Dionysius* immediately marched to their assistance with two thousand foot and four hundred *Syracusan* soldiers. *The Syracusians* send *Dionysius* to assist the people of *Gela*.

° DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. & CIC. l. iv. in Ver. c. 33.
SIC. ubi sup.

P DIOD. ubi sup.
The Syracusians send Dionysius to assist the people of Gela.

dred horse. The *Geleans* were so well satisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent ambassadors to *Syracuse* to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending him thither. Soon after, he was appointed generalissimo of the *Syracusan* forces, and those of their allies, against the *Carthaginians*. This enabled him to give many proofs of his great capacity both in civil and military affairs, as has been already shewn, and will further appear in the sequel of this history.

Imilcar
marches
with his
army
against
Gela,

THE *Carthaginian* forces, under the command of *Imilcar*, having, on the return of the spring, razed the city of *Agrigentum*, made an incursion into the territories of *Gela* and *Camarina*; and, after having ravaged them in a dreadful manner, carried off such an immense quantity of plunder from thence as filled their camp. *Imilcar*, then marching with his whole army against *Gela*, took post on the banks of the river *Gela*, and ordering his men to cut down all the trees about the town, fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall (N), not doubting but *Dionysius* would come to the relief of the besieged with a powerful army. The *Geleans*, in the beginning of the siege, were

(N) It will be proper in this note to mention some particulars relating to the *Carthaginian* camps, which we have hitherto not had an opportunity of doing. When the *Carthaginians* were apprehensive, that the enemy would attempt to raise the siege of any place they had formed, they fortified their camp with a ditch and a wall, as we learn here from *Diodorus*. Their camps seem to have been formed in a regular manner, resembling a town, and had gates to them. The *Numidian* camp was always separated from the *Carthaginian*; the reasons of which seem to have been, that the *Carthaginians* were generally foot, but the *Numidians* horse, and that the latter could not permit themselves to be confined to the rules of military discipline so easily as the former. The general's tent was, for the most part, fixed on an eminence in the middle of the camp, being much more magnificent and superb than the others. Hither the officers repaired to receive their respective orders; and a strong guard, *Polybius* intimates a thousand horse and as many foot, were generally posted before it. Near this stood the sacred tabernacle, and the altar, where the general, and officers of distinction, performed their devotions. The *Carthaginian* tents seem to have been raised in a regular manner of wood, fascines, &c. resembling so many cottages; but the *Numidian* were the reverse, consisting only of reeds, straw, stubble, and other such-like slight materials (7).

(7) *Liv.* l. xxvi. c. 13 & l. xxviii. c. 1. *Diod. Sic.* l. xiii. *Just. Lict.* l. v. dial. 2. milit. *Rom. Polyb.* l. i. c. 45 & l. iii. c. 71. *Diod. Sic.* l. xx. *Liv.* l. xxx. c. 3. *Polyb.* l. vi. *Plutarch. in Scip.* *Lips. milit. Rom.* l. v. dial. 5. & *Christ. Hist. Carth.* l. ii. sect. 2. memb. 1. c. 7. determined

determined to send away their wives and children to *Syracuse*, as a place of greater safety; but they all, running to the altars in the *forum*, could not be prevailed upon to retire, but protested that they would undergo the same fate as their husbands and parents. This resolution encouraged the *Geleans* to exert themselves in the defence of persons so dear to them, and to whom they were so dear. They made several sallies with good success, cutting great numbers of the enemy in pieces, and bringing many of them prisoners into the town. No sooner was a breach opened in the wall by the *Carthaginian* rams (O),
but

(O) The *ram* was a battering engine used in sieges by the ancients. *Pliny* tells us it was found out by *Epeus*, a *Greek*, at the siege of *Troy*; but this is not very probable, because we find no mention made of it in *Homer*, who, if such a wonderful machine had been then known, could not possibly have omitted taking notice of it. 'Tis therefore much more likely, that the *Carthaginians* invented it, as *Vitruvius* and *Tertullian* believe, with whom *Lipsius* agrees. The *ram* was a large beam, equal to the mast of a ship, with a head of solid iron, resembling that of a ram, from whence it derived its name. This was fastened in the middle to another beam, supported by a large piece of timber on each side, by ropes, in such a manner as to be pendulous like a balance. This being drawn backwards by a great number of hands as far as possible, was then pushed forwards with as great an *impetus* as they could give it, so that the iron head beating against the walls of a city with inconceivable force, easily shook them; neither was there any wall or tower but what this, by repeated blows, was capable of battering down. As these blows, in some respect, resembled the buttings of a ram, this was a further reason for giving the machine the name of that animal. *Appian* relates, that the *Romans* battered the walls of *Carthage* with two *rams* of an immense size, one of which was played by a body of six thousand foot, and the other by a vast number of rowers, which may serve to give us some idea of this terrible engine. 'Tis mentioned by the prophet *Ezekiel* in two passages, and *Nebuchadnezzar* made use of it at the siege of *Jerusalem*. Whether the *Carthaginians*, or their ancestors the *Tyrians* (for both sometimes went by the same name), first discovered it, cannot be certainly determined, nor at what time the discovery was made; but we take *Ezekiel* to be the earliest author in whom any mention of it is to be seen. Our learned readers will find a particular and full description of the various kinds of this machine in *Vitruvius* and *Lipsius*, whom at their leisure they may consult (3).

(3) *Tercul. de Pol. Plin. Joseph. Vitruv. & Viget. apud Lipsium in poliorc. l. iii. dial. 1. & alib. Appian. in Libyc. Vitruv. l. x. c. 19. Ezek. iv. 1, 2. & xxi. 22. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Christ. Hendr. ubi sup. p. 468—475.*

but the citizens repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully shared

Now we are upon this subject, we shall here once for all give a short account of the *catapulta* and the *balista*, two other engines frequently taken notice of by the antient historians. The *catapulta* was a machine out of which the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, sent volleys of darts and large arrows, made on purpose, upon the enemy, particularly upon those parties of garisons posted on the ramparts, to prevent the enemy entering the breaches made by the *rams*. *Diodorus* intimates, that this engine was but of late invention at the siege of *Mitya*. Some authors confound this with the *balista*, which was an engine out of which stones of a vast weight were discharged; for *Diodorus* writes, that the *Carthaginians* filled *Lilybæum* with *Catapults*, out of which they threw stones; and *Appian* relates the same of the *Roman catapults*. But *Lipsius* (and he has reason on his side) makes them different machines, though he allows, that the *catapulta* discharged both stones and arrows. That author says, there were two sorts of *catapults*, the *maiores catapultæ*, and the *minores*; the first sent forth showers of darts and arrows of three cubits long, the other those of half that length. At the taking of new *Carthage* in *Spain*, an hundred and twenty large *catapults* were found there, and two hundred and eighty one of the smaller size. The *Carthaginians* always abounded with these engines: when *Pyrrhus* attacked *Lilybæum*, there was such an abundance of them at that place, that the walls would scarce contain them; and, a little before the destruction of their city, they delivered up to the *Romans* two thousand of them, according to *Appian*, or, as *Strabo* will have it, three thousand. The *balista*, as just hinted, was an engine out of which the antients threw stones of a prodigious magnitude: this was also used at sieges, and in many respects answered to the battering cannon of the moderns, only the *balista*, if we may depend upon the relations of the antients, seems to have been a machine of much greater force. According to *Lipsius*, the *balista* likewise was either *major* or *minor*; the *major* threw stones of three hundred and sixty pounds weight, and the *minor* those of an hundred. *Hegesippus* relates several surprising effects of this engine, which we have not time to take notice of. *Livy* tells us, that the *Romans* found at *Carthage* twenty-two of the larger *balistæ*, and of the smaller fifty-two. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as explained and illustrated by *Lipsius*, gives an accurate account of the antiquity, use, form, and, in short, of every thing relating to these terrible engines, to which authors, for their further satisfaction, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers (4).

(4) *Just. Lips. ubi sup. dial. 2. § 3. Vid. etiam Frid. Taubmanum in Plant. capt. act. iv. scen. ii. v. 16. Diad. Sic. in excerpt. l. xxii. c. 14. Appian. in Libyc. p. 46. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 47. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. Hegesip. l. iii. c. 12. Vide & Joseph. Laurentium de torment. c. 7, &c.*

with them the labour and danger. The young men were continually in arms, and engaged with the enemy, and the rest employed in working and other necessary services. In fine, they *And meets* defended themselves with such courage and resolution, that, *with a* though their city was but very indifferently fortified, they held *vigorous* out a long time against a most formidable army, without receiv- *resistance.* ing the least assistance from their allies ⁹.

IN the mean time *Dionysius*, by the junction of his mercena- *Dionysius* ries, and succours from *Magna Græcia* with the *Syracusians*, *advances* almost every one of whom capable of bearing arms he obliged to *to the re-* lift under his standard, formed an army of fifty thousand foot, *lief of* according to some, though *Timæus Siculus* makes them only *Gela*, thirty thousand, and a thousand horse; with which, and fifty sail of ships, he advanced to the relief of *Gela*. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the sea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. With his light-armed troops he proposed to prevent the enemy from foraging, whilst his horse and shipping should intercept all provisions coming to their camp from any part of the *Carthaginian* dominions; which he doubted not would greatly distress them. However, for twenty days he effected nothing; which much chagrining him, he resolved to attack the enemy's camp, and, in order to this, made *And at-* the following disposition of his forces: The *Sicilian* foot had or- *tacks the* ders to move towards the left, and attack the enemy's trenches; *enemy's* the troops of the confederates were to file off to the right, and *camp;* marching to the shore, attempt the camp in the weakest place; the mercenaries, under his conduct, were to advance through the town, to the spot where the *Carthaginian* engines were placed, in order to destroy them; the horse he commanded to pass the *Gela*, upon a signal given by the foot, to join them, if superior to the enemy, or, if repulsed, to support them; and lastly, the sea-officers received orders to approach as near the enemy's camp as possible with the ships, when the *Italian* troops came up. As *Imilcar* had sent a strong detachment towards the shore, to oppose the enemy's landing, and defend that part of the camp which lay most exposed, the *Italian* auxiliaries met with a great resistance. However, they behaved with such bravery, that they routed this body of troops, cut a great number of them in pieces, and advanced to the *Carthaginian* camp in good order, which they attacked with incredible fury. Had they been duly supported, they must have carried it and thereby totally ruined the enemy. But *Dionysius*, at the head of the mercenaries, not finding himself able to advance with sufficient expedition through the streets of the city to their relief, the

⁹ Idem ibid.

But is
repulsed
with great
loss.

Which
obliges the
inhabit-
ants to
abandon
the place.

Dionysius
figures
their re-
treat, and
that of his
army, by a
stratagem.

Siculi being too remote to afford them timely succour, and the garison not daring to make an effectual sally by way of diversion, lest they should leave the walls too naked; the *Carthaginians* resuming their courage, and being relieved by a powerful supply of fresh troops, soon broke them, killed a thousand on the spot, and forced the rest into a narrow pass within the lines. Here they must all have been inevitably cut off, had not a shower of darts, and other missive weapons, from the fleet, favoured their retreat. The *Sicilian* foot, in the mean time, charged a large body of *Africans* with such resolution, that they put them to flight, and pursued them to their very trenches with great slaughter; but these *Africans* being soon reinforced by the *Campanians*, *Iberians*, and *Carthaginians*, who had routed the *Italians*, and thereby were at liberty to march this way, returned to the charge with greater fury than ever, and overpowering the *Siculi*, drove them back to the town, with the loss of six hundred men. The horse finding the foot not able to withstand the efforts of the enemy, and seeing these advance on all sides in order to surround them, retired likewise to the city with precipitation. *Dionysius*, with his mercenaries, perceiving the greatest part of his army thus rudely handled, thought proper also to retreat, and take shelter within the walls. After this unsuccessful attempt he summoned a council of war, consisting of his particular friends, the result of whose deliberations was, that, since the enemy was so much superior to them in strength, it would be highly imprudent to put all to the issue of a battle; and therefore, that the inhabitants should be persuaded to abandon their country, as the only means to save their lives. In consequence of this, a trumpet was sent to *Imilcar*, to desire a cessation of arms till the next day, in order, as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of *Gela* an opportunity of making their escape. Towards the beginning of the night, the bulk of the citizens left the place, and he himself, with the army, followed them about mid-night. To amuse the enemy, he left two thousand men of his light-armed troops behind him, commanding them to make fires all night, and set up loud shouts, as though the army remained still in the town. At day-break, these took the same route as their companions, and pursued their march with great celerity. By these stratagems, *Dionysius* preserved the inhabitants of *Gela* from all insults, and secured the retreat of his army.

Imilcar finding the city deserted by the greatest part of its citizens, the garison, and *Syracusan* army, immediately entered it, and either put to the sword or crucified all he met with in it.

* Idem ibid.

He

He likewise thoroughly plundered it in the same manner as *Imilcar Agrigentum*, and then moved with his forces towards *Camarina*. *Dionysius* had before drawn off the *Camarineans* with their wives and children to *Syracuse*, by apprising them of *Imilcar's* speedy approach. Their city underwent the same fate with that of *Gela*. The manner in which it was abandoned, *Diodorus Siculus* describes in a most moving manner. But this, as well as what happened to *Dionysius* hereupon, may be seen at large in a former part of this history ¹.

Imilcar, in the mean time, finding his army extremely weakened, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by a plague broken out in it, and not thinking himself in a condition to continue the war, sent a herald to *Syracuse* to offer terms of peace to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to *Dionysius*, and a treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the *Carthaginians*. The articles of it were; that the *Carthaginians*, besides their antient acquisitions in *Sicily*, should still possess the countries of the *Sicani*, the *Selinuntines*, the *Himereans*, and *Agrigentines*; that the people of *Gela* and *Camarina* should be permitted to reside in their respective cities, which yet should be dismantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*; that the *Leontini*, *Messanians*, and all the other *Sicilians*, should live according to their own laws, and preserve their own liberty and independency, except the *Syracusans*, who should continue in subjection to *Dionysius*. These articles being ratified by both parties, *Imilcar* returned to *Carthage*, having lost above half his army. The plague afterwards made dreadful havock in *Africa*, carrying off vast numbers both of the *Carthaginians* and their allies ².

BEFORE the *Carthaginian* army retired from *Sicily*, *Imilcar* separated the *Campanians* from the other troops, and left them to defend his conquests in that island. It happened soon after, that *Dionysius* was reduced to such extremities by his subjects the *Syracusans*, that he was advised by his most intimate friends either to kill himself, or by one desperate effort force his way through the enemy's camp, and escape to those places which were subject to the *Carthaginians*. But *Philistus* (E) the historian, who

A peace concluded betwixt the Carthaginians and Dionysius.

Dionysius in imminent danger of losing the sovereignty at Syracuse;

¹ DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 153, & seq.

² Idem ibid.

(E) This *Philistus* was, according to *Suidas* (1), the son of *Archonidas*, or, as *Pausanias* calls him, *Archomenidas*, and scholar to the elegiac poet *Euenus*. He was particularly intimate with *Dionysius*.

(1) *Suid.* in Φιλίστου, & *Pausan.* in Eliac. l. v. *Diod. Sic.* l. xiv. & xvi. & *Plut.* in Dion.

who, for a considerable time, had supported *Dionysius*, opposed this advice, telling him, that he ought to resume his courage, and either

fus, and above any other person instrumental in establishing that tyrant's power at *Syracuse*; for which reason he obtained the government of the citadel there. It is suggested by some, that he enjoyed too great a degree of familiarity with *Dionysius*'s mother, tho' with his privacy. However this may be, upon his marrying the daughter of *Leptines*, brother to *Dionysius*, without imparting his design to that prince, he was banished by him, and retired to *Adria*. He was not permitted to return as long as the tyrant lived; but in the time of *Dionysius* the younger, those who opposed *Dion* had him recalled; for they were afraid, lest *Plato*, by his eloquence and philosophy, should change the tyrant's mind, which they believed (2) so learned a man as *Philistus* would be able to prevent, especially as he was perfectly well acquainted with the manner of adapting himself to the tyrant's disposition. He answered their expectations; for, as soon as he was in favour, he opposed *Plato*, and persuaded *Dionysius* to expel *Dion*. Soon after, *Dion* made war upon *Dionysius*, and besieged him in the castle of *Syracuse*. *Philistus* hastened to his assistance from *Iapygia*, with a strong squadron of (3) galleys, but had the misfortune to be defeated. *Ephorus* says, he fell by his own hands, and is followed herein by *Diodorus Siculus*. But *Timonides*, who lived with *Dion* from the beginning of these commotions, informs us, that he was taken prisoner, and put to death; with whom *Timæus Siculus* in the main agrees. *Diodorus Siculus* says, he was denied burial. He may justly be esteemed to have been a man of merit, if we consider his wit, his learning, his writings, and even his bravery, which will, in some measure, appear from the account of him in the history of *Syracuse*. *Suidas* (4) ascribes to him a treatise concerning oratory; *Ægyptiaca*, or the history of *Egypt*, in twelve books; *res Siculæ*, or the *Sicilian* history, in eleven books; some orations, and one amongst the rest against *Tricaranus*, concerning the city of *Naucratis*; the history of *Dionysius* the tyrant; three books about the theology of the *Egyptians*; and a treatise concerning *Libya* and *Syria*. *Cicero* (5) highly celebrates his learning and diligence. His *Sicilian* history was the work in greatest esteem, of which, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (6), there were two parts. The first consisted of seven books, including the transactions of eight hundred years, and concluding with the third year of the ninety-third olympiad, when the *Carthaginians* took *Agrigentum*. The other begins when the first left off, that is, at the time when *Dionysius* the elder began his reign over the *Syracusians*, which was the year after the taking of *Agrigentum*. According to *Cicero* (7), he

(2) *Plut. ubi sup.* (3) *Idem ibid & Diod. Sic. l. xvi.* (4) *Suid. ubi sup.* (5) *Cic. de divin. l. i.* (6) *Diod. Sic. l. xiii.*
(7) *Cic. de orat. l. ii.*

either maintain himself on the throne, or die in the attempt. The tyrant, falling in with the sentiments of *Philistus*, resolved to part with his life, rather than the power he had acquired. In consequence of this resolution, he dispatched an express privately to the *Campanians*, and by large offers prevailed upon them to march to his relief. By their assistance he soon extricated himself out of the difficulties in which he was before involved, and afterwards became a scourge both to his own subjects and the *Carthaginians* ^u.

HAVING disarmed the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, and by that step fixed his sovereignty there, he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war with the *Carthaginians*; for he had struck up the late peace with *Imilcar* so suddenly, with no other view, than to amuse him till he had established his au-

But delivered from thence by the Campanians. He makes preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians;

^u DIOD. SIC. I. xiv. c. 3.

took great pleasure in imitating *Thucydides*; and, if *Quintilian* (8) may be credited, exceeded him in perspicuity. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* (9) made him too much inferior to *Thucydides*. However, all are agreed, that he much resembled him in the conciseness of his style. He affected this so much, that, if *Theon* (10) may be believed, he avoided digressions to an excess. *Timæus* abused him; but *Ephorus* extolled him up to the skies; for which they are both censured by *Plutarch* (11). His works, as well as those of *Ephorus* and *Timæus Siculus*, are all intirely lost. Had *Philistus's* *Sicilian* history, and his treatise concerning *Libya*, been extant, we should undoubtedly have met with many curious particulars relating to the building of *Carthage*, the first formation, growth, and decay, of the *Carthaginian* state; in short, of all the principal transactions in which it was concerned, from its earliest ages to his time. This is not only probable from the titles of those pieces, but likewise from a hint given us by (12) *Eusebius* and *Appian*. Notwithstanding he wrote a history during his banishment, he did not shew any resentment against *Dionysius* in it, but, on the contrary, flattered him, and concealed his vices. This conduct *Pausanias* (13) endeavours to excuse, or at least to palliate, by saying, that the motive to it was a desire to be recalled to *Syracuse*. Some believe *Philistus* to have been born at *Naucratis*, others at *Syracuse*, and lastly, others believe there were two historians of that name, one of whom was born at *Naucratis*, and the other at *Syracuse*. It is not very material which of these is in the right.

(8) *Quintil. l. x. c. 1.*

(9) *Dionys. Halicarn. ep. ad Pomp.*

(10) *Theon in progymnasm. c. 4.*

(11) *Plut. ubi sup.*

(12) *Euseb. in chron. ad num. dccciv.*

Vide & animadvert. Scaliger. in loc. Appian. in Libyc. sub init.

(13) *Pausan. in Attic. p. 25. Vide &*

Leff. de hist. Græc. l. i. c. 6.

thority, and found himself in a condition to attack the *Carthaginian* conquests in *Sicily* with a powerful army. The motives, that seem immediately to have prompted him to this war, were two: First, to prevent the future desertion of his subjects, many of whom retired every day with all their effects to the *Carthaginian* garisons, as well as to recover those he had lost, since he imagined, that, upon the breaking out of a rupture, the cruel treatment of the *Carthaginians* would drive them from thence. And secondly, the great prospect of success he had at that particular juncture, by reason of the deplorable ravages the plague then made in the *Carthaginian* territories. As he knew the *Carthaginians* to be the most potent nation in the west, and that, if an opportunity offered they would most certainly besiege *Syracuse*, he thought proper, by way of precaution, to fortify the hill *Epipolæ*, which commanded the town. This he did at

And fortifies the hill Epipolæ.

a vast expence, with the assistance of sixty thousand freemen and six thousand yoke of oxen. *Diodorus* tells us, that on this occasion the tyrant did not only superintend every part of the work, but frequently worked himself, enduring as much hardship and fatigue as the poorest labourer; by which means the workmen were inspired with such a spirit of emulation and alacrity, that they laboured all day and part of the night, and, which is almost incredible, in twenty days finished a wall thirty furlongs in length, and of a proportionable height, which being flanked with high towers, placed at proper distances, and built of hewn stone, rendered the place almost impregnable^w.

HAVING thus put his own city in a state of defence, he made preparations suitable to the undertaking he was going upon, being very sensible with how formidable a power he was soon to cope. His first care was to bring to *Syracuse* from all parts of *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all sorts of arms. As he found, that mercenaries came flocking in to him from all parts, his intention was to have them all armed after the manner of their respective countries, imagining that by this means they would be more capable of distinguishing themselves, and of striking a terror into the enemy. Not only the porches of the temples, but the schools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay, even private houses, were filled with workmen. The great wages which *Dionysius* paid them induced the best artificers every-where to offer him their service. He himself directed them in every thing relating to the form of the weapons they were to forge, and appointed the chief of the citizens to

^w Idem ibid. c. 4.

superintend



superintend them, with orders to promise great rewards to the diligent for their future encouragement. The art of making engines to batter walls was, according to *Diodorus*, now first brought to *Syracuse*; but the artificer's name, to whom *Dionysius* was obliged for this, is no-where told us. As he was ambitious of being superior to the *Carthaginians* by sea, he caused a vast quantity of timber for building his galleys to be brought from *Italy*, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and then shipped for *Syracuse*. Mount *Ætna* also supplied him with many fir and pitch-trees, with which it then abounded. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a prodigious number of hands, that a fleet of two hundred sail was soon ready to put to sea; to which he added an hundred and ten old galleys that were refitted. He likewise caused an hundred and sixty distinct receptacles to be made round the harbour, for sheltering his fleet from the weather, which would contain two ships a-piece; and after he had repaired an hundred and fifty old useless vessels, covered them with planks. The *Syracusians* themselves manned half of the long ships, and the foreigners, who had entered into *Dionysius's* service, the rest. In order to have his troops completely armed as soon as possible, *Dionysius* animated the artificers by his presence, by the applauses he gave them, and by his bounty, in which all the diligent part of them shared. But his popular and winning behaviour excited more strongly, than any other circumstance, the industry and ardour of these people; for those who distinguished themselves, either by their ingenuity or application, were not only sure of receiving some particular marks of his favour, but even sometimes had the honour to dine or sup with him. It is no wonder therefore, that in a shorter time than can easily be conceived, besides an immense quantity of other arms, he had got ready an hundred and forty thousand bucklers, the same number of swords and helmets, and fourteen thousand cuirasses, all of excellent workmanship. He had also prepared for service a large train of battering engines of all kinds, and an infinity of darts. As for land-forces, besides his own subjects, many soldiers came from *Italy*, *Greece*, and other countries, to list in his service. We must not omit observing here, that *Dionysius* is said by *Diodorus* to have invented the quinqueremes about this time, to which he was induced chiefly out of a desire, that the *Syracusians* should be thought to rival their ancestors in ingenuity; for being apprised, that the triremes, or three-oared vessels, were first made at *Corinth*, he was desirous the number of oars should be first enlarged by the *Syracusians*, a colony of the *Corinthians* *.

* *Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 7.*

THE tyrant, having finished his military preparations both by sea and land, and finding his army in a condition to take the field, thought proper now to open his design to the *Syracusians*. In order to which he convened the senate, and communicated his intention to them of attacking the *Carthaginian* territories instantly, and even without any previous declaration of war. In vindication of his conduct on this occasion, and to spirit up the assembly, he urged, that the *Carthaginians* were of all others the most implacable enemies to the *Greek* nation; that they had then nothing less in view than the conquest of *Sicily*, and consequently the ruin of all the *Greek* cities therein; that they would have even been at the gates of *Syracuse* before that time, had not the plague obliged them to continue in a state of inaction; that as they were then in a most deplorable condition, no finer opportunity could ever offer itself to the *Syracusians* of driving them out of the island than the present; and that lastly, if this was let slip, upon their recovering themselves, they would most certainly put their favourite scheme in execution, and deprive the *Syracusians*, as well as their neighbours, of every thing that was dear and valuable to them. The assembly, moved by so pathetic a speech, and influenced by the views of policy more than the dictates of justice, readily concurred in his opinion. The antient hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, their rage against them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding some opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their suffrages, and war was unanimously resolved on. If they were victorious, they doubted not carrying their point; and if worsted, the tyrant would be so much afraid of a foreign enemy, that he would learn to treat his subjects at home with more moderation. In short, as they fancied themselves to have a prospect of bettering their condition, however the war might turn out, they were for pushing matters to extremity without delay.

He falls upon the Carthaginians in Sicily, without any previous declaration of war.

UPON the breaking up of the assembly, *Dionysius*, in conformity to the disposition of the *Syracusians*, gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the *Carthaginians*, who then resided in *Syracuse*, and there traded on the faith of treaties. As there were many of their ships at that time in the harbour, laden with cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and, not contented with this, ransacked all their houses in a most outrageous manner: and this horrid example of perfidiousness and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of *Sicily*; nay, the *Greeks* inhabiting the

Idem ibid.

cities

cities under the jurisdiction of the *Carthaginians*, not satisfied with stripping them of their effects, thought themselves sufficiently authorised to treat the bodies of those miserable wretches with the utmost ignominy and barbarity, to inflict every kind of punishment upon them, in return for the cruelties they had formerly exercised on the natives of the country. This was the bloody signal of the war that *Dionysius* now entered into with the *Carthaginians* ^a.

It has been above observed, that great numbers of mercenaries flocked to *Dionysius* from *Greece*, *Italy*, and several other countries. The great pay he offered, drew them over in crowds; but no foreign power contributed so much to his support as the *Lacedæmonians*. From *Sparta* he received as many recruits as were necessary for the completing of his troops, which, because he apprehended the war with *Carthage* would be long and bloody, he resolved should be very numerous. That he might be intirely at liberty to act against the common enemy with all his forces, he concluded a peace with the *Rhegians* and *Messanians*. To engage the latter the more firmly in his interests, he ceded to them a large extent of territory. This he judged not ill bestowed at such a critical juncture; for the *Messanians*, being a sea-faring people, and pretty powerful, would have given no small diversion to his arms, had they joined with the *Carthaginians* ^a.

Great numbers of foreign mercenaries take on in his service.

He concludes a peace with the Rhegians and Messanians.

Dionysius, thus backed by his subjects, mercenaries, and confederates, and finding the vast project he had formed now ripe for execution, dispatched a herald to *Carthage*, with a letter to the senate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their garisons from all the *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuse* would treat them as enemies. this letter, being read first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned a general alarm at *Carthage*, which the plague had reduced to a miserable condition. However, though in want of all necessaries, they were not dismayed, but sent officers into *Europe*, with considerable sums, to raise troops with the utmost diligence. In the mean time, they dispatched orders to their garisons in *Sicily*, to observe the motions of the *Syracusan* army, and appointed *Himilco* commander in chief of all their forces ^b.

The Carthaginians levy forces to oppose Dionysius.

Dionysius, without waiting for the answer of the *Carthaginians*, agreeably to the plan he had laid down, advanced with his army towards mount *Eryx*, near which stood the city of *Motya*, a *Carthaginian* colony of great eminence. This town was defended by a citadel of great strength, and might be justly

^a Idem ibid.

^a Idem ibid.

^b Idem ibid.

Dionysius
inveſts
Motya.

looked upon as the key of *Sicily*. The reduction of it therefore, the tyrant very well knew, would be a considerable blow given the *Carthaginians*. He was joined on his march by the *Greeks* of *Gela*, *Camarina*, *Agrigentum*, *Himera*, and *Selinus*, out of the ardent desire they had to recover their liberties, and shake off the *Carthaginian* yoke. With this accession of strength, his army amounted to eighty thousand foot and above three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred long galleys, and five hundred transports, laden with warlike engines and all sorts of provisions. The *Motyans*, by reason of their attachment to the *Carthaginians*, expected the storm would fall upon them; but, in hopes of relief from *Carthage*, they were resolved to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. The city stood on a small island, about half a league from shore, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the *Motyans* cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side. In it the *Carthaginians* kept all their stores and provisions. *Dionysius* therefore opened the campaign with the siege of this place; and, after having taken a view of it with his engineers, commanded the canal between the city and the shore to be filled up with rubbish, and his galleys to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given these orders, he left his brother *Leptines*, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the siege, while he with the land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*, which, terrified at the approach of so formidable an army, all submitted, except five, viz. *Ancyra*, *Solas*, *Egesta*, *Panormus*, and *Entella*. The territories of the *Solantines*, *Panormitans*, and *Ancyreans*, he destroyed with fire and sword, and cut down all their trees. *Egesta* and *Entella* he besieged, endeavouring by repeated attacks, to take them both by storm; but not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to *Motya*, not doubting, but all other places would fall of course, as soon as he had made himself master of this.

In the mean time, *Himilco* (F), who was busy in raising men and making other preparations for the war in *Sicily*, ordered

(F) This general we have constantly called *Imilcar* in the history of *Syracuse*, through mistake; for we are now convinced, that his true name was *Himilco*. This appears not only from *Diodorus Siculus*, but likewise from *Livy*, *Polyænus*, *Frontinus*, and *Orosius*. In some editions of *Justin* he is called *Amilco*; in others *Imilco*; but that author is certainly guilty of a mistake, when he makes him the son of *Hamilcar*, who was killed by *Gelon*, and skips over a long interval of time, when he will have the destruction of this general's army

dered his admiral to set sail from *Carthage* with ten galleys, and Himilco making straight to *Syracuse*, to destroy all the vessels he should find in that harbour. What he proposed by this was, to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige *Dionysius* to send part of his fleet to the defence of *Syracuse*. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, without being discerned by the enemy; and having sunk most of the ships he found there, returned to *Carthage* without the loss of a single man ^c (G).

sends ten galleys from Carthage, to destroy the vessels in the harbour of Syracuse.

Dionysius, on his return to *Motya*, having set more hands at work, speedily filled up the canal with heaps of stones and rubbish, so that he could make his approaches as on dry land. He then perfected the rampart, brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers six stories high, rolled upon wheels, of equal height with their houses, and from thence galled the besieged with continual volleys of arrows and stones discharged from his catapults (H), an engine

^c Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

army by the plague immediately to have succeeded the death of *Hamilcar* above-mentioned. Besides, that this was not the same *Imilcar* who commanded in the preceding war, is probable from hence, that *Imilcar* there imagined his colleague *Hannibal* to have brought the plague into the *Carthaginian* army, by demolishing the tombs and monuments of the dead, which he considered as an impious action, and therefore discontinued that demolition; whereas we find, that this *Himilco* beat down the tombs which stood round the city, in order to fortify his camp, and facilitate his approaches. They were therefore probably different persons from this circumstance; but the authorities produced, without this, put the point beyond dispute (1).

(G) *Polyænus* tells us, that the admiral ordered the lights to be placed abaft, or in the sterns of the ships. that no suspicion might be given of their approach; by which means he entered the port in the night undiscovered by the enemy, and easily destroyed the vessels he found there (2).

(H) To what has been lately observed of the *catapultæ* and *ballistæ* may be added, that from the latter stones of a prodigious size were generally thrown; that the *Greek* word *πέλιν*, of which, with the preposition *κατά*, the word *κατάπέλιν*; or *catapulta* is composed, signifies, according to *Hesychius*, a dart, a spear, or javelin; and consequently gives us to understand, that these were the missive weapons discharged most frequently out of that machine. This is

(1) *Liv.* l. xxiv. c. 36. *Polyæn. stratag.* l. v. c. 10. ex. 2. *Frontin. strat.* l. i. c. 1. ex. 2. *Oros.* l. iv. *Trog.* c. xix. (2) *Polyæn. ubi sup.*

confirmed

Dionysius
attempts
to storm
Morya,

engine at that time of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. The *Motyans*, though despairing of any relief, resolved to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible, knowing they had no quarter to expect from so incensed an enemy; and therefore opposed the besiegers, notwithstanding the imminent danger they were in, with incredible bravery. They posted soldiers armed in coats of mail upon the masts of their ships, who hoisting up their main-yards, threw down burning firebrands, and tow dipped in pitch, upon the engines, which immediately set them on fire; but the *Sicilians*, presently advancing, not only extinguished the flames, but opened several large breaches in the walls, and made a general assault upon the town with such fury, that they bore down all before them. The contest now was extremely bloody; for the besiegers, thinking themselves sure of carrying the place, and being vastly desirous of taking vengeance of the enemy for the barbarous treatment their nation had formerly received from them, fought like lions; and, on the other hand, the besieged, knowing they must fall a victim to an implacable and enraged enemy, if the town was taken by storm, resolved to die valiantly in the defence of the place, and therefore behaved like men in desperation. At last, however, the *Sicilians* prevailed, and entered the city sword in hand, thinking they should now speedily accomplish their design; but herein they found themselves deceived, for the *Motyans* had finished a fortification at the foot of the walls, of equal strength with the walls themselves, which there was a necessity of carrying, before *Dionysius* could make himself master of the place. The besieged therefore, after having been obliged to abandon the walls, betook themselves to the defence of this, and gave the *Sicilians* a warmer reception here than they had met with before, destroying vast numbers of them from the top of the fortification, and the roofs of the houses adjoining to it. However, the *Sicilian* towers being of a vast height, by their assistance the besiegers advanced their scaling

confirmed by an allusion to be found in *Plautus*. Both the *catapultæ* and *balistæ* were of Syrian or Phœnician invention, and from those nations the *Jews* had them, as may be learned from *Pliny*, in conjunction with scripture. The *Sicilians* introduced them into Greece, in the time of *Agefilaus*. Upon the first sight of the *telum catapultarium*, *Archidamus*, the son of that prince, is said to have cried out, *O ye gods, all valour is now destroyed* (3).

(3) *H. fych. in voc. πάλπη Plaut. curcul. 5. 3. 11. Lips. poliorc. 3. 2. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. Plutarch. in apophth. Vid. & Jac. Perizonii comment. in Ælian, var. hist. l. vi. c. 12. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1701.*

ladders to the neighbouring houses, and by this means fought hand to hand with the besieged. The dispute was now extremely sharp and obstinate; for the *Motyans* having new life and vigour infused into them by the sight of their wives and children, who, in case of any disaster, they knew would be treated in the same barbarous manner, as their countrymen taken prisoners by the *Greeks* had already been, resolved either to conquer or die. They rushed therefore with a fury little inferior to madness into the midst of their enemies, threw infinite numbers of them headlong from the scaffolds they had erected, and, in fine, repulsed *Dionysius* with such slaughter, that he was at last obliged to sound the retreat ^d.

But is vigorously repulsed,

THE attack was repeated for several days successively in the same manner, but without any effect; for the *Motyans*, being accustomed to this way of fighting, constantly repulsed *Dionysius*, obliging him every evening to draw off. At last *Archylus* the *Thurian*, at the head of a choice detachment, in the dead of the night, getting over the shattered houses without noise, possessed himself of a very commodious post, where he made a lodgment, till *Dionysius* sent another strong body of troops to support him. The *Motyans*, seeing themselves surprised, made their utmost efforts to dislodge the enemy, so that a fierce encounter ensued. But at last the *Sicilians*, overpowering them with numbers, gave *Dionysius* an opportunity of breaking into the city like a torrent with his whole army. Every part of the town was in a moment covered with dead bodies; for the *Sicilians*, enraged at the obstinate defence of the besieged, and to retaliate the former cruelties of the *Carthaginians*, put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, those only excepted who took sanctuary in the *Greek* temples. For *Dionysius*, being desirous of selling them for slaves, in order to bring money into his coffers, and not being able to restrain the violence of the soldiery, ordered the public crier by proclamation to declare, that he would have the *Motyans* fly for refuge thither. This put a stop to the slaughter; however, the army thoroughly plundered the town, carrying off from thence an immense quantity of wealth and treasure. This *Dionysius* thought proper to permit, that he might ingratiate himself with the troops, and that they might hereby be the more readily induced to signalize themselves on all future occasions.

But at last takes the town,

And plunders it.

As many therefore of the *Motyans* as were left alive, he sold for slaves, but commanded *Daimenes*, and all the *Greeks*, who had joined the *Carthaginians*, to be crucified. As for *Archylus*, to whose bravery and conduct the taking of the place was in a great measure owing, he rewarded him with an hundred *minas*.

^d Idem ibid.

*Leaves a
garison
there, and
returns to
Syracuse.*

and all the rest in proportion to their merit. Having thus reduced the strongest city in *Sicily* subject to *Carthage*, he placed a numerous garison in it, under the command of one *Bito*, a *Syracusan*. Afterwards ordering *Leptines*, with an hundred and twenty galleys, to watch the *Carthaginians* at sea, and to make incursions into the territories of *Entella* and *Egesta*, which it was his intention to have done himself, would the season and the exigence of his affairs have permitted, summer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to *Syracuse* ^c.

THE *Carthaginians* having been surpris'd by *Dionysius*, in contempt of the faith of treaties, as above related, found it impossible to oblige him to raise the siege of *Motya*; however, they were willing to attempt, not only this, but even to carry the war to *Syracuse*. In order to which, *Himilco*, receiving advice, that *Dionysius* with his fleet was entered into the harbour, gave orders to have an hundred of his best galleys manned without delay; with which, as the *Syracusians* had no squadron out at sea to obstruct his design, he entertained hopes either of destroying or making himself master of the tyrant's whole naval force by surprise at one single blow. Could this have been effected, he would not only have relieved the place, but likewise changed the seat of the war.

*Himilco
makes an
attempt to
surprise
Dionysius's
squadron
in the
harbour of
Syracuse,*

SETTING sail therefore from *Carthage*, after a short passage, he arrived in the night on the coast of *Selinus*, and the next morning by break of day, at the port of *Motya*, where the *Syracusan* galleys were then riding at anchor. These he immediately attacked, burning and sinking several of them. *Dionysius*, not a little alarmed at this unexpected visit of the enemy, and seeing, by the dispositions they were making, his whole fleet in danger of being destroyed, advanced with his army to the mouth of the harbour; but finding the *Carthaginians* had possessed themselves of the passage, he looked upon it as too hazardous an attempt to bring his ships out of port, because the mouth being strait and narrow, a few galleys there might engage a much superior number with great advantage. Commanding his land-forces therefore to draw them over land into the sea, at a farther distance from the harbour, he by this means preserved them.

IN the mean time, *Himilco*, pressing upon those galleys that lay next to him, made all possible efforts to take or destroy them; but was vigorously repulsed, and lost many of his men by showers of darts thrown from the decks. The *Syracusan* army likewise greatly annoyed him by repeated volleys of arrows from their engines of battery; which being a new kind of weapon,

^c Idem ibid.

and doing considerable execution, struck a great terror into the enemy. *Himilco* therefore, finding that he could not bring his enterprise to bear, as judging it by no means adviseable to venture an engagement with a squadron so much superior to him in strength, left the *Motyans* (1) to themselves, and returned to *Africa* ^{But is obliged to sheer off.}.

THE following spring, *Dionysius*, drawing his forces out of *Syracuse*, made an inroad into the *Carthaginian* provinces, ravaging and destroying the country in a dreadful manner. The *Halicyæans*, terrified by this irruption, sent ambassadors to his camp to implore his protection; but the inhabitants of *Egesta*, remaining firm in their fidelity to *Carthage*, set him at defiance. Upon this, advancing with his army, he laid siege to the place; but the *Egestines*, making a vigorous and unexpected sally upon the besiegers, put the advanced guards in disorder, and set fire to their tents, which occasioned a great consternation throughout the whole camp. Several soldiers, in endeavouring to quench the flames, lost their lives, and many horses were burnt. *Dionysius*, soon after, raising the siege, roved about the country in the same hostile manner as before, and, whilst *Leptines* was observing the motions of the enemy by sea, continued his depredations without opposition. ^{Dionysius makes an inroad into the Carthaginian territories.}

SOON after the reduction of *Motya*, the news of that melancholy event arrived at *Carthage*; and the year following *Himilco* was appointed one of the suffetes there. The progress of *Dionysius* alarming the senate, they resolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and ships; to which end they dispatched officers into all parts of *Africa* and *Spain* to raise forces. When the preparations were completed, the *Carthaginian* army amounted to above three hundred thousand foot, four thousand horse, and four hundred armed chariots. The fleet, under the

^f Idem ibid. & POLYÆN. strat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 6.

(1) *Polyænus* intimates, that, upon the approach of the *Carthaginian* fleet, *Dionysius* drew off his forces from before the town, and advanced at the head of them to the shore, as near the enemy's vessels as possible. By this motion he endeavoured to encourage his soldiers and mariners. Under the promontory that formed the port, there was a tract of twenty stadia in breadth, perfectly level, and full of mud. Over this his soldiers and mariners drew eighty triremes in one day, which threw the *Carthaginians* into a great consternation. The admiral therefore, fearing the *Syracusians* would first block up his fleet in the mouth of the harbour, and then destroy it, immediately set sail, and left the *Motyans* to the mercy of the enemy (4).

(4) *Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 6.*

command of *Mago*, consisted of three hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. This is the account given by *Ephorus*; but *Timæus Siculus* affirms, that not above a hundred thousand men were transported from *Africa* into *Sicily*, who, upon their landing there, were joined by three thousand *Sicilians*. The troops being imbarqued, and the fleet ready to set sail, *Himilco* delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet sealed up, injoining them not to open them till they were out at sea, and then to observe them with all strictness. This precaution he took (and it is the first time we find it used) to prevent spies from informing the enemy of his designs. The orders were, that they should make strait to *Panormus*, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. The transports, getting out into the open sea, outailed the galleys, which kept close to the coast of *Africa*; but being destitute of a convoy, were attacked off of *Panormus* by *Leptines*, whom *Dionysius* had sent out with thirty sail against them. After a short dispute, he sunk fifty of them, in which five thousand men and two hundred chariots were lost; the rest, tacking about, had the good luck to escape. As soon as the galleys appeared, *Leptines* retired; and *Himilco*, having landed his troops at *Panormus*, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. On his march he took *Eryx* by treachery; and hastening from thence to *Motya*, reduced that important place, before *Dionysius*, who was then besieging *Egesta*, could send any forces to its relief².

Leptines
defeats the
enemy by
sea.

The Car-
thaginians
retake
Motya.

THE *Sicilian* troops were very eager for venturing a battle with the *Carthaginians*, in order to decide the fate of *Sicily* as soon as possible; but *Dionysius* thought it more adviseable to abandon the open country to the enemy; because he was at a great distance from his confederates, and began to be in want of provisions. He exhorted the *Sicani* to leave their cities, and join the army, promising them, after the conclusion of the war, a richer and more fertile country than their own, and to permit as many of them as would chuse it, to return to their former habitations. Some few, for fear of being plundered, listened to this proposal; but the greatest part of them deserted to the enemy, together with the *Halicæans*, who sent ambassadors to *Carthage*, to renew their antient alliance with that state. *Dionysius*, not meeting with a sufficient reinforcement, and in consequence of the resolution he had taken, marched with great

² DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. POLYÆN. strat. l. v. c. 10. ex 2.
FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 2.

precipitation to *Syracuse*, plundering and laying waste the country all along as he passed. *Himilco*, flushed with his success, advanced towards *Messana*, of which city he was very desirous to possess himself, on account of its situation; for being once master of it, he could easily intercept all succours sent to the enemy, either from *Italy* or *Greece*; and besides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which consisted of six hundred sail and upwards. Before he invested the city, he concluded a treaty with the people of *Himera* and *Cephalædium*, and reduced the city of *Lipara* (K), the capital of the island of that

(K) *Lipara* was the principal of the *Æolian* islands, in number seven, not far from the north coast of *Sicily*. The names of these islands were *Strongyle*, *Euvonymos*, *Didyme*, *Phœnicusa*, *Hiera*, *Vulcania*, and *Lipara* (1). According to *Diodorus*, both the island *Lipara* and its capital city received their name from *Liparus*, the son of *Auson* (2), king of these islands, who built the city *Lipara*, and cultivated all of them. The *Liparese* were antiently formidable, had a good fleet, and grew very rich, by reason of the great revenue brought them in by allum, with which mineral their island (3) abounded. Their capital city, according to *Diodorus*, was beautified with large and fair harbours, and famous for the baths in its neighbourhood, which were medicinal, and of singular service to the people of *Sicily*, when seized with any strange and unusual disease. *Pliny* makes *Æolus* to have preceded *Liparus* in this island; but *Diodorus* tells us, that *Æolus* married *Cyane*, the daughter of *Liparus*, and, in right of his wife, succeeded that prince. About the fiftieth olympiad, a colony of *Cnidians* (4), under their captains *Gorgus*, *Thestor*, and *Epithersides*, entered into a league with the antient inhabitants, and incorporated themselves with them. *Lipara* was noted amongst the antients for the great quantity of delicious fruit it produced, and is at this day remarkable for the excellent raisins it supplies several parts of *Europe* with, particularly *England*. That the inhabitants were pretty opulent in the times we are now speaking of, is evident from the contributions which *Dionysius* exacted of them, amounting to about five thousand four hundred pounds sterling. It must be observed, that *Diodorus*, not only here, but in other passages, where he mentions a talent, means the *Attic* talent, which was worth about an hundred and eighty pounds (5) of our money, and not the *Sicilian*, amounting not to above three *Roman denarii*, or a two thousandth part of the *Attic*. The island is now called *Lipari* (6), and has its capital so fortified, that it

(1) *Strab. l. vi. Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. Pomp. Mel. l. ii. c. 7. Strab. l. vi. & alib. Plin. l. iii. c. 9.* (2) *Diod. Sic. ubi sup.* (3) *Strab. Plin. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup.* (4) *Diod. Sic. ubi sup.* (5) *Fest. sub voc. Talentum.* (6) *Aristot. apud Jul. Pol. l. ix. c. 6. & Fest. ubi sup. See Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 86.*

And ad-
vance
after-
wards to
Messana.

Which
place Hi-
milco in-
vests.

that name, putting it under contribution, by which he exacted from the inhabitants thirty talents. From thence moving with his forces towards *Messana*, his fleet at the same time attending him, he encamped upon the promontory of *Pelorus*, now the *capo di Faro*, about an hundred stadia from that city. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themselves about the measures to be taken on that occasion. Some, alarmed at the great strength of the *Carthaginians*, seeing themselves deserted by their confederates, as well as in great want of their horse, which were then at *Syracuse*, and knowing that the walls were in a ruinous condition, and that they had not time then to make the necessary preparations for their defence, were for submitting to the enemy. Others were resolved to hold out to the last, and cheerfully sacrifice their lives in the maintenance of their liberties. They were encouraged to this resolution by an antient prophesy, whereby it was foretold, *That the Carthaginians should be one day carriers of water in that city.* This they interpreted, as if the *Carthaginians* should be slaves in *Messana*; and being thereby greatly animated, were determined to undergo all extremities, rather than surrender themselves to the common enemy. Their wives and children, with all their treasures, they sent to the neighbouring towns, before the place was invested ^b.

In order to prevent any incursions of the enemy, they sent a strong detachment of the flower of their troops towards the promontory of *Pelorus*, who for some time defended the frontiers. But *Himilco*, rightly concluding, that the garison must be greatly weakened by the absence of this detachment, and that the city was thereby left so very much exposed on the sea-side, that it would be no difficult matter for his fleet to enter, commanded two hundred galleys to advance towards the town. His orders were instantly obeyed, and, a north wind at that time blowing fresh, they were carried with a full gale directly into the harbour. The *Messanians*, being now sensible of their mistake, recalled their detachment; but it was too late, for the fleet had already entered, and having a great number of engines on board, battered down the walls on that side, upon which the inhabitants hastened in crouds thither to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. *Himilco*

^b Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

stood a short siege in the year 1719, when it was taken by an imperial detachment under the command of general *Seckendorf*; as was likewise the castle, whose garison of four hundred men thought proper to surrender the next day at discretion.

took

took advantage of this confusion, and attacking the city on the land-side, entered it without opposition. All those who were on the ramparts died valiantly on the spot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or fell into the hands of the enemy, or, getting into narrow creeks about the harbour, threw themselves into the sea, imagining they could reach the opposite shore; of which, however, not above a fourth part made their escape to the coast of *Italy*. *Himilco* entered *Messana* with his whole army, and, in order to render his conquest complete, proposed reducing all the forts and castles in the neighbourhood of that city; but upon taking a view of them, and finding them extremely strong, he altered his measures, and returned back to *Messana*. Here he halted a short time to refresh and recruit his army, and then marched at the head of all his forces against *Syracuse*. *And takes it.*

Himilco, considering that *Messana* was very remote from the cities held by the *Carthaginians*, and the most commodious port in *Sicily* on account of its situation, had, before his departure, ordered it to be razed, that it might be of no advantage to the enemy. His orders were executed with the utmost severity, insomuch, that there was not left one house standing in the whole city; nay, *Diodorus* tells us, that scarce any traces of it remained, the very rubbish being carried away, and thrown into the sea; which sufficiently discovered the implacable hatred *Himilco*, as well as the whole *Carthaginian* nation, bore to the *Greeks*¹. *He orders it to be razed.*

THE *Siculi* having *Dionysius* in perfect detestation, and a fair opportunity now offering of shaking off their allegiance to him, all of them, except the *Affarines*, revolted to the *Carthaginians*. *Dionysius*, being hereby deprived of the means of raising recruits, was obliged to present all the slaves and servants of the *Syracusians* with their liberty, and with them he manned sixty galleys. He received likewise a supply of a thousand men from the *Lacedæmonians*, his antient and faithful allies. Expecting that the enemy would advance into his territories, he took care to fortify the castles and forts of the *Syracusians*, and the cities in their dependence, and to store them with provisions. Those of the *Leontini*, which were his principal magazines, he rendered extremely strong, and persuaded the *Campanians* to leave *Catana*, the place he had given them to reside in, and remove to the city of *Ætna*, a fortress of great strength, for their farther security². *Most of the Siculi revolt from Dionysius.*

Dionysius, upon a review of his land-forces, found them to amount to thirty thousand foot, and above three thousand horse.

¹ Idem ibid.² Idem ibid.

Notwith-
standing
which he
advances
towards
the Car-
thaginians.

With these he took the field, and encamped near a place called *Taurus* (L), about an hundred and sixty stadia from *Syracuse*. His

(L) This *Taurus* was undoubtedly the mountain of that name, upon the declivity of which stood the famous city of *Taurominium*. According to *Diodorus* (1), a great number of *Sicilians* had fixed their habitations here before the time of this war. *Dionysius* had given the country of the *Naxians* to these *Sicilians*; but they, induced by the promises of *Himilco*, now dwelt upon this hill, which was naturally fortified. The same author adds, that, as they had settled here in times antecedent to this war, so they continued there after it, and inhabited the city called *Taurominium*, from its situation upon mount *Taurus*. We learn farther from this historian (2), that *Andromachus*, the father of *Timæus Siculus*, about forty years after the commencement of this war, assembled all the fugitives of *Naxos*, a city which *Dionysius* the tyrant had destroyed, and settled them on this hill, and that this was the origin of *Taurominium*. These two accounts seem to clash, since the first makes the foundation of *Taurominium* to have happened in the first year of the ninety-sixth olympiad, whereas the latter fixes it in the third of the hundred and sixth. The learned Dr. *Bentley* (3) takes the former to be nearer the truth, though he endeavours to make them both consistent with one another. *Cluverius* indeed prefers the latter, but in this he seems to have *Diodorus* against him; for that author calls the place *Taurominium* three several times, before he makes the least mention of *Andromachus*, viz. at olymp. XCVI. an. 1. (4) olymp. XCVI. an. 3. (5) and olymp. XCVII. an. 1. (6). However this may be, that the *Tauromenites* were descended from the *Naxians*, cannot be disputed. *Pliny* and *Solinus* say expressly, that *Taurominium* was the city which was formerly called *Naxos*. The medals of the *Tauromenites* clearly evince the same thing; for there are five several pieces in *Paruta*, that have on one side ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ, and on the reverse *Apollo's* head with this inscription, ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ, and that *Apollo Ἀρχαγέτης* was a deity of the *Naxians*, we are informed by the *Thucydides* (7) and *Appian* (8). To conclude, our author *Diodorus* himself, in the place we are now upon, just after mentioning the city *Taurominium*, observes that "*Himilco* marched with " great expedition to the afore said place of *Naxia*." Probably *Naxia* here is a corruption of *Naxos*, since, if we remember right, *Naxia*, as the name of a place, is not to be met with in any other author, nor any-where else in *Diodorus* but here. This passage seems fully to prove, not only that the *Naxians* were the progenitors of the *Tauromenites*, but likewise that, in the first year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, the city, or spot where it afterwards stood, was

(1) *Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7.* (2) *Idem, l. xvi c. 2.* (3) *Dr. Bentley in his dissert. upon the epist. of Phal. p. 182, 183.* (4) *Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7.* (5) *Idem ibid. c. 10.* (6) *Idem ibid. c. 11.* (7) *Thucyd. c. 6* (8) *Appian. de bel. civil.*

His fleet, by the accession of the sixty galleys above-mentioned, consisted of an hundred and eighty galleys. *Himilco*, upon advice of his march, advanced to meet him, his land army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coast. When the *Carthaginians* arrived at *Naxos*, they could not continue any longer their march by the sea-side, but were obliged to take a long compass round mount *Ætna*, which, by a violent eruption, had covered all the neighbouring country with burning ashes, and rendered the roads impassable by its flaming inundations. *Himilco* therefore ordered *Mago* to sail to *Catana*, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, should rejoin him with the land-forces. *Dionysius*, apprised of this, hastened with all speed to *Catana*, with a design to attack *Mago*, before *Himilco's* army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the shore would greatly encourage his own mariners, and discourage the enemy's: besides, if his fleet were worsted, both ships and men had a place of safety to retire to. This was what *Himilco* had foreseen, when, for the reason above-mentioned, his fleet and land-forces were obliged to separate¹.

Dionysius, having therefore drawn up his army on the shore, sent out *Leptines* with the whole fleet against the enemy, commanding him to engage in close order, and not to break his line upon any account whatsoever. And indeed such a salutary order could not have been too punctually obeyed at that juncture, on account of *Mago's* great superiority; for his fleet was composed of no less than five hundred ships of burden, besides a vast number of galleys with brazen beaks. The *Carthaginians*, seeing the *Greek* troops drawn up on the shore, and the navy

His fleet, under the command of Leptines, engages that of the Carthaginians.

¹ Idem ibid.

called *Naxos* or *Naxia*. As therefore it appears from another place (9) in *Diodorus*, that the city was but just built in the third year of the same olympiad, it seems clearly to follow, that *Taurominium* was founded in the first year of the ninety-sixth olympiad. This is an additional argument in favour of what *Dr. Bentley* has advanced, and, to all appearance, intirely fixes the point. We must not omit observing, that *Taurominium* stood at a considerable distance from the antient *Naxos*, the one being situated either on the declivity or top of the hill, and the other much lower towards the southern foot of it (10). 'Tis likely there might have been a town of the same name with the hill, either upon it, or somewhere near the foot of it, as we find *Ætna* was the name both of a mountain and a town in its neighbourhood. If *Dionysius* did not ascend any part of the mountain, we may suppose him to have encamped near this town.

(9) *Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 10.*
c. 10. & *Cellar. Geogr. ant. l. 1.*

(10) *Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 2. l. xiv.*

advancing

advancing in good order against them, were struck with terror, and tacking about, began to make to the shore, with a design to save themselves over land, and join *Himilco*; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they resolved to try their fortune by sea; and accordingly drawing themselves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. *Leptines*, inconsiderately advancing with thirty of his best galleys, contrary to the express command of *Dionysius*, fell upon *Mago's* first squadron, and, after a brisk action, sunk several of the ships of which it was composed; but *Mago*, coming up with the whole fleet, immediately surrounded him, upon which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, a most sharp and bloody engagement ensued.

And is defeated.

THE *Carthaginian* and *Syracusan* galleys grappling with one another (for they were so close together, that there was no room for them to strike with their beaks), the forces on board fought hand to hand, as if in a battle on land. On both sides they made the utmost efforts to board their enemies, and consequently on both sides many were thrown over-board and slain. In fine, *Leptines*, though for several hours he defended himself perfectly well, being at last overpowered, was obliged to fly, valour being forced to give way to numbers. The flight of the admiral disheartened the *Syracusians*, and gave the enemy fresh courage; the former therefore fled to the shore, where their land-forces were drawn up, but were closely pursued by the *Carthaginians*. Many, abandoning their ships, threw themselves into the sea, hoping to save their lives by swimming to the shore; but the *Carthaginian* transports, which lay near the shore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of those unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any resistance; so that the land army saw them perish, without being able to give them the least relief. The *Carthaginians* sustained great loss in this action; but above an hundred of the *Syracusan* galleys were either sunk or taken, and more than twenty thousand of their men killed in the battle or pursuit. After the action was over, the *Carthaginian* fleet anchored at *Catana*, where they refitted the *Syracusan* ships they had taken. This was done to regale the eyes and ears of the *Carthaginians* and their confederates, who could not but be highly delighted with such a trophy, as it enabled them to form some sort of an idea of the great victory they had obtained^m.

UPON this misfortune, the *Sicilians*, apprehending they should be reduced to great straits by returning to *Syracuse* and there sustaining a siege, solicited *Dionysius* to fight *Himilco*,

^m DIOD. SIC ubi sup.

alleging that an unexpected attack at the present juncture would strike terror into the *Carthaginians*, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loss. This project seemed the more feasible, as the enemy could not but be extremely fatigued with their long and hasty march; and therefore *Dionysius* at first not only listened to it, but ordered his forces to be ready to march at a minute's warning. But when he was just upon the point of putting it in execution, some of his friends remonstrating to him, that *Mago* in the mean time with his victorious fleet might possess himself of *Syracuse*, he altered his resolution, and hastened with his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. To this he was likewise strongly induced by the fate of *Messana*, which had lately been lost by such a point of false conduct as the *Sicilians* proposed to him. However, many of these, being displeased at his not falling into their measures, deserted, and either retired to the neighbouring garisons of the *Carthaginians*, or withdrew to their respective homes ⁿ.

Himilco, in two days march arriving at *Catana*, ordered the ships there to be drawn into the harbour, that they might be sheltered from the weather, which was then very boisterous and stormy. Here he halted some time to refresh his troops, and sent ambassadors to the *Campanians* at *Ætna* to excite them to a revolt, promising them large possessions, and that they should be equal sharers in all the spoils taken from the *Sicilians*. That his promises might make the deeper impression, he took care to inform them, that the *Campanians* of *Entella* had declared for the *Carthaginians*, and joined them with a considerable body of forces. In fine, he desired them to consider, that the *Greeks* of every denomination bore an implacable hatred to all other nations whatsoever. The *Campanians* were not a little moved by these promises and suggestions; but as they had given hostages to *Dionysius*, and sent the flower of their troops to *Syracuse*, they were obliged, contrary to their inclination, to adhere to the treaty concluded with him ^o.

THE *Carthaginian* general, animated with the good success that attended his arms, marched strait to *Syracuse*, with a design to besiege it; while his fleet, under the command of *Mago*, sailed along the coast, carrying great plenty of provisions for the subsistence of so numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmost consternation. Two hundred and eighty galleys laden, and richly adorned, with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a sort of triumph the great haven of *Syracuse*, and were followed by above a thousand transports with more than five hundred fol-

*Dionysius
returns
with his
army to
Syracuse.*

*Himilco
endeavours
to excite
the Cam-
panians of
Ætna to a
revolt.*

*He invests
Syracuse,
and takes
up his
quarters in
the temple
of Jupiter.*

ⁿ Idem ibid.^o Idem ibid.

diers on board; so that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain so great a navy, consisting in the whole of near two thousand sail. The fleet had scarce cast anchor, when the army appeared on the other side, amounting, according to some authors, to three hundred thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides an additional squadron, of two hundred long ships, attending them. *Himilco* took up his quarters in the temple of *Jupiter*, and the rest of the army encamped round it, about twelve stadia from the city ^p.

*He takes
by assault
the suburb
of Acra-
dina.*

BEFORE he directly formed the siege, he advanced with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, and offered the *Syracusians* battle. But finding they were prudent enough to decline accepting the challenge, he returned to his camp, well satisfied at his having extorted from them a tacit confession of their own weakness, and his superiority. At the same time he ordered an hundred of his best galleys to enter the two other harbours, viz. the little port and that of *Trogilus*, to strike more terror into the enemy, and convince them that the *Carthaginians* were likewise masters at sea. In order to gain the affection of his troops, as well as to distress the enemy, he ravaged and laid waste the country many miles round for thirty days together, cutting down their groves, and doing infinite damage to the inhabitants. He took by assault the quarter, or suburb, of the town called *Acradina*, where he plundered the rich temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, and, in short, succeeded in every measure he pursued for straitening the besieged. Elated with this run of good-fortune, he looked upon himself in effect as master of the place, though he was apprehensive, that the intire reduction of it would be the work of a considerable time. He erected therefore three forts near the sea, at equal distances from each other, one at *Plemmyrium*, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of *Jupiter*, in which he laid up vast stores of provision, and all other necessaries, that might enable him to push on the siege. In order to facilitate his approaches, and fortify his camp in the most commodious manner, he ordered all the tombs, which stood round the city, to be demolished, and amongst others that of *Gelon* and his wife *Damareta*, which was a monument of great magnificence. Being very intent on the preservation of his troops, he took care they should want nothing that was proper for their subsistence, and therefore sent transports to *Sardinia* and *Africa* for a fresh supply of corn and other provisions. In the mean time, the *Syracusians*, though greatly dejected by their late misfor-

‡ Idem ibid.

tunes,

tunes, did not despond, *Dionysius* being in daily expectation of receiving a considerable reinforcement from his foreign allies ⁹.

BEFORE the storm fell upon *Syracuse*, *Dionysius* had sent his (M) kinsman *Polyxenus* to implore the assistance of the *Italians*, *Corinthians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, against the power of *Carthage*, which alone he found himself unable to withstand. He likewise had dispatched several officers with large sums to *Peloponnesus*, to raise a body of mercenaries there. All these, returning some time after *Himilco* had sat down before *Syracuse*, brought with them, besides some land-forces, a supply of thirty galleys under the command of *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. Soon after *Dionysius* and *Leptines* went out upon a cruise, intending, if possible, to intercept some of the *Carthaginian* transports laden with provisions, of which the city then stood in great need. They were scarce out of port, when the *Syracusians* from the city spied one of the transports coming up to *Himilco's* camp, upon which venturing out with five galleys they took it. As they were sailing away with their prize, the *Carthaginians* gave them chase with forty sail, against which they advanced with their whole fleet, and engaging them with great resolution, took the admiral galley, besides several others, and sunk or damaged twenty more. The rest they pursued to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a second time. The *Carthaginians*, terrified with this unexpected disaster, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them.

The Carthaginians are worsted in an action by sea.

⁹ DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

(M) The Greek word *κνδρηνς*, which *Rhodomannus* has falsely translated *father* or *father-in-law*. It is a general term, and denotes any person who is related to another by marriage. Sometimes, however, it is equivalent to the *Latin* *socer*, and sometimes to *gener*, as we learn from *Stephanus* and *Budæus*, who produce instances of both those significations. But that it is to be used in a general sense here, is evident from *Diodorus* himself, who tells us, else-where, that *Polyxenus* was uncle to *Dionysius's* wife, and that that tyrant gave him his own sister in marriage. Such a complex relation as this cannot be expressed by any one particular word in our language, and therefore we have rendered it by the general term kintman. We mention this only to have an opportunity of suggesting to our readers, that many faults and inaccuracies are to be found in *Rhodomannus's* edition of *Diodorus Siculus*, which yet is the best we at present have: so that it were to be wished some able hand would give us a new edition of that useful and entertaining historian (1).

(1) *Steph. in thesaur. ling. Græc. Bud. in lex. ed. Bos. 1572. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. See also Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 165, & seq.*

The *Syracusians*, fastening the galleys they had taken to the poops of their ships, brought them off triumphantly to the town^r.

WHAT happened now to the *Carthaginians* verified the observation, that *misfortunes seldom come alone*. *Himilco*, who, from his first arrival in the island to this time, had been successful in every measure, and the constant favourite of fortune in all his undertakings, was soon to be reduced to the lowest degree of ignominy and disgrace, and his people to the extremest misery. All the splendor of his anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and served only to enhance his future misfortunes. This, according to the judicious reflection of our historian, may serve as a lively lesson to mankind, to teach them, that the proudest mortal, how great soever he may be, is but an inconsiderable creature, and may be blasted in an instant by a superior power. Here we may behold the *Carthaginians* from the summit of human felicity hurled down into the abyss of calamity and woe; from the most potent and formidable state in all the western parts of the world, become the most weak and contemptible of all nations, and that, as it were, in an instant. However, Providence did not so far favour the perfidious *Syracusians*, but that their enemies, though treacherous and cruel in many respects, recovered themselves, and came off with reputation at the conclusion of this war^s.

*The plague
breaks out
in the Car-
thaginian
army, and
makes
dreadful
havock
there.*

Himilco, now master of almost the whole island of *Sicily*, and expecting with great impatience to crown his other conquests with the reduction of *Syracuse*, was obliged to desist from all further operations against that city by the plague, which, breaking out in the camp, made great havock amongst his soldiers. This infection was looked upon as a punishment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, particularly those of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* above-mentioned, and demolishing the tombs round the city, which was considered as a violence offered to the dead. But, without having recourse to the extraordinary interposition of the gods, they might have ascribed it, as *Diodorus* insinuates, to natural causes; for the heats that summer, in the midst of which this pestilential distemper first broke out, were more excessive than they had ever been known in the memory of man; and the adjacent country abounded with fens and marshes, whose unwholesome exhalations, especially at that hot season, which of itself was almost sufficient to have occasioned the plague, must have had a very ill effect upon the camp, where such an infinite number of people were crowded together: and that these in fact were the two principal concurring causes of that dire malady, is apparent

^r Idem ibid.

^s Idem ibid.

from hence, that the *Athenians*, who spared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the same calamity. It began among the *Africans*, and soon spread through the whole army. As this plague was attended with some uncommon symptoms, carried off above an hundred and fifty thousand men in a very short time, and may be looked upon as one of the most malignant distempers to be met with in history, we shall beg leave here to give a brief account of it, believing that such a short digression will not be unacceptable to our curious readers ^e.

BEFORE sun-rising, the patients were seized with a convulsive shuddering, pretty nearly resembling that attending the rigor or cold fit in agues, which happens in the beginning of the paroxysm. This was in part occasioned by the fresh breezes coming off from the sea, which at that time of the morning were very piercing. As the sun advanced nearer the meridian, the cold remitted and the heat grew more intense; so that by noon they found themselves almost suffocated with heat; which made them excessively weak and faint, but gave fresh force and malignity to the disease. The south wind moreover greatly increasing the infection, they died in such numbers, that, after some time, it was impossible to inter them; nay, the persons attending the sick were cut off in such a manner, that no one durst approach the infected. In the first stage of the distemper, they were afflicted with catarrhs, swellings of the throat, &c. These were succeeded by violent dysenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all parts of the body, loathsome ulcers, &c. Some were even seized with madness and fury, falling upon all those that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. No relief could be had from the physician (A), this terrible malady eluding

*A descrip-
tion of this
most malig-
nant pesti-
lence.*

^e Idem ibid.

(A) It appears from the antient historians, that the plague raged pretty frequently amongst the *Carthaginians*, especially in their *African* dominions: and it is worthy observation, that those parts are still often-visited by that terrible malady, particularly *Algiers*, *Tunis*, &c. It is probable, that the *Carthaginians* brought the seeds of the distemper with them out of *Africa*, since the pestilence had made great havock there just before the breaking out of this war; which *Dionysius* (1) urged as a reason to the *Syracusians* for his attacking the *Carthaginians*, whom he supposed to have been thereby extremely weakened. It may be inferred from this passage, that the *Carthaginians* had physicians with them in their camps, and consequently that the art of physic was not unknown to that people.

(1) *Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 7.*

This

cluding all his art; so that those infected with it expired the fifth or sixth day in exquisite torture. *Justin* seems to intimate, that almost the whole *Carthaginian* army perished by it, and that in a manner all at once, as it were in an instant; which may serve to give us an idea of the great malignity of it. *Diodorus*, however, informs us, that a considerable body of *Africans* and *Iberians* survived this dreadful calamity; though he at the same time affirms, that an hundred and fifty thousand carcases of those who perished did not meet with any interment, and consequently insinuates, that a greater number died, since, according to the same author, the dead were buried for some time after the breaking out of the infection. It is worthy observation, that not a single person of those who attended the sick escaped ^u.

Dionysius
attacks
the enemy,
and defeats
them.

Dionysius, being apprised of the deplorable condition to which the *Carthaginians* were reduced, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking them. Having therefore manned eighty galleys, he ordered *Pharacidas* and *Leptines* to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view, having assembled his troops before the moon was up, he advanced to the temple of *Cyane*, and setting out from thence about midnight, without being discovered, arrived at the enemy's camp by the time appointed. He then detached a strong body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders to fall upon that part of the camp, which lay at the greatest distance, pretending, that the enemy there kept no guard; but his real design was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having a great aversion to him, and being ready to mutiny on all occasions. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse to retire as soon as the infantry was engaged. His orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off to a man. *Dionysius*, upon the return of the cavalry, at the same time attacked the enemy's camp, and the forts in their possession. The suddenness of the attack so surprised the *Carthaginians*, that they were some time before they could put themselves into a posture of defence, which gave

^u JUSTIN. l. xix. DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. OROS. l. iv.

This likewise in some measure appears from the worship of *Æsculapius* (2), which prevailed in the territories subject to the state of *Carthage*, though at what degree of perfection herein the students arrived, we cannot pretend to say.

(2) *Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. Serv. aliquæ multi.*

him

him an opportunity of taking the fort called *Polichna* by storm; and the horse at the same time advancing in good order, with some galleys, to that near *Dascon*, likewise carried it. By the reduction of these forts, the *Syracusians* were enabled to enter the great haven with all their fleet, and to fall furiously on the enemy's galleys anchored there. The *Carthaginians* in the camp for some time defended themselves with great bravery; but seeing their navy now in imminent danger of being utterly destroyed, many of them, abandoning the defence of the camp, hastened to the shore, to the relief of their companions on board the vessels. But all their endeavours were ineffectual; for the *Carthaginian* ships, not being able to sustain the shock of the *Syracusan* galleys, many of them were sunk at the first attack, others quite disabled, and a great number burnt and taken. The slaughter on this occasion was so dreadful, that the shore was covered with dead bodies; which afforded a melancholy spectacle to *Himilco*, and filled all the *Carthaginians* with great horror, who, bewailing their unhappy fate, were now reduced to a state of desperation. In the mean time, the camp, being deserted by the body of troops above-mentioned, was left very much exposed; which *Dionysius* taking advantage of, redoubled his efforts, and finding but a feeble resistance, soon broke into it, putting all to the sword who opposed him. After this, he moved with his forces towards the gulf of *Dascon*, where finding forty *Carthaginian* ships of fifty oars a-piece, with a great number of transports, and some galleys, he immediately set fire to them. This completed the destruction of the enemy's fleet; for the wind being at that time very high, and the cables of many of the ships burnt, they were all, excepting a few that were afterwards taken, either consumed by the violence of the flames, or, falling foul one upon another, broken to pieces. *Diodorus* says, that when the ships were all in a blaze, and the flames ascending above the masts, a most dreadful scene was exhibited, the gods themselves seeming to destroy the enemy with lightning from heaven; which punishment, he insinuates, they deserved, on account of their great impiety. Such a spirit of joy and gladness diffused itself over the whole city on this happy occasion, that old and young, women and children, in fine almost all the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, posted to the walls and eminencies in the greatest hurry, to be spectators of so glorious a victory: at the sight of which, lifting up their hands to heaven, they thanked the tutelary gods of the city, for revenging in so signal a manner the many sacrileges, which the *Carthaginians* had committed since their arrival in *Sicily*. Night putting an end to this action, *Dionysius*, with his troops, retired, and encamped

camped near the enemy at the temple of *Jupiter*, with a design to renew the fight early the next morning * (B).

Himilco
with great
difficulty
makes his
escape to
Africa.

THOUGH *Dionysius* penetrated into the *Carthaginian* camp, put great numbers of the enemy there to the sword, and even intirely ruined their fleet; yet he could not, by this last effort, oblige them absolutely to raise the siege: this he reserved to the day following. But *Himilco*, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent embassadors privately to him, offering him three hundred talents (C), all the ready cash he had then with him, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to return to *Africa*. *Dionysius* was unwilling utterly to destroy the *Carthaginians*, lest the *Syracusians*, when free from the apprehensions of so formidable an enemy, should seek to regain their antient liberty, and thereby give him fresh disturbance; but, on the other side, he knew, that neither the *Syracusians*, nor their confederates, would suffer him to grant the enemy such terms: he therefore replied, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow *Himilco*, with all the citizens of *Carthage*, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed to, *Dionysius* retired with his forces into the city, whither *Himilco* privately sent him the promised sum, and then began to make the

* DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

(B) *Polyænus* seems to intimate, that *Dionysius* amused the *Carthaginians* with some proposals for an accommodation, and at the same time offered to deliver into their hands a great number of castles and fortresses, if they would put garisons into them. The *Carthaginians*, closing with this offer, posted great numbers of their troops, according to our author, in those places; but hereby so weakened their army, that *Dionysius* found himself strong enough to attack them; which he did, and gained a complete victory. If we admit this story to be true, which perhaps our readers may scruple doing, since *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, and *Orosius*, have passed it over in silence, it is probable the stratagem was made use of after the plague had made great havock in the *Carthaginian* camp; for *Himilco*'s forces were at first so vastly superior in strength to *Dionysius*'s army, even according to *Polyænus* himself, that he might have garisoned all the fortresses belonging to the *Syracusians*, and yet have been much more than a match for *Dionysius* (1).

(C) According to what we have lately observed, this was about fifty-four thousand pounds sterling; which was no extraordinary sum for the military chest, considering what a numerous army *Himilco* commanded.

(1) *Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 9. Vide etiam Sex. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 11.*

necessary

necessary preparations for his departure. The fourth night after the agreement, *Himilco*, with forty galleys full of the citizens of *Carthage*, was ready to set sail, leaving the rest of the army behind him. But the *Corinthians*, who served under *Dionysius*, discovering, from the noise and motion of the vessels, that *Himilco* and his friends were making off, sent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered some galleys to be manned, as if he designed to prevent their retreat; but as his orders were but slowly executed, they grew impatient, and, without his permission, gave them chase; and coming up with the rear, by piercing them with the beaks of their vessels, sunk several of them. Upon the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, the *Siculi*, who joined them, dispersed, and, flying through the heart of the country, retired to their respective homes. In the mean time, *Dionysius* posted detachments at all the avenues leading to the enemy's camp, that none of those left behind might make their escape; and marching by night with his forces, took possession of it. This he met with no opposition in doing; for the *Africans*, finding themselves betrayed by *Himilco* and the *Carthaginians*, and that the *Sicilians* had deserted them, were thrown into such a consternation, that they immediately dispersed, taking a great variety of routes. Being therefore incapable of making any resistance, they either fell into the hands of the above-mentioned detachments, or surrendered to *Dionysius* himself at discretion. But the *Iberians*, keeping together in a body, sent a herald to capitulate with *Dionysius*, who took them into his service. All the enemy's baggage and valuable effects left in the camp were delivered up as plunder to the soldiery *.

THIS victory was the more extraordinary, inasmuch as, before the plague broke out in the *Carthaginian* camp, *Dionysius* found himself reduced to the last extremity, and actually consulted with his friends about the most proper method of making his escape. In this melancholy situation, his friend *Ellipides* advised him to resume his courage, and by no means to renounce his sovereignty, telling him, that the royal title would be the greatest ornament of his sepulchre. The tyrant closed with this advice, and, notwithstanding the *Siculi* had joined the enemy, by the incident above-mentioned, became victorious. *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* both omit this circumstance, though the former of those historians mentions something of this nature to have happened to the tyrant upon the revolt of the *Syracusan* army, when he was shut up in his capital city. However, *Isocrates*, an author of undoubted credit, who lived at the time

* Idem ibid. c. 7.

of the transaction, has furnished us with this fragment of history, which has likewise been transcribed by *Ælian*; so that we shall make no scruple to insert it here.

THUS ended this campaign, one of the most remarkable, for the variety of incidents and vicissitudes of fortune observable in it, to be met with in history. A large field for reflections here opens itself; but as these have been already in some measure anticipated, and as our province is chiefly confined to facts, we shall be obliged at present to supersede them. In general, however, we may remark, that all human grandeur is vanity; that Providence frequently makes use of some wicked men as its instruments in scourging of others, and consequently that villainy must be frequently triumphant; and lastly, that a strict attachment to the dictates of justice and humanity is not only laudable, but politic, in all states, how elevated soever, since a deviation from these cannot be secured by the most formidable and extensive power from a retaliation.

The Carthaginians are in the utmost consternation upon receiving the melancholy news of the total ruin of both their land and sea-forces.

ADVICE being brought to *Carthage* of the terrible fate that both the land and sea-forces of the republic had met with in *Sicily*, the whole city was overwhelmed with sorrow. Every part of it was filled with outcries and lamentations, and the people were under the same dismal apprehensions, as if the enemy had actually made themselves masters of the town. All the houses in the city, as well as the temples, being shut up, an intire stop was put to every kind of business, and even to their religious worship. This happened when the *Carthaginians* were seized with the first impressions of terror; for soon after, recovering themselves, they began to entertain hopes, that, upon the general's arrival, things might possibly turn out better than they had been represented. They did not, however, continue long in a state of suspense; for in a little time the poor remains of their shattered troops landed near *Carthage*, and confirmed the melancholy account they had before received. Upon this all the wretched inhabitants abandoned themselves intirely to despair, and, giving a full vent to their grief, made the shore ring with their groans and lamentations. In short, a greater scene of horror, except the spot of ground where the *Carthaginian* army encamped before *Syracuse*, than *Carthage* now was, cannot well be conceived.

Himilco, not being able to survive his misfortunes, kills himself.

Himilco in the mean time, landing at *Carthage*, appeared in mean and fordid attire. He was immediately met by a vast concourse of people, bemoaning their sad and inauspicious fortune. Joining with these forlorn wretches, and lifting up his hands

✓ ISOCRAT. in Archidam. *ÆLIAN.* var. hist. l. iv. c. 8. JUST. l. xix. sub fin. OROS. l. iv.

to heaven, he bitterly bewailed his own hard fate, but most of all that of his country. Afterwards impiously taxing the gods with partiality, and making them the sole authors of his misfortune, he told his countrymen, they ought to esteem it as a singular happiness, that their present calamitous condition was not brought upon them by their own ill conduct, and that the enemy could assume to themselves no merit from it: "The enemy, said he, may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. The troops we have lost did not fall by their valour, nor did they oblige those that are now arrived safe here to abandon their island by force. We return victorious over the *Syracusians*, and are only defeated by the plague. As for the baggage found in our camp, this ought not to be looked upon, as the spoils of a conquered enemy, but as moveables, which the casual death of the owners has left the *Syracusians* in possession of. No part of the disaster, continued he, touches me so much, as my surviving so many gallant men, and my being reserved, not for the comforts of life, but to be the sport of so dire a calamity. Since therefore I have brought back to *Carthage* the remaining part of the army under my conduct, I shall speedily follow those brave men, who perished in *Sicily*, and thereby demonstrate to my country, that it was not out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the troops, which had escaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which, by my more early death, they would have been exposed, that I survived them." After this, going directly to his house, and shutting the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, he gave himself the fatal stroke. This violent death *Diodorus* interprets as a signal punishment inflicted upon him, for his having so frequently violated the sanctity of temples and tombs at *Syracuse*, which, according to our author, was a crime of a most flagrant and enormous nature ².

THE fame of *Dionysius's* success being spread all over the *Carthaginian* dominions, and those of their confederates in *Africa*, the affairs of this state there were soon almost in as bad a situation as in *Sicily*. The *Africans* bore a natural hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and this was much heightened, when it came to be publicly known in *Africa*, that *Himilco* had saved only the citizens of *Carthage*, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy. Incensed therefore to the last degree, and moved with a thorough contempt of the *Carthaginians*, who now were become despicable to all their neighbours, the cities and states, which had sent them auxiliaries, took up arms, in-

The Africans revolt from the Carthaginians.

² JUSTIN. OROS. & DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

tending to take signal vengeance of them, for the late affront offered them in the persons of their countrymen. They dispatched expresses into all parts, notifying the ill usage they had met with in the most agrava ing terms ; by which means, supplies coming from every quarter, they soon assembled a considerable body of troops, with which they encamped in the fields. And now their design being publicly known, and that they had forces likewise to put it in execution, the whole country rose ; so that their army in a short time amounted to above two hundred thousand effective men. With this formidable body they immediately took their route towards *Carthage* ^a.

*They take
Tunis,
and ad-
vance into
the neigh-
bourhood of
Carthage.*

ON their march, they took *Tunis*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, which surrendered at the first summons. This gave a dreadful alarm to the citizens of *Carthage*, who now gave up every thing for lost. However, upon the approach of the enemy, they engaged them ; but were defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to retire within their walls. As the *Carthaginians*, in all public calamities, carried their superstition to a very great excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods, particularly *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose temples they had violated at *Syracuse*, and therefore considered this fresh melancholy incident as the effect of their resentment. Before, these deities had never been heard of in *Africa* ; but now, to atone for the outrage that had been offered them, magnificent statues were erected in their honour ; priests selected from amongst the most distinguished families of the city for their service ; and all their sacrifices ordered to be offered after the *Greek* manner, those *Greeks* amongst them, who were versed in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the worship of these goddesses, being appointed to officiate in this service. Having by this means sufficiently, as they apprehended, atoned for past offences to these deities, they equipped a fleet, and made all necessary preparations to reduce the rebels, and those who supported them, to reason ^b.

*But are
obliged at
last to dis-
perse.*

THOUGH the *African* forces were very numerous, yet, happily for the *Carthaginians*, they wanted a general, as well as subordinate officers, of experience, and had neither warlike engines to carry on a siege, nor provisions to support so vast a multitude ; whereas the *Carthaginians*, being masters of the sea, were supplied with every thing in great plenty from *Sardinia*. Such an army as this was like a body uniformed with a soul. As there was no discipline or subordination in it, every person might set himself up for a general, and claim an independence on the rest ; which would soon cause numberless factions

^a DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

^b Idem ibid.

and divisions amongst them, and consequently soon dissolve the whole. Thus in fact it happened with this rabble of an army; for dissensions arising therein, the famine daily increasing, and many of their leaders being bribed by the *Carthaginians* to desert, the individuals of it withdrew to their respective homes, and by this means delivered *Carthage* from one of the most imminent dangers that had ever threatened it ^c.

AFTER the late disaster in *Sicily*, *Himilco* had left *Mago* to take care of the *Carthaginian* interest there, and settle their broken affairs in the best manner possible. In order to this, he treated all the *Sicilians* subject to *Carthage* with great mildness and humanity, and granted his protection to all those who were persecuted by *Dionysius*. He also entered into alliances with several *Sicilian* cities, which had an aversion to that tyrant. Strengthened by these alliances, and receiving great reinforcements from *Carthage*, he formed an army, and made an incursion into the territory of *Messana*. Having ravaged this in a dreadful manner, he carried off the plunder, and retired to *Abacænum*, a city of his confederates, where he encamped. *Dionysius*, advancing to *Abacænum* with his army, offered him battle; which challenge *Mago* accepted, but was driven out of the field, with the loss of above eight hundred men. Upon this defeat, the *Carthaginian* general, with his broken troops, entered *Abacænum*; and *Dionysius* returned to *Syracuse* ^d.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great losses the *Carthaginians* had sustained in the course of this war, they could not forbear making new attempts upon the island of *Sicily*. Their officers were therefore sent, as usual, to levy forces in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and some of those parts of *Italy* not inhabited by *Greeks*. As they had hitherto had such bad success with their fleet, they proposed determining the fate of *Sicily* by a decisive battle in the field; for which reason they fitted out a much weaker squadron of long ships, than in any of the former expeditions. The *Carthaginians* armed all their troops on this occasion in the completest manner, and appointed *Mago*, who was defeated the year before at *Abacænum*, commander in chief, hoping the face of affairs in the island above-mentioned would soon receive a very considerable alteration.

Mago, assembling his land-forces, found them to amount to eighty thousand fighting men, with which he landed in *Sicily*. On his march through the territories of the *Siculi*, many cities fell to him; which gave him great encouragement. At last he encamped on the river *Chrysas* in the country of the *Agyrinæans*, and attempted to bring over that people to his party; but his

^c Idem ibid. c. 10. ^d DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 10.

endeavours

Dionysius
wins Agy-
ris, tyrant
of the Agy-
rinæans,
over to his
interest;

endeavours proving ineffectual, and receiving intelligence, that *Dionysius* was advancing against him at the head of twenty thousand men, he thought proper to continue some time in his camp, and put himself there into a posture to receive the enemy. In the mean time, the tyrant, being arrived in the neighbourhood of the *Carthaginian* camp, sent to *Agyris*, prince of the *Agyrinæans*, to join him with all his forces, and supply his troops with some provisions. This tyrant was next to *Dionysius* in power of all others in the island, his city containing no less than twenty thousand inhabitants. His coffers at that time were full of treasure; for he had lately put to death some of his principal subjects, and confiscated their estates. *Dionysius* therefore making him a visit, with some of his particular friends, prevailed upon *Agyris* to come into his measures; in consequence of which he received a supply of provisions and a strong reinforcement of troops. What induced *Agyris* to fall in so readily with the *Syracusan* tyrant's views was, the promise of a large extent of territory adjoining to his own, in case their arms were attended with success in this war *.

And con-
cludes a
peace with
Mago.

In the mean time, *Mago*, finding himself in an enemy's country, and reduced to great straits for want of provisions, began to be very uneasy. The *Syracusians* were for coming to a battle immediately with him; but this *Dionysius* opposed, telling them, they might ruin the enemy's whole army without striking a stroke, by starving them to a surrender. And indeed he had good reason for what he advanced; for the *Agyrinæans*, being well acquainted with all the passes and by-ways of the country, every day surprised the *Carthaginian* parties, and, after cutting them to pieces, intercepted all the provisions they were carrying to their camp. However, the *Syracusians*, being disgusted at *Dionysius*'s refusal to comply with their motion, directly quitted his camp. This threw the tyrant into a great consternation, and obliged him to manumit all the slaves, as he had done once before. Soon after, the *Carthaginians*, moved at the dreadful prospect of a famine, thought proper to send ambassadors to him, to propose an accommodation. This being as necessary for *Dionysius* in his present circumstances as the *Carthaginians*, a peace was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, without any further effusion of blood. The new treaty agreed in all particulars with the former; only by an additional article the city of *Taurominium* was given up to *Dionysius*, who driving from thence the *Siculi*, placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room. As for *Mago*, as soon as the treaty was signed, he returned to *Carthage*, leaving his allies in

* Idem ibid. c. 11.

Sicily to shift for themselves. Thus this war ended, notwithstanding the terrible blow they received before *Syracuse*, very little to the disadvantage of the *Carthaginians* ^f.

FROM this time, for nine years, the *Carthaginians* enjoyed an uninterrupted repose, at least history is silent as to any military transactions they were concerned in during that interval. But, in the second year of the ninety-ninth olympiad, *Dionysius*, meditating a war against them, formed a project of putting his finances upon (A) such a footing, as might enable him to

carry

^f Idem ibid.

(A) *Aristotle* and *Polyænus* affirm, that *Dionysius*, in his expedition to *Etruria*, had an hundred galleys, as likewise a large ship with a body of horse on board, with which making a descent, he plundered the temple of *Leucothea*, from whence carrying off seventy talents in money, besides other valuable effects, he immediately put to sea again. The same authors relate, that, upon his re-imbarquing, he was informed, that the soldiers and seamen had privately conveyed on board the fleet a thousand talents of silver; whereupon he issued out an order before he landed in *Sicily*, requiring every person to bring to him half of his treasure, upon pain of death, promising each of them the other half for his own use, in case of a compliance herewith. When the landmen and mariners brought him in their respective halves, he knew what riches remained still in their possession, and obliged them to refund those likewise (1). *Ælian* takes notice of this expedition, telling us (2), that *Dionysius* impiously carried off all the treasures of *Apollo* and *Leucothea*, and amongst other valuable moveables a silver table, placed near the statue of *Apollo*; and that the men who took it out of the temple, at the same time drank, or offered, to the god, the cup of the good *Genius*; which they did by way of joke or ridicule, that cup or health going round the company amongst the antients, after the conclusion of their meals, when the tables were taken away. We must not omit observing, that the learned *Perizonius* imagines *Aristotle's* text here to have been corrupted, and thinks it may be corrected by *Ælian*, viz. by inserting *Τροχονίστα* or *Τροχονίστα* instead of *Τροχονίστα*, and this in contradiction to the manuscripts. But we must beg leave to dissent from that great man in this particular; for that this very passage of *Ælian* is corrupted, he himself allows; nay, so corrupted, that it has embarrassed most, if not all, of those learned men, who have endeavoured to translate and explain that author, particularly *Gesner*, *Scheffer*, and *Justus Vultius*, none of whom have been able to come at his meaning. Besides, all the manuscripts of *Polyænus*, an author who did not occur to *Perizonius*, and who lived within a

(1) *Aristot. œconom. l. ii. Polyæn strat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 21.* (2) *Ælian. var. hist. l. i. c. 20. & Jac. Perizon. com. in loc. Vide & Athen. in deipnosoph. l. xv. sub fin.*

Dionysius
plunders a
rich temple
in Etruria,
And breaks
again
with the
Carthagi-
nians.

carry it on with a prospect of success. This, by the assistance of that good fortune, which had always attended him through the different scenes of his life to that time, he easily put in execution. Having fitted out sixty galleys, under colour of clearing the seas of pyrates, he made a descent in *Etruria*, and plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of *Agylla*, carrying away, besides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thousand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raised by the sale of the spoils, and, with this money, set on foot a numerous army. He now wanted nothing but a plausible pretence to break with the *Carthaginians*, for which he was not long at a loss. Observing, that the *Carthaginian* subjects in *Sicily* were inclined to a revolt, he took as many of them under his protection as would accept of it, and entered into a league with them; the consequence of which was an admission of his troops into their cities. The *Carthaginians*, being apprised of this, first remonstrated against such a proceeding, as a manifest infraction of the treaties then subsisting between them, by ministers sent to the tyrant for that purpose; but this not availing, they declared war against him ^s.

And de-
feats them
at Cabala
in Sicily.

THE people of *Carthage*, suspecting his design against their state, upon the first notice they received of his extraordinary preparations, had strengthened themselves by alliances with their neighbours, and taken all other necessary measures to secure themselves against the impending storm. Expecting to be attacked by the tyrant's whole power, they formed an army out of the flower of their citizens, which was joined by a strong body of foreign mercenaries they had engaged in their service. To give a greater diversion to the tyrant, they divided their army into two bodies, one of which they sent to *Italy*, and the other to *Sicily*; and this obliged *Dionysius* likewise to divide his forces. The main army, however, was to act in *Sicily*, under the command of *Mago*, who, soon after his arrival, was attacked by *Dionysius* at a place called *Cabala*. The encounter was rude and bloody; but at last the *Carthaginians* were overthrown, and forced to fly to a neighbouring hill, that was indeed strong by its situation, but destitute of water. In the battle they had ten thousand men killed upon the spot, together

^s DIOD. SIC. l. xv. c. 2.

very few years of *Ælian*, if he was not cotemporary with him, in the passage referred to, which was most certainly taken from *Aristotle*, have Τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῶν. This authority is of much greater weight than the testimony of *Pausanias*, in proof of there having been in antient times a temple sacred to *Apollo* at *Træzene*; which, we cannot help thinking, is little, if any thing at all, to the purpose.

with

with *Mago* their general, who behaved with great bravery and resolution, and five thousand taken prisoners. The *Carthaginians*, terrified by this defeat, and finding themselves blocked up by *Dionysius* on the hill, where they were like to die of thirst, were forced to sue for a peace. *Dionysius* answered the embassadors they sent him with great haughtiness, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate *Sicily*, and to defray all the expences of the war. These hard terms they pretended to comply with; but at the same time representing, that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they possessed in *Sicily* (B), without the exprefs orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an exprefs sent to *Carthage*. In the mean time, they buried *Mago*, who, at the time of his death, was one of their suffetes, with as much pomp and magnificence, as the present melancholy situation of their affairs would permit, and appointed his son *Mago* to command in his room ^b.

Dionysius, much elated with his good success, now looked upon himself as sovereign of all *Sicily*, not doubting but he should soon be in a capacity of giving laws to all his neighbours. But in this he was greatly mistaken; for the *Carthaginians* intended nothing less than in reality to accept of the conditions offered them. As their whole conduct on this occasion was calculated only to amuse the tyrant, till they had an opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, in the time of the truce *Mago* their new general raised and disciplined fresh troops, and improved that short interval allowed him so well, that, at the return of the exprefs sent to *Carthage*, he took the field with a powerful army. As *Mago*, though young, had, on many occasions, given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, the forces under his conduct shewed great impatience to come to blows with the enemy. Observing therefore their ardour, immediately upon the expiration of the truce, he gave *Dionysius*

^b Idem ibid. & Polyæn. strat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 1.

(B) *Polyænus* relates this in a manner something different from *Diodorus*. He says, that the *Carthaginians* pretended they had not the power of concluding a peace with *Dionysius*, without the consent of their admiral; and therefore begged they might be permitted to remove their camp into the neighbourhood of their fleet, which would enable them to comply with the conditions prescribed them. The tyrant granted this request, though against the advice of *Lep- tines*; which brought upon him the disaster here mentioned (3).

(3) *Polyæn. strat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 1.*

But is
over-
thrown at
Cronion.

battle not far from *Cronion*, and intirely defeated him (C), killing fourteen thousand *Syracusians* on the spot, and among the rest *Leptines* (D) his brother, a gallant officer, who was greatly regretted, even by those who hated the tyrant. In the beginning of the engagement, *Dionysius* had the advantage, repulsing those that charged him with great bravery; but when he heard of the death of *Leptines*, and that the body he commanded was broken and dispersed, he immediately betook himself to flight, and was hotly pursued by the *Carthaginians*. A dreadful slaughter was made of the run-aways in the pursuit; and as the enemy gave no quarter, the rest must all have been cut off to a man, had they not, by the favour of the night, found means to escape. This made the *Carthaginians* ample amends for the blow they received at *Cabala*, and left them in full possession, not only of their own towns, but also of a good part of the *Syracusan* territories. *Dionysius*, with the remains of his shattered army, fled to *Syracuse*, where he expected soon to be besieged by the victorious enemy. But the *Carthaginian* general used his victory with great moderation, and, instead of pursuing the routed enemy, retired to *Panormus*, whence he sent ambassadors to *Dionysius*, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, viz. that both parties should keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, save only that *Dionysius* should deliver up to the *Carthaginians* the city and territory

(C) According to *Polyænus*, the *Carthaginians* had a strong party in the city of *Cronion*, who were desirous of opening the gates to them. The *Carthaginian* general, being apprised of this, when the wind favoured his project, set a wood on fire, which grew close by the town, the smoke of which being driven by the wind into the face of the enemy, who lay encamped over-against him, prevented them from discovering any motion he might make. Taking advantage of this, he approached the place, and was admitted by the *Cronians* in his interest into the town (4).

(D) *Frontinus* relates, that this *Leptines* was the author of the following stratagem: he ordered a detachment of his troops to lay waste his own lands, and burn several *Syracusan* castles and villages in the neighbourhood of the *Carthaginian* camp in the night-time. The *Carthaginians*, imagining this to have been done by their own men, sent a strong body of troops out of the camp to support them; but these falling into an ambuscade, which *Leptines* had laid for them, were intirely defeated, and driven back to their camp with great slaughter (5).

(4) *Idem*, l. v. c. 10. ex. 5.
c. 5. ex. 11.

(5) *Sex. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii.*

of *Selinus*, and that part of the territory of *Agrigentum* adjoining to it, which extended as far as the river *Halycus*, and besides pay a thousand talents, to defray the expences of the war. In other respects, all former treaties betwixt the two powers were to subsist in their fullest extent ¹.

ABOUT three years after the conclusion of this last war, the Carthaginians landed an army in *Italy*, and restored the inhabitants of *Hippo*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, *Hipponium*, to their city, from whence they had for some time been expelled. This city was very antient, as being mentioned by *Scylax*, and was, according to *Strabo*, built by the people of *Locri*. The Romans called it *Vibo*, *Valentia*, and *Vibo Valentia*; but *Ptolemy* made use of the old name, following herein *Scylax* and *Strabo*. If the last author may be credited, the country about it was extremely beautiful, being covered with flowers of various kinds, of which the matrons of the place made chaplets or garlands, and and wore them in honour of *Proserpina*, who, according to an antient tradition prevailing amongst the natives, came thither on purpose to gather flowers. The citizens were undoubtedly in alliance with the Carthaginians, who made this expedition purely with a design to reinstate them in the possession of their native country; which after they had effected, by recalling the exiles from all parts, and treating them with great kindness, they returned to *Africa*.

The Carthaginians make an expedition to Italy, in favour of the people of Hippo, who are their confederates.

IMMEDIATELY after the arrival of the troops from *Italy*, *Carthage* had a most terrible calamity to struggle with: the plague broke out afresh there, and swept away an infinite number of the inhabitants. This seems to have raged with greater violence than any distemper the city was ever visited with before; for such vast multitudes were carried off by it, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The Africans and *Sardi*, encouraged by the extreme weakness to which that state was hereby reduced, attempted to shake off the Carthaginian yoke; but were at last, not without some effusion of blood, reduced to their obedience. The pestilence, we are now speaking of, was of a very singular nature; for panic terrors and violent fits of frenzy seized on a sudden the heads of those afflicted with it, who sallying sword in hand out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. *Justin* seems to intimate, that the Carthaginians laboured under such a grievous sickness as this several years, with little or no intermission; for it appears from

The Africans and Sardi rebel; but are at last reduced to their former obedience.

¹ Idem ibid.

a hint he has given us, that they were delivered from the plague not long before the death of *Dionysius* ^k.

TOWARDS the beginning of the hundred and third olympiad, *Dionysius*, assembling a great number of forces, resolved to fall upon the *Carthaginians*, who were then in a very bad situation, on account of the ravages the plague had made, and the war with the *Africans* and *Sardi*, which had not been long finished. As he had not the least colour or pretext for such an open violation of treaties, he was obliged to have recourse to a downright falsity, viz. that the *Carthaginians* made incursions into his dominions. Without putting himself to the trouble therefore of making a formal declaration of war, he advanced into the *Carthaginian* territories, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, attended by a navy of three hundred sail. With this formidable force he soon reduced the cities of *Selinus* and *Entella*, plundering and laying waste all the adjacent country. Then he made himself master of *Eryx*, and laid siege to *Lilybæum*; which, being defended by a numerous garison, baffled his efforts in such a manner, that he was obliged to rise from before it. Being informed, that the arsenal at *Carthage* was consumed by fire, he concluded, that this state would find it impossible to equip a fleet, and therefore laid up thirty of his best galleys in the haven at *Eryx*, and sent back all the rest to *Syracuse*. The *Carthaginians*, being apprised how little the tyrant was upon his guard, immediately manned two hundred galleys, and unexpectedly entering the port of *Eryx*, surprised that part of his fleet laid up there, and carried most of it off. After this, a truce was agreed upon by both parties, and the troops retired into winter-quarters. *Dionysius* did not long survive this event: having reigned thirty-eight years, he was succeeded by a son of the same name in the government of *Syracuse* ^l.

THE GREEK *language* *is expelled* *Carthage,* *on account* *of a trea-* *sonable* *correspon-* *dence car-* *ried on in* *it between* *a Cartha-* *ginian and* *Dionysius.* ^k Idem ibid. c. 3. JUST. l. xx. subfin. SCYLAX & STRAB. l. vi. Inscript. vet. apud GRUTER. p. 99. n. 1. & p. 150. n. 7. CIC. pro Planc. c. 40. & ad Attic. iii. ep. 3. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. ^l DIOD. Sic. l. xv. c. 8.

upon

upon found guilty of treason by the senate. This occasioned the passing of a law at *Carthage*, whereby all the inhabitants were forbid learning either to write or speak the *Greek* language, that they might be deprived of all means of corresponding with the enemy ^m.

WE are told by *Orosius*, that the *Carthaginians* concluded their first treaty with the *Romans* in the four hundred and second year of *Rome*, which was not far from the time we are now speaking of. But this we must by no means give credit to, because it is contradicted by *Polybius*, an author infinitely superior in point of authority to *Orosius*, who affirms, that the first treaty the *Carthaginians* entered into with the *Romans* happened in the year after the regifuge; and that this was the second. And here we cannot forbear expressing our surprise at M. *Rollin*, who quotes *Orosius* as affirming this to have been the second treaty concluded between the two republics; whereas that author expressly asserts it to have been the first. The articles of this treaty may be seen in a former part of this work, and therefore we shall not here repeat them. However, it may be proper to observe, that the people of *Utica* and *Tyre*, according to *Polybius*, were comprised in the treaty, and that the *Romans* were not permitted to build towns, or ravage the country, in any part beyond the *Fair Promontory*, *Mastia*, and *Tarseium*. The *Carthaginians*, being at this time in full possession of *Sardinia* and a great part of *Africa*, thought it consistent with justice, and even policy, to prevent all intercourse betwixt the *Romans* and these countries. From the treaty here mentioned it farther appears, that both the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* applied themselves with great diligence at this time to commerce. Soon after this event, the *Romans* gained a signal victory over the *Samnites*; upon which the *Carthaginians* sent to compliment the republic on her success, and made a present of a crown (E) of gold of twenty-five pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*,
by

Orosius
mistaken.

^m JUSTIN. ubi sup. l. iii. c. 5. MEL. l. ii. c. 4. LIV. l. xxxv. c. 40, &c.

(E) This must have been a mere compliment, proceeding from some political motive to us unknown; for it was by no means the interest of the *Carthaginians*, that the *Samnites* should be subdued by the *Romans*. The latter, at this time, began to rival the *Carthaginians* in trade; whereas the former seem to have been their good and faithful allies; at least it is certain they sometimes supplied them with bodies of auxiliary or mercenary troops, as we shall find towards the close of this section. This passage seems to intimate, that *Jupiter* was a deity well known at *Carthage*, and that his
image

by way of thanksgiving for so glorious an action ⁿ. But to return to the affairs of *Sicily*.

Dionysius
the second
comes to an
accommo-
dation
with the
Carthagi-
nians.

THE prince now upon the throne was of quite a different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprising; but this mildness and moderation being rather the effect of a slothful and indolent disposition, than of a wise and judicious understanding, his subjects from hence reaped no great benefit. Soon after his taking upon himself the government of *Syracuse*, he changed the truce with the *Carthaginians* into a perpetual peace, and made it his endeavour to cultivate a good understanding with that neighbouring state. As *Diodorus* ascribes this peace to his indolence and sloth, and consequently, in some measure, seems to upbraid him for it, we have some reason from hence to believe, that the terms of it were not very advantageous to the *Syracusians* ^o.

A war
commences
between
the Syra-
cusians
and the
Corinthi-
ans on the
one hand,
and Dio-
nysius and
the Car-
thaginians
on the
other.

SOME years after, the people of *Syracuse*, being agitated by civil dissensions, were involved in the greatest miseries (F). *Dionysius* was obliged to quit his throne, and continued an exile for ten years; but at last, the city being rent into parties and factions upon the death of *Dion*, he found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. His past misfortunes greatly inflamed his temper, and rendered him very savage and brutal. In short, the better sort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel a servitude, implored the aid of *Icetas*, who was by descent a *Syracusian*, and at that time tyrant of the *Leontini*; they created

ⁿ OROS. l. i. ad A. U. C. CDII. M. ROLLIN in hist. anc. des Carthag. p. 223. à Amsterdam, 1733. POLYB. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24. LIV. l. vii. Univers. hist. vol. xi. p. 488, 489. • DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. c. 2.

image there was adorned with a crown of gold, agreeably to what has been before observed of *Baal* in the *Phœnician* history (6).

(F) It appears from *Diodorus*, that the *Carthaginians* were at the bottom of these civil dissensions at *Syracuse*; for *Dionysius* had never been dethroned by *Dion*, had not *Paralus*, the *Carthaginian* governor of *Minoa*, a city in the territory of *Agrigentum*, supposed to have been built by *Minos*, given the latter a kind reception there, permitted him to land five thousand arms, and supplied him with carriages to convey them to *Syracuse*. This was certainly good policy in the *Carthaginians*, whose interest it was to endeavour rending the city of *Syracuse* into as many factions as possible, that the inhabitants might destroy one another, and thereby become a more easy prey to the state of *Carthage* (7).

(6) Univers. hist. vol. ii, p. 307. not. (E). (7) Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 3.

him

him general of all their forces, abandoning themselves to his conduct; not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. Besides, they entertained some hopes of his being both able and willing to protect them, as he was in some respect their countryman, and had an army able to cope with that of *Dionysius*. The *Carthaginians*, thinking this a proper opportunity to make themselves absolute masters of *Sicily*, fitted out a great fleet, and for some time hovered about the coasts of that island, not being at first determined where to make a descent. This so alarmed the *Syracusians*, that they apprehended themselves upon the brink of ruin, and in this extremity resolved to have recourse to the *Corinthians*, from whom they were originally descended, and whose assistance had several times extricated them out of great difficulties. The *Corinthians*, being the most famed of all the *Greek* nations for their professed aversion to tyranny in every shape, readily granted their request, and gave their ambassadors a most kind reception. *Icetas*, whose only view was to make himself master of *Syracuse*, in the mean time seemed to concur with these measures, though he had actually entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*. He was in hopes some domestic broils or other would prevent the *Corinthians* from assisting their relations, and then, by his complying with this motion, he doubted not he should win over to his interest those very persons who made it, which would enable him the more easily to accomplish his design. He therefore dispatched deputies himself along with the *Syracusan* ministers; but in the mean time was contriving how he could prevent the *Corinthians* from sending any forces into the island, which, according to his last treaty with the *Carthaginians*, was, after the expulsion of *Dionysius*, to be divided between him and them. However, the *Corinthians*, then enjoying a profound tranquility, were at leisure to send a body of troops to *Syracuse*, which, in a general assembly, it was resolved should be done. As the *Syracusians* in particular desired they would send them an able and experienced general, they appointed *Timoleon*, the son of *Timodemus* and *Demariste*, a person of distinguished merit, to take upon him the command of the *Syracusan* army, in conjunction with their forces, and with these he was to act against *Dionysius* and the *Carthaginians* P.

THE *Syracusan* ambassadors were scarce set out for *Corinth*, when *Icetas* took off the mask, and openly joined the *Carthaginians*, intending, by their assistance, to possess himself of *Syracuse*, and that under colour of assisting the inhabitants against *Dionysius*. But being apprehensive, that a body of forces from

Icetas endeavours to dissuade the Corinthians from sending any forces to

Corinth, Syracuse.

P PLUT. in Timol. & DION. SIC. ubi sup. c. 10.

Corinth, under the conduct of a skilful general, would defeat his measures, he dispatched an express to the *Corinthians*, acquainting them, that the *Carthaginians*, apprised of their design, were waiting to intercept their Squadron with a strong fleet; and that their slowness in sending him succours had obliged him to call in even the *Carthaginians* to his aid, and employ them against the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any further levies, or exhausting their treasures by great, but useless, expences, since he could, with the assistance of his allies the *Carthaginians*, drive out *Dionysius*, and restore *Syracuse* to its antient liberty. The *Corinthians*, hereby plainly discovering, that the tyrant aspired to the sovereignty of *Syracuse*, and being justly at that time celebrated for the generous notions they entertained in behalf of liberty, were incensed to the last degree at such a perfidious conduct; and therefore those who had before either opposed the expedition, or been cold and languid in promoting it, now readily concurred with the rest, and all the necessary dispositions were made for *Timoleon's* sudden departure⁹.

Timoleon, encouraged by several good omens, sets sail for Sicily.

Plutarch tells us, that when the troops were ready to imbarque, the goddess *Proserpina*, attended by her mother *Ceres*, both in travelling habits, appeared to her female priests in a dream or vision; and that both these deities declared they would sail with *Timoleon* to *Sicily*, an island in a peculiar manner sacred to them. This greatly encouraged *Timoleon*, who, consecrating the best trireme of his Squadron to the goddesses, called it the sacred ship of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The same author likewise relates, that *Timoleon* going to *Delphi*, in order to sacrifice there to *Apollo*, and descending into the place where the responses of the oracle were received, a wreath or garland, interwoven with crowns and trophies, slipping from among the consecrated gifts, that were hung up in the temple, fell directly upon his head, which he interpreted as a happy omen, *Apollo* thereby seeming to crown him with success, and to assure him of a triumph over *Ictas* and the *Carthaginians*. He set sail from *Corinth* with seven galleys of his own nation, two of *Corcyra*, and a tenth, which was sent him by the *Leucadians*, with only a thousand soldiers on board; a very small force, considering the enterprize he was going upon. Our author farther informs us, that *Timoleon*, getting out of port by night, was carried by a prosperous gale into the ocean, and preceded in the night by a flame, resembling those torches that were used in the sacred mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, which conducted him to that part of *Italy* where he intended to land; and that this being interpreted by his soothsayers as a confirmation of what

⁹ DIOD. SIC. & PLUT. ubi sup.

those two goddesses had before declared, he looked upon it as a sure token of victory. Pursuing his voyage therefore over the *Ionian* sea with great alacrity, he soon arrived safe with his small fleet at *Metapontum*, now *Torre di Mare*, on the coast of *Italy*.

THE first advice he received here was, that *Icetas* had defeated *Dionysius*, and having made himself master of the greatest part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel. At the same time he was informed, that the *Carthaginians* had, by the treaty with *Icetas*, engaged themselves to hinder the *Corinthian* squadron from putting in at any of the *Sicilian* ports, that being by this means obliged to return home, they might from thence meet with no farther obstruction in dividing the island between them. This gave him great uneasiness; however, he advanced with his small fleet to *Rhegium*, where he found ambassadors from *Icetas*, who were charged to acquaint him, that, if he thought proper, he might come to *Syracuse*, and assist him with his advice; and that he should meet with a kind reception there, and even be a partaker of his good fortune, provided he would dismiss his troops; but otherwise the *Syracusians*, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into the city. These ministers were convoyed to *Rhegium* by twenty *Carthaginian* galleys, who had orders to block up the road, and oppose *Timoleon*, if he offered to approach *Syracuse*. That general, finding himself unable to force his way, by reason of the superior strength of the enemy, and that, even provided he could land at *Syracuse*, his handful of troops would not be able to engage those of *Icetas*, flushed with victory and supported by a numerous *Carthaginian* army, was resolved to have recourse to artifice at this critical conjuncture. He therefore demanded a conference with the ambassadors and the chief commanders of the *Carthaginian* squadron, in the presence of the people of *Rhegium*. He pretended to listen to the proposal offered him; but insisted, that as the *Rhegians* were *Greeks*, and common friends to both parties, he ought first to hear what they had to say, and act, if possible, by their advice, that he might, on his return to *Corinth*, have wherewithal to justify his conduct; alledging further, that the *Carthaginians* themselves would more scrupulously observe the articles of a treaty they had signed before so many witnesses. The *Rhegians* were privy to the design, and dreaded nothing more than the consequence of having so formidable a nation in their neighbourhood as the *Carthaginians*. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, under pretence of pre-

Upon his arrival on the coast of Italy, he amuses *Icetas* and the *Carthaginians*.

* DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. c. 11. & PLUT. ubi sup.

venting the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themselves solely to the affair in hand. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians*, being amused, and verily believing, that *Timoleon* would be persuaded to return home, had not made the least preparation to attack him, in case he should attempt steering his course towards the coast of *Sicily*.

*And lands
his forces
in Sicily
by a stratagem.*

Timoleon, that he might not give the *Carthaginians* the least room to suspect his design, did not offer for a considerable time to stir out of the assembly, which being met, long speeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, though without coming to a point, on purpose to gain time; nay, *Timoleon*, farther to prevent any ground for suspicion, frequently made signs, as though he was going to begin a speech in support of the resolution he had seemingly formed. But while the *Carthaginian* commanders were busy in the council, nine *Corinthian* galleys, according to the orders they had received from *Timoleon*, set sail, and passed in sight of the *Carthaginian* fleet, unable at that time to act, by reason of the absence of its captains, and moreover believing, that their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who, it was supposed, were then in the city. When *Timoleon* was privately informed, that his galleys were at sea, by the assistance of the *Rhegians* about his chair, he slipped through the crowd, and making to the galley that was left, embarked and rejoined the rest of his squadron. The *Carthaginians*, being thus deluded, were extremely chagrined, making bitter complaints of the *Rhegian* perfidiousness and fraud. The *Rhegians*, on the other hand, greatly rejoiced to see the *Carthaginians* overcome at their own weapons, and could not forbear rallying them thereupon. The assembly not having broke up till it was dark, the *Carthaginians* could not come up with *Timoleon*, so far was he got before them, though they gave him chase for some time. He arrived therefore safe with his whole fleet at *Taurominium* *.

The Carthaginians threaten Andromachus with their resentment, if he continued to harbour

THE Carthaginian general, apprised of *Timoleon's* landing at *Taurominium*, dispatched an express on board one of his galleys thither, threatening *Andromachus*, tyrant of that city, with his resentment, if he did not immediately drive away the *Corinthians* from thence. The form of the menace, according to *Plutarch*, was this: The barbarian stretching out his hand with the inside upward, and then turning it down again, threatened to turn the city topsy-turvy just so, in as little time, and with as much ease. *Andromachus*, laughing, made no other reply to *Timoleon*. this insolence, than by repeating the same motion with an air

* PLUT. & DIODOR. *ibid.*

of contempt, and ordering him to be gone immediately, upon pain of having that trial of dexterity exercised first upon the vessel which brought him thither. This single circumstance, slight as it is, seems clearly to point out the *Carthaginian* original, such kind of insolent denunciations having been common in the east, as may be learned from scripture, to omit what may be collected on this head from profane authors ^t.

Icetas no sooner received intelligence of *Timoleon's* arrival in *Sicily*, than he was thrown into a great consternation, and defeated the *Carthaginians* to send a squadron of galleys with all *Icetas* at possible expedition to guard the coasts. Soon after, he put the *Adranum*. *Carthaginian* fleet, consisting of an hundred and fifty galleys, in possession of the harbour of *Syracuse*, and dispatched an express to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, pressing him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time, *Timoleon*, drawing his forces out of *Taurominium*, which in the whole did not amount to above a thousand or twelve hundred men, began his march towards the dusk of the evening, and arrived the next day at *Adranum*, a place to which *Icetas* had advanced a little before at the head of a *Carthaginian* detachment of five thousand men. These he surprised at supper, and therefore meeting with but a faint resistance, easily made himself master of their camp, putting three hundred of them to the sword, and taking six hundred prisoners. In order to follow his blow, and strike the greater terror into the enemy, he flew like lightning to *Syracuse*, and even broke into one part of the town, before any thing of his march was known. Here he immediately took post with his troops, and defended himself with that intrepid resolution, that the whole united power of *Icetas* and the *Carthaginians* found it impossible to dislodge him ^u.

THE *Carthaginians*, being informed, some time before this war broke out, that the whole island of *Sicily* was soon like to be in a flame, greatly caressed all those cities with whom they were in alliance, to which many other neighbouring states were invited to accede, particularly *Icetas*, tyrant of the *Leontini*, the *Syracusan* general, with whom a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded, as above-mentioned. In order therefore to make good their engagements, and support their confederates, especially *Icetas*, they raised a great number of forces both by sea and land, and transported them to *Sicily*, under the command of *Hanno* their general. Upon a general muster here, the army was found to consist of fifty thousand men, and three hundred chariots. These were attended with two thousand

The situation of affairs in Sicily, when Timoleon broke into Syracuse.

^t 1 King. xx. 10. & alib. pass. ^u PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi sup.

carriages drawn by two horses a-piece, an immense quantity of provisions, besides a prodigious number of arms, engines of battery, and all sorts of warlike stores. The fleet, destined to concur with these land-forces in the operations of the campaign, was composed of an hundred and fifty long ships or galleys, as related above. *Hanno*, with his forces, moved first towards *Entella*; which city he caused to be blocked up, having before ravaged and destroyed the country all round it. The *Campanians*, however, then in garison, found means to notify their distress to the neighbouring cities, and to desire their assistance; but none of them durst stir, except *Galeria*, which sent them a reinforcement of a thousand men, who, being intercepted by the *Carthaginians*, were all cut to pieces. The *Campanians* indeed, who inhabited *Ætna*, seemed at first, on account of their consanguinity, disposed to assist them; but receiving advice of the terrible fate the *Galerians* had met with, they judged it more convenient to lie still. In the mean time, *Iceas*, moving from *Leontium* with his army, encamped at *Olympus*, fortifying his camp with a trench and a parapet, that he might be the better enabled to receive *Dionysius*, in case he should think proper to attack him. Provisions failing him, he was obliged to return to *Leontium* for a fresh supply. This *Dionysius* interpreting as a flight, fell directly upon his rear; which brought on a general engagement. But, after a sharp conflict, *Iceas* routed him, killing three thousand of his men upon the spot, and pursuing the rest with so much ardour, that he entered with them pell-mell into the town of *Syracuse*; by which means he possessed himself of the whole city, except the island on which the citadel stood. This was the situation of affairs in *Syracuse*, when *Timoleon* broke into the city, and gave *Iceas* the defeat above-mentioned.

The Sicilians at first not disposed to join Timoleon.

BEFORE the action at *Adranum*, the *Sicilians* in general were so far from being disposed to join *Timoleon*, that they were prejudiced against him as a foreign commander; which was chiefly owing to the calamities they had formerly suffered by the treachery of *Calippus* an *Athenian*, and *Pharax* a *Lacedæmonian* general; for these persons, under the specious pretext of delivering them from tyranny, had treated them in a more rigorous and oppressive manner than the worst and most despotic of their own tyrants. The people of *Adranum* only were divided in their sentiments, some preferring the *Carthaginians* and *Iceas*, and others the *Corinthians*. Hence it came to pass, that both parties were solicited for succours by their respective confederates; and both sides accordingly advancing to the re-

lief of their friends, much about the same time, engaged in the manner above-related. The *Corinthians*, being victorious, intirely through the valour and conduct of *Timoleon*, according to *Plutarch*, were received with open arms by the people of *Adranum*, and, after their example, other cities opened their gates to *Timoleon*, and joined him with all their forces. In the mean time *Dionysius*, as we have already observed, possessed the island of *Ortygia*, *Iceas Neapolis* and *Acradina*, *Timoleon* all the rest of the city, and the *Carthaginians* the port, having moreover their army encamped at a small distance from the town. This deplorable situation threw *Timoleon* into great perplexities, so that he was at a loss what course to take. Whilst he remained in a state of suspense, he was reinforced by a body of the *Adranitæ* and *Tynderitæ*; *Marcus* or *Mamercus* also, prince of *Catana*, an able warrior, and master of an immense treasure, advanced at the head of a powerful army to his relief. Upon such an unexpected flow of success, many forts and castles surrendered to him; and lastly, to crown all, he received advice, that the *Corinthians* had sent him a farther supply of soldiers on board ten galleys, which were happily arrived at *Thurium*, together with money to pay all their troops at *Syracuse* *.

Dionysius, seeing himself besieged on all sides, without any hopes of relief, sent privately ambassadors to *Timoleon*, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would suffer him to retire unmolested. *Timoleon*, immediately closing with so advantageous an offer, readily agreed to what the tyrant desired, and detached *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, two *Corinthian* officers, with four hundred men, to take possession of that important place. As the *Carthaginians* had a strong guard upon the haven, and consequently were masters of that part of the town adjoining to it, where *Iceas* was posted, the *Corinthians* could not march in a body to the citadel, and therefore they entered it in small parties. *Dionysius* received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike stores and provisions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with a vast number of horses, darts, military engines, all the old magazine, containing seventy thousand complete suits of armour, and two thousand regular troops, which *Timoleon* incorporated among his own. After this, *Dionysius* was sent to *Corinth* by *Timoleon* in a single galley, without any convoy, where he arrived safe, notwithstanding the *Carthaginians*, being apprised of his departure, had laid several vessels in wait for him. The *Carthaginians* were so disheartened at these misfortunes, coming as it were one upon

* *Iidem* *ibid.*

the neck of another (for *Plutarch* tells us they happened all in the space of fifty days), that they did not offer to make the least movement, either with their fleet or land-forces, tho' the latter were above ten times as numerous as the *Corinthians* ¹.

ACCORDING to *Diodorus*, the first treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* was signed this year, which was the first of the hundred and ninth olympiad. As this corresponded with the four hundred and fourth or four hundred and fifth year of *Rome* (if with *Fabius Pictor* we place the foundation of that city in the first year of the eighth olympiad), it is not improbable, that *Orosius*, in the passage above-cited, followed *Diodorus Siculus*. But neither of them, in the point before us, deserves any consideration; for though we do not pretend to deny, that there might have been a treaty concluded this year between the two republics aforesaid, yet, that it was the first, we can by no means allow; since *Polybius*, who undoubtedly consulted both the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* archives, does not only assure us, that they entered into a treaty above an hundred and sixty years before this time, but likewise gives us the express words of that treaty. His authority therefore, in this case, as well as in all others relating to the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* affairs, as interwoven, must be looked upon as incontestable ².

The Corinthian garrison in the citadel defends itself against the united forces of Ictas and the Carthaginians.

BUT to return to the *Carthaginian* transactions in *Sicily*: Towards the conclusion of this, and the beginning of the following, year, the *Carthaginian* forces, that were to act in favour of *Ictas*, received a strong reinforcement, and *Mago* was appointed to command them. Upon the retreat of *Dionysius*, *Ictas* laid siege to the citadel of *Syracuse*, which was defended only by four hundred *Corinthians*, left there by *Timoleon*, under the conduct of one *Leon*, an experienced and brave officer. *Timoleon*, who had withdrawn to *Catana*, sent the garrison frequent supplies of provisions; but they were for the most part intercepted by *Ictas*, who kept the place closely blocked up on all sides. When they were reduced to the last extremity, *Timoleon* found means to relieve them, by conveying into the place, in spite of all opposition, a great quantity of corn. This he did by the assistance of small fisher-boats and skiffs, which got a passage through the *Carthaginian* fleet in the most tempestuous weather, sliding over the waves and billows up to the citadel, when the enemy's galleys were either beat one against another, or dispersed by the violence of the wind. Whilst these things happened, *Ictas* formed a design to assassinate *Timoleon* at *Adranum*, to which place he had for a short time re-

¹ *Idem* *ibid.* ² *Diod. Sic.* ubi sup. *Oros.* l. iv. *Polyb.* l. iii. p. 245, 246, &c. edit. Gronov.

tired, and employed two foreigners, probably *Carthaginians*, for that purpose; but they were prevented from executing their execrable design in a very providential manner, a full and minute account of which remarkable event may be seen in *Plutarch*. *Timoleon*, after his escape, returned to *Catana*, and continued supplying his troops in the citadel with provisions, as often as an opportunity offered. The besieged were, however, greatly fatigued, by being obliged to be continually under arms, in order to repel the enemy's assaults, which were frequent and vigorous, and to repair the breaches made by their battering engines. Nevertheless they defended themselves with incredible bravery, and, having their renowned general himself so near at hand, despised all the efforts of the enemy ^a.

Icetas, being much chagrined at his late disappointment, and finding his soldiers desert in great numbers to the enemy, dispatched an express to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, desiring him to advance with his troops to the gates of the city. As soon as he arrived, *Icetas*, without any scruple, admitted him at the head of the whole *Punic* army, consisting of sixty thousand men, into the town; which was a point the *Carthaginians*, in all their struggles with the *Siculo-Greeks*, could never gain before. As *Mago's* fleet of an hundred and fifty sail at the same time rode in the harbour, the city seemed to be intirely in the enemy's hands. *Timoleon*, being informed of this, kept his troops together, but for the present remained at *Catana*, that he might be at hand to encourage and succour the *Corinthian* troops in the citadel, which he did so effectually, by continuing to supply them with corn and other provisions, in the manner above related, as well as by giving them hopes of obliging the enemy to raise the siege, that they were not under the least apprehension for the safety of the place ^b.

Mago and *Icetas*, finding it impossible to reduce the citadel, as long as *Timoleon* was in that neighbourhood, resolved to leave part of the army in *Syracuse*, and with the rest either drive *Timoleon* from *Catana*, or block him up in that city. Tho' they knew his forces were very inconsiderable in comparison of those with which they intended to attack him, yet, having a great opinion of the abilities of that general, they picked out the very flower of their troops on this occasion. They were scarce gone, when *Leon*, who commanded in the citadel, observing that those who were left to continue the siege were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden sally, killed a great number of them, put the rest to flight, and having possessed himself of the quarter of the city called *Acradina*, fortified it, and, by works

Icetas introduces the Carthaginian army into Syracuse.

The Corinthian garison in the citadel in a sally take Acradina.

^a PLUT. ubi sup.

^b Idem ibid.

Timoleon
receives a
fresh supply
of troops
from Co-
rinth;

And re-
duces Mes-
sana.

of communication, joined it to the citadel. As *Acradina* was the best and most opulent part of *Syracuse*, consisting, as it were, of several towns united, *Leon* found vast sums of ready money and great plenty of provisions in it; which, at that time, were of signal service to him. A courier was immediately sent away with this melancholy news to *Mago* and *Icetas*, who, upon receiving it, returned in great haste to *Syracuse*, though they were then but a small distance from *Catana*; but could not, upon their arrival, dislodge the enemy from the post they had gained. In the mean time, a supply of two thousand foot and two hundred horse from *Corinth* landed safe in *Sicily*, having been detained a considerable time at *Thurium* by tempestuous weather, and found means to elude the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* squadron under *Hanno*, posted to intercept them. That commander, not imagining the *Corinthians* would attempt a passage to *Sicily* in such a stormy season, left his station at *Thurium*, and, ordering his seamen to crown themselves with garlands, and adorn their vessels with bucklers of both the *Greek* and *Carthaginian* form, sailed to *Syracuse* in a triumphant manner, where he gave the troops in the citadel to understand, that he had taken the succours *Timoleon* expected, thinking by this means to intimidate them to a surrender. But whilst he spent his time in such trifling amusements, the *Corinthians* marched with great expedition through the territories of the *Brutii* to *Rhegium*, and taking the advantage of a gentle breeze, were easily wafted over to *Sicily*. This capital error in *Hanno* proved the total ruin of *Icetas*, and, in its consequences, was of infinite prejudice to the *Carthaginians* ^c.

Timoleon, greatly animated by this new reinforcement, marched against *Messana*, which he soon made himself master of, and then advanced in good order to *Syracuse*. *Mago* was seized with a panic upon the news of his approach, insomuch that he seemed only to want a pretence to quit the island, tho' the new *Corinthian* succours, in conjunction with all *Timoleon's* other troops, did not form a corps of above four thousand men. Soon after, some of *Icetas* and *Timoleon's* *Greek* mercenaries mixing together in conversation, whilst they were fishing for eels in the marshes about *Syracuse*, one of the *Corinthian* party addressed himself to those of the other side in the following terms: "Is it possible for *Greeks* to attempt reducing so noble
" a city as this to the obedience of barbarians, nay, of the most
" cruel and bloody barbarians breathing? Is it not much more
" for their interest, that the *Carthaginians* should be removed
" at the greatest distance from *Greece*, than that they should be

^c Idem ibid.

" put

“ put into possession of a most rich and fertile island in its neighbourhood? Can any person be so stupid as to imagine, that they have drawn their forces from the straits of *Hercules* and the *Atlantic* ocean, purely to support *Icetas*, who, if he had acted like an able general, would never have introduced his country’s implacable enemies into its bowels? Was it politic conduct in him to treat his ancestors and natural friends, as the bitterest enemies, which had he not done, he might have enjoyed his high dignity, without giving the least offence to *Timoleon* and the *Corinthians*.” These discourses being spread through the whole camp, and even reaching *Mago*’s ears, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary *Greeks*, he pretended to be afraid of a general defection of his troops; and therefore, without hearkening to the intreaties and warm remonstrances of *Icetas*, who plainly demonstrated to him the weakness of the enemy, he weighed anchor and set sail for *Africa*, shamefully abandoning the conquest of *Sicily*. No other reason can be assigned for this unaccountable conduct, but the timorous disposition of that general, who, conscious of his guilt, on his arrival at *Carthage*, laid violent hands on himself, to prevent the punishment his cowardice deserved. His body was hung upon a gallows or cross, and exposed as a public spectacle to the people, in order to deter succeeding generals from forfeiting their honour, and sacrificing their country, in so flagrant a manner. Perhaps a more dastardly action is not to be met with in the whole course of history ^d.

THE next day, *Timoleon* appeared before the city with his army drawn up in order of battle; when being informed of *Mago*’s precipitate flight, and seeing the haven quite clear of *Carthaginian* vessels, he was most agreeably surprised, but could scarce believe his own eyes and ears. He could not forbear ridiculing the cowardice of *Mago* on this occasion, and therefore, in a pleasant humour, by proclamation, offered a great reward to any person who could bring him intelligence into what corner of the world the *Carthaginian* squadron was retired, to make its escape from his formidable fleet. *Icetas* being determined to defend that part of the town in which he was posted, *Timoleon* made the necessary dispositions for a general assault. This he divided into three attacks; the first he commanded in person, with a body of chosen troops, against that part of the town situated upon the river *Anapus*, which was the strongest and most difficult of access; the second he committed to the conduct of *Isias*, a *Corinibian* captain, who was to advance from the quarter of *Acradina*; and the third

*He takes
by storm,
that part
of Syra-
cuse pos-
sessed by
Icetas.*

^d PLUT. & DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

was to be formed against the post *Epipolæ* by *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus*, who brought the last supply of troops from *Corinth*. In conformity to this plan, the assault was made; and the troops of *Icetas* being every-where driven from the walls, that part of the city which they held was taken by storm. That *Icetas* should lose many men in this action, is easy to be believed; but that the *Corinthian* forces should not have so much as a single man wounded, favours so much of fable and rhodomontade, that *Plutarch* must excuse us, if we are inclined to be of a contrary opinion *.

Timoleon
drives se-
veral ty-
rants out
of Sicily.

Timoleon, after the junction of his forces with those of *Marcellus* and the cities above-mentioned, and the reduction of *Syracuse*, having left a body of troops to defend that capital, marched straight to *Leontium*, *Icetas's* metropolis, with an intention to besiege it. In consequence of this design, he sat down before the place; but finding the garison very numerous, and being repulsed with loss in several attacks that he made, he was obliged to draw off. He next advanced to *Engyon*, a city that groaned under the tyranny of *Leptines*, and so terrified the tyrant by his repeated assaults, that he thought proper to capitulate, and was conducted to *Peloponnesus*. *Apollonia*, a neighbouring city under the power of *Leptines*, upon this, applied to *Timoleon* for his protection, and obtained it, so that this general now began to be looked upon as the scourge of tyrants, and consequently to be in high esteem amongst the *Sicilians*; but being in great distress for money to satisfy the demands of his soldiers, he detached a thousand men to make an incursion into the *Carthaginian* territories. This detachment laying all the enemy's country waste, and pillaging it thoroughly, carried off an immense booty, which they brought to *Timoleon*, who exposing every thing to public sale, by this means raised a vast sum, and not only paid his army all their past arrears, but likewise advanced them their pay for a considerable time to come. Soon after, he made himself master of *Entella*, where he put to death fifteen of the citizens, who persisted in their adherence to the *Carthaginians*, and restored the rest to their liberty. Upon this the *Greek* cities every-where submitted to him, and were by him restored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewise of the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, subject to the *Carthaginians*, sent ambassadors to him, desiring to be admitted among his confederates. *Icetas*, in the mean time, in conjunction with some *Carthaginian* auxiliaries, formed the siege of *Syracuse*. This, in the beginning, he pushed on with vigour; but as *Timoleon's* garison behaved with incredible reso-

* PLUT. ubi sup.

lution, cutting off a great part of his army by their frequent sallies, and as *Timoleon* himself was now advancing a second time towards *Leontium*, he was at last forced to abandon the siege ^f.

Iceas, having thus lost the best part of his troops in this fruitless expedition, marched back with great precipitation to *Leontium*, in order to cover that important fortress from all attempts of the enemy, who, as he received intelligence, were advancing towards it. In this he was not misinformed; for *Timoleon*, judging it of the highest consequence to his affairs to reduce *Iceas*, before the *Carthaginians* returned into the island, which they threatened to do in a short time, moved directly towards his frontiers, and appeared before *Leontium*, without giving him time to recruit his shattered troops, and re-establish his affairs. The tyrant, terrified at this sudden approach, and finding himself incapable of resisting an army so animated by success, was glad to come to a composition with the *Corinthian* general; the terms of which were, that he should renounce his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; that his forts should all be demolished; and lastly, that the *Leontini* should be governed by laws of their own, he residing amongst them as a private person. Having thus detached *Iceas* from the *Carthaginian* interest, and extirpated tyranny out of the *Greek* part of *Sicily*, he returned to *Syracuse*, designing to carry the war into the *Carthaginian* dominions without delay ^g.

THE senate and people of *Carthage*, being highly offended at the conduct of their general officers the last campaign, deprived most of them of their commissions; and, resolving, to new-model the army, filled the vacant posts with persons of known merit. As they were determined to carry on the war in *Sicily* with all possible vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and took besides into their service a numerous body of mercenaries, raised in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*. Their naval preparations were in all respects proportioned to those made by land; both which being completed, they sent *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, two experienced commanders, over to *Sicily* with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, and a thousand transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all sorts of provisions. In the mean time, *Timoleon*, having just concluded the war with *Iceas*, and, by the accession of his troops, considerably reinforced his army, advanced against them with great intrepidity upon the first news of their landing at *Lilybaeum*, though his forces did not amount to above seven thousand effective

The Carthaginians make great preparations for carrying on the war with Timoleon.

^f PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi sup.

^g DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. c. 12.

tive men. He had, before the arrival of the *Carthaginians*, detached *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus* with a body of choice troops to make an inroad into one of their provinces, where they did not only live for a considerable time at discretion, but likewise obliged several of their cities to side with the *Greeks*, and at their departure carried off a vast sum of money, exacted from the inhabitants, whom they had laid under contribution. By this means *Timoleon* was enabled to settle a military chest, and establish a fund sufficient for the present exigencies of the war. The *Carthaginian* generals had no sooner landed their forces, but they were apprised of this affront, which they intended fully to revenge; and therefore moving with their whole army towards *Timoleon*, they at last encamped upon the banks of the river *Crimesus* or *Crimeffus*. The *Corinthian* commander was by no means tardy in his approaches to their camp; but on his march one of his mercenaries, by name *Thracius*, a profligate fellow, who had some time before been concerned in plundering the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, cried out, that *Timoleon* was not in his right senses, otherwise he would never propose with such a handful of men to attack the *Carthaginian* army. He farther urged, that as the general was leading them to inevitable destruction, if he was not distracted, he must certainly have a design to sacrifice them, perhaps because he was not able to pay them their arrears. In fine, therefore, he advised them to go and demand their pay at *Syracuse*, and not think of attending *Timoleon* in such a desperate expedition ^b.

Timoleon, by his address, prevents a mutiny from breaking out in his camp.

THE mercenaries, naturally prone to mutiny and sedition, received the harangue of this hot-headed incendiary with applause, and were all of them upon the point of deserting their standards. But at length *Timoleon*, by his intreaties, large promises, and singular address, brought them back to a sense of their duty, excepting a thousand, who were determined at all events to follow the desperate fortunes of *Thracius*. After this he wrote to his friends at *Syracuse*, informing them of what had happened, but at the same time enjoined them to treat the deserters with moderation and humanity, and order the mercenaries their pay. By this means having extinguished all the sparks of sedition, and regained the affection of his troops, he advanced to attack the *Carthaginian* forces with great ardour and celerity ⁱ.

He engages and defeats the Carthaginian army.

IT happened that, as he was ascending an eminence to take a view of the enemy's army, he met some mules loaded with parsley, an herb with which the sepulchres of the dead were usually adorned by the antients. This trifling event threw the soldiers

^b DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. c. 13.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

into a great panic, as taking it for an omen of very bad signification. *Timoleon*, to calm their minds, halted for a moment, declaring that, as the victors at the *Isthmian* games were crowned with this herb, particularly the *Corinthians*, it ought to be esteemed as a symbol of victory, and therefore intreated them to banish all gloomy apprehensions. To remove intirely all impressions of terror from their minds, he made himself a crown of parsley, and the officers, in imitation of their general, did the like. With these, round their heads, they approached the enemy with as much alacrity as if they had been sure of a triumph, and thereby inspired the troops with as much resolution as *Timoleon* had done, before the last occurrence happened, by a pathetic speech, wherein he put them in mind of *Gelon's* signal victory over the barbarians with an inconsiderable force, and exhorted them to enable him to follow so great an example. *Plutarch*, an author, not a little tinctured with credulity and superstition, adds, that the soothsayers discovered two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a dragon pierced through with her talons, and the other made a terrible and martial sort of noise (A). These they shewed to the soldiers, and interpreted them as a token of certain success, by which the troops were confirmed in their hopes of an auspicious day. *Timoleon* therefore, taking advantage of their present disposition, and of the confusion the *Carthaginians* were in at his unexpected arrival upon the banks of the *Crimesus*, attacked them with great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemy's forces, who had already passed the river, were defeated and put to flight, before the rest could come up to their assistance. Great numbers of the enemy perished in this first action ;

(A) *Plutarch* says, that just before the beginning of the engagement there ascended so thick a fog out of the river, that neither the enemy's camp, nor any part of the plain, nor even the river itself, was visible, the *Greeks* only hearing a confused noise of a vast multitude advancing towards them. But the sun-beams at length dissipating the vapours, they observed the *Carthaginian* army approaching them in the following order : First, the armed chariots, which appeared very terrible ; secondly, a body of ten thousand infantry, with white targets on their arms, whom, from the brightness of their armour, and their slow regular march, they took to be native *Carthaginians* ; and lastly, the gross of their army, composed of different nations, who followed the rest in such a disorderly manner, as gave *Timoleon* great encouragement to attack them. By this it seems to appear, that the national troops in the *Carthaginian* armies were distinguished in a particular manner from the mercenaries, as well as those of the provinces subject to *Carthage* (1).

(1) *Plutarch. ubi sup.*

for *Timoleon* himself being at the head of the particular body of troops engaged, they performed wonders. But in the mean time the whole *Carthaginian* army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful. The *Sicilian* horse, under the conduct of *Demarettus*, charged the enemy in front, before they could form themselves; but could make no impression, the armed chariots (B) posted

(B) The custom of fighting in armed chariots was undoubtedly of great antiquity. That it prevailed amongst the *Greeks*, *Phrygians*, and neighbouring nations, at the time of the *Trojan* war, is evident from *Homer*. *Herodotus* assures us, that the *Greeks* learned this method of fighting from the *Libyans* or *Africans*; and *Xenophon* intimates, that it was particularly in use amongst the people of *Cyrenaica*. In the earliest ages the *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Arabs*, &c. fought in chariots, but especially the *Libyans* and *Ethiopians*, as we are informed by *Scripture*. The sacred writings farther speak of two sorts of chariots, one for princes and generals to ride in, the other designed to break the enemies battalions, by being let loose against them. These last were armed with iron, which made terrible havock in the troops that opposed them (2).

The most antient chariots of war mentioned in history are *Pharaoh's*, which were overwhelmed in the *Red-sea*. The *Canaanites*, to whom *Joshua* gave battle at the waters of *Merom*, had cavalry, and a multitude of chariots; *Sisera*, *Jabin* the king of *Hazor's* general, had nine hundred chariots of iron in his army; the tribe of *Judah* could not take possession of all the lands allotted to them, because some of the antient inhabitants were strong in chariots of iron; the *Philistines*, in the war carried on by them against *Saul*, had thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen; *David*, having taken a thousand chariots of war from *Hadadexer*, king of *Syria*, ham-strung the horses, and burnt nine hundred chariots, preserving only an hundred to himself. These, with many more passages that might be produced, plainly evince, that armed chariots were used amongst the *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, and *Egyptians*, in very remote times (3).

Erechtheus or *Erichthonius*, king of *Attica*, is said first to have introduced these armed (4) chariots into *Greece*, though he, in all probability, received them from the *Barbarians*, amongst whom they were in use long before his time, as is intimated by *Eusebius*. At the *Trojan* war the *Greek* chariots had for the most part only a pair of horses, to which, however, sometimes a third was added,

(2) *Hom. in Il. & Odyf. pass.* *Herodot. in Melpom.* *Xenoph. in Cyropæd.* l. 6. 2 *Chron.* xvi. 8. *Calmet. in dict. bibl.* (3) *Exod.* xiv. 7, 9, 17, &c. *Josh.* xi. 4. *Jud.* iv. 3. *Jud.* i. 19. 1 *Sam.* xiii. 5. 2 *Chron.* xviii. 30. 2 *Sam.* viii. 4. (4) *Euseb. in chron.* p. 99 & *Euseb. in chron.* in *Hel. apud. Gronov. in thes. ant. Græc.* t. xi. p. 188.

posted there keeping them at a distance, and pushing them with such vigour, that they found it difficult to maintain their ranks.

Timoleon,

called by *Homer* $\pi\alpha\chi\iota\sigma\tau\eta$, which was tied to them in a more lax manner, according to *Eustathius*. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* says, that in his time this sort of chariots was used among the *Romans*, but left off by the *Greeks*. Sometimes also the most antient *Greeks* had two pair of horses to their warlike chariots, as may be inferred from *Homer*. The drivers were frequently persons of the highest distinction, as *Pandarus* the son of *Lycaon*, and *Hector* the son of *Priamus*. The person armed in the chariot directed the charioteer which way to drive, and was likewise frequently a person of prime quality, as *Aeneas*, *Nestor*, and one of *Priamus's* sons. He generally leaped out of the chariot to engage his enemy, as *Paris*, *Agamemnon*, *Hercules*, and *Cygnus*, &c. did. Princes and generals had their chariots adorned with gold and silver, and much curious workmanship, as that of *Rhesus* in *Homer*, and even sometimes covered with plates of gold and tin, as that of *Diomedes* in the same author. The kings of *Persia* were forbidden by the royal law so much as to touch the bridles or reins of horses fastened to a chariot, it being looked upon as inconsistent with the high dignity they enjoyed (5).

The *Rhodians* consecrated horses and chariots to the sun annually, in conformity to the practice of their *Phœnician* ancestors, as we learn from *Festus*; and *Pausanias*, *Heliodorus*, and *Strabo*, assure us, that the *Spartans*, *Massagetae*, and *Ethiopians* antiently did the same thing. The scripture observes, that some of the kings of *Judah* preceding *Josiah* did offer chariots to the sun; which superstitious custom was in imitation of the pagan nations, principally of the *Persians*, as father *Calmet* thinks, who had horses and chariots consecrated in honour of that luminary. The reason the *Rhodians* gave for throwing a chariot every year into the sea, in honour of the sun, was, because they believed that every day he travelled round the earth riding in a chariot (6).

The description of the scythed chariots, mentioned in the *Maccabees*, as the antients have given it us, is as follows. The beam to which the horses were fastened, was armed with pikes having iron points to them, which projected forward; the yokes of the horses had likewise two long points of three cubits. To the axle-tree also were fixed iron spits, armed at their extremities with scythes; between the spokes of the wheels were placed javelins, and the very felloes of the wheels were furnished with scythes, which tore every thing they met with in pieces. The axle-tree was longer than usual, and the wheels stronger, that they might be able to re-

(5) *Hom. Il.* 3, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, & alib. *pass.* *Odyss.* 13, & alib. *pass.* *Everard. Fritbius. in antiquit. Homer. l. iv. c. 11. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Hesiod. in Scut. Herc. &c.* (6) *Fest. voce October. Pausan. in Laconic. Strab. l. xi. Heliodor. in Æthiopic. l. x. Vid. & Dan. Clascenium. in theol. gent. l. iii. c. 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 11.*

Timoleon, observing this, ordered them instantly to wheel about, and attack the enemy in flank, whilst with the foot he formed a fort

sift the shock of the motion, and the chariot be less subject to overturn. The driver's seat was a kind of little tower made of very solid wood, and raised breast-high. The charioteer was armed all over, and covered with iron. Sometimes several men well armed were put in the chariots, who fought with darts and arrows (7).

Such chariots as these the *Romans* found amongst the antient inhabitants of this island when they first landed here, which very much galled them in their engagements with that people. They were likewise common in the neighbouring parts of *Gaul*, which is a plain proof, that both these countries were known to the antient *Phœnicians*, except it be admitted, that these machines were invented before the progenitors of the *Gauls* and *Britons* first came out of *Asia*. *Diodorus* affirms, that the military chariots of these remote nations were of the same kind with those used by the antient *Greek* heroes at the siege of *Troy*. It appears from different authors, that the *Britons* had several sorts of chariots, viz. the *benna*, the *carrus* or *carrum*, the *covinus*, the *essedum*, and the *rheda*, all of which, from their names, appear to have been of *Phœnician* extraction. The *essedum* seem to have been of the same kind as the *Carthaginian* armed chariots, from the description *Cæsar* gives us of them; for he tells us, that the charioteers drove through every part of the armies engaged, and threw their darts upon the enemy; that, with the terrible appearance of their horses, and the noise of their wheels, they usually broke the enemy's ranks; that, when they had intermixed themselves with the cavalry, the armed men in the chariots flung themselves out, and fought on foot; and, that the drivers, in the mean time retiring out of the battle, posted themselves in such a manner, that, if their party was overpowered, they might enable them to make good their retreat. For a full account of their incredible dexterity and agility on these occasions, as well as their particular manner of engaging, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Cæsar* and *Dio*, or to a future part of this history, to which it will more properly belong (8).

According to father *Calmet* it does not appear, that the *Hebrew* kings ever made use of chariots in war. For though the *scripture* says, *Solomon* had fourteen hundred chariots, it does not appear, that they were ever employed by him in any military expedition. Perhaps, as the territories of these princes were very mountainous, chariots, being only fit for the plains, could not be of any great use there. This seems to be confirmed by an observation in *scripture*, viz. that the tribe of *Judah* could not dispossess the antient inhabitants of the valleys in their district, because they had chariots of

(7) 2 *Macc.* xiii. 2. *Diod. Sic.* l. xvii. 2. *Curt.* l. iv. *Xenoph.* *Cyropæd.* l. 6. (8) *Cæs. de bell. Gal.* l. iv. *Dio. Cass.* l. lxii. p. 706. in *Ner. & alib. ed. Hanov.* 1606. *Diod. Sic.* l. iv. p. 209. iron.

a sort of *phalanx*, joining man to man, and shield to shield, by which the van being rendered firm, he bore down with great fury upon the *Carthaginians*. These sustained the shock of the *Sicilian* foot with great intrepidity, and repelling the enemies javelins with their iron and brazen armour, soon came to a close engagement. The *Carthaginians* had now apparently the advantage, because in such actions as these strength contributes as much to victory as discipline and military skill. But whilst the enemy were fighting with great courage in this manner, and endeavouring to hem in and surround on all sides *Timoleon's* small army, there arose on a sudden a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which beating on the faces of the *Carthaginians*, put them into such confusion, that they were not able to stand their ground any longer. At the same time, the *Crimesus* overflowing its banks, occasioned such an inundation, that the enemy were extremely embarrassed by it, which heightened their consternation and confusion, and forced them to retire in disorder. The *Greeks* then, encouraging one another with shouts of joy, pressed them so vigorously, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned. The sacred cohort or brigade, as the *Carthaginians* called it, which consisted of two thousand five hundred citizens of *Carthage*, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great resolution, and stood their ground till they were all cut off to a man. *Plutarch* relates, that, of ten thousand men, who were left dead on the field of battle, above three thousand were native *Carthaginians* of the best families in *Carthage*, and that, according to the *Punic* records, such a number of persons of distinction never fell in any battle before, the *Carthaginian* armies being for the most part made up of *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Numidians*, &c. so that when they received any remarkable defeat, it was generally at the expence of other nations. Besides the slain, there were above fifteen thousand taken prisoners; all their baggage and provisions, with two hundred chariots, a thousand coats of mail, and ten thousand shields, fell into *Timoleon's* hands,

iron. The *Carthaginians*, who were descended from the old *Phoenicians* or *Canaanites*, imitated their ancestors in this particular. They generally posted their chariots in front, and intermixed them with the horse, that when the former had made an impression upon any part of the enemies troops, the latter might be able to charge with the greater vigour, and cut off all those who were put into disorder and confusion (9).

(9) 1 *Kings* x. 26. *Jud.* i. 19. *Christ. Hendr. in republ. Carthag.* l. ii. c. 2. p. 515, 516.

and were either sent to *Corinth*, and there dedicated to *Neptune*, or hung up in the temples of *Syracuse*. The spoil, which consisted chiefly of gold and silver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to *Plutarch*, so immense, that the whole *Sicilian* army was three days in collecting it, and stripping the slain. In fine, after *Timoleon's* troops had passed the river, and taken possession of the enemy's camp, they found there such an incredible quantity of gold and silver in different forms, that nothing of inferior value was at all regarded; for the commander in chief divided the whole among the soldiers, reserving nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory. It must not be forgot, that this memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh day of the month *Thargelion*, which was *Timoleon's* birth-day, nor that all the other engagements of note he was concerned in, if *Cornelius Nepos* may be credited, happened on the same day. The wonderful success it was attended with, is a full proof of the great force of superstition; for, next to the violent storm above-mentioned, this unparalleled victory was owing to the happy turn *Timoleon* gave to a frivolous accident considered as a fatal omen. This certainly shewed him to have been a man of genius, and perfectly well acquainted with the dispositions of his countrymen, as well as with the general bent of mankind at that time; and *Polyænus* takes notice of it as an instance of the great military capacity of that general^k.

*Which
occasions
great joy
at Corinth
and Syra-
cuse.*

THE news of so signal a victory, obtained over the professed enemies of the *Greek* name, could not but be highly agreeable to the people both at *Corinth* and *Syracuse*, especially as it was like to be attended with such happy consequences. The *Corinthians* adorned their temples with the *Carthaginian* spoils, which they hung up there with inscriptions upon them, importing, that the people of *Corinth*, and *Timoleon*, their general, offered them to the gods as an acknowledgment for their having made them the instruments of delivering *Sicily* from *Carthaginian* servitude. *Timoleon* having left his mercenaries upon the enemy's frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage their whole country, returned to *Syracuse* with the rest of his army, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. 'Tis worthy observation, that all the punishment he inflicted upon the thousand mercenaries, who were accomplices of *Tbracius*, for their infamous desertion above-mentioned, was only banish-

^k PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi sup. CORN. NEP. in vit. Timol. c. 5. ed. August. Val. Staveren. Lugd. Bat. 1734. Vid. & BOSIUM in loc. POLYÆN. strat. l. v. c. 12 ex 1. DION. PETAV. ration. temp. p. 1. l. iii. c. 10. ed. Par. 1641.

ment from *Syracuse*; however, he ordered them all to be gone before sun-set ¹.

*Ice*tas, according to *Plutarch*, after this, being tired with his private station, shewed an inclination to reinstate himself, if possible, in his dominions; and, in order thereto, found means, in conjunction with *Mamercus*, tyrant of *Catana*, to strike up another treaty with the *Carthaginians*. In consequence of this fresh alliance, that nation equipped a fleet of seventy sail, and took a strong body of *Greeks*, of whose valour they had now a great opinion, for the first time, into their service, intending to try their fortune once more in *Sicily*. *Gisco*, the brother of *Hanno*, a general of great experience and bravery, was recalled from banishment to command the troops destined for the new expedition. This news soon reaching *Sicily*, occasioned fresh commotions there. The inhabitants of *Messana*, entering into an association against *Timoleon*, put four hundred of his men, left as a garison in that place, to the sword; a detachment of mercenaries under the command of *Euthymus* the *Leucadian*, being drawn into an ambuscade by the *Carthaginian* troops at *Hieræ*, were all cut off to a man; and whilst *Timoleon* was on his march to *Calauria*, *Ice*tas, being reinforced by a *Carthaginian* party, made an incursion into the territories of *Syracuse*, carrying off a considerable booty, and, in contempt of *Timoleon*, passing by *Calauria* itself, the place where that general was then posted. However, he pursued the tyrant with a body of cavalry, attended with some of his light infantry, who could march with expedition. This *Ice*tas perceiving, passed the river *Damyrias* with some precipitation; and drawing up his troops on the other side, put himself into a posture to receive the enemy. In the mean time, a dispute arising amongst *Timoleon*'s officers, who could not agree which of them should pass the river first to attack *Ice*tas, the general ordered them to cast lots, upon which every one of them threw a ring into *Timoleon*'s robe, and the first that was taken out, and exposed to public view, had the figure of a trophy engraven for a seal upon it. This greatly encouraging the troops, they fell with incredible fury upon *Ice*tas, who, not being able to sustain the shock, was put to flight, with the loss of a thousand men killed upon the spot, and pursued to the city of *Leontium*. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himself, his son *Eupolemus*, and *Euthymus*, general of his cavalry, were brought bound by their own soldiers to *Timoleon*. The two first were immediately executed, as tyrants and traytors, and the last murdered in cold blood. *Ice*tas's wives and daughters likewise suffered death, after a pub-

*Ice*tas concludes another treaty with the *Carthaginians*.

And is overthrown by *Timoleon*.

¹ PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi sup.

lic trial. *Plutarch* blames *Timoleon* (C) for not preventing this last execution, which, he insinuates, that general might have done, had he interposed in the affair, and censures it as the only blot in his character; though we think his conniving at the murder of *Euthymus*, a brave man, who was put to the sword by

(C) We have already observed, that *Timæus Siculus* exalted *Timoleon* to a superiority above the highest divinities, and that he was greatly censured for this by *Suidas*. The last author's words are to this effect: "If *Callisthenes* deservedly suffered death for designing "to deify *Alexander*, a prince infinitely more illustrious than *Timoleon*, what did *Timæus* deserve? &c." This passage seems to contradict most, if not all, of those writers who have given us any account of *Alexander's* achievements, viz. *Justin*, *Q. Curtius*, *Plutarch*, &c. who represent *Callisthenes* as inflexibly determined not to deify *Alexander*, nor even to allow him that kind of adoration which the *Persians* paid their king; when many of his sycophants, particularly *Anaxarchus*, would have made him that high compliment. Nay, these writers seem unanimously to agree, that he lost *Alexander's* favour by his obstinacy in this particular, and even at last was put to death by him. Now, in order to reconcile *Suidas* with these authors, it must be observed, that *Timæus* extolled *Timoleon* in his history; and therefore *Suidas* must intimate, that *Callisthenes* had an intention to deify *Alexander* in his history of that prince, otherwise the comparison is impertinent and absurd. Admit this, and the passage in *Suidas* does not at all clash with what the authors above-mentioned have observed of *Callisthenes*, because it bears no relation to them as taking notice of that philosopher's refusal to adore *Alexander*, whilst at the head of his army in *Asia*. *Arrian* assures us, that *Callisthenes*, out of a vanity peculiar to himself, declared, that *Alexander* should in future ages be esteemed as a god from the history he would write of him, and not from those idle stories his mother *Olympias* imposed upon the world. This comes up to the point, and seems to be what *Suidas* had particularly in view. As for that author's affirming, that *Callisthenes* suffered death for his intention to deify *Alexander* in his history, no more can be meant by it than this, viz. he was put to death by that very prince whom in this history he intended to deify, which was a just punishment inflicted upon him by the gods for his great impiety. That this reconciliation is just, will appear from a perusal of the passages referred to in *Suidas* and *Arrian*, as likewise from the drift and scope of *Suidas's* observations: we cannot therefore help expressing our surprize, that *M. Bayle* should not have been able to discover the consistency betwixt *Suidas* and the above-mentioned historians (10).

(10) *Suid.* in *Τίμωνος*. *Justin*. l. xii. c. 7. *Q. Curt.* l. viii. c. 5. *Diog. Laert.* in *Aristot.* *Plutarch.* in *Alex.* & *Arrian.* l. iv. p. 165. *Edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat.* 1704.

the *Corinthian* soldiers for speaking with some contempt of them, ought to be looked upon as another of the same kind. After this, he moved with his forces towards *Catana*; and meeting *Mamercus*, gave him battle in the plains of the river *Abolus*. The dispute was for some time warm and bloody; but at last the tyrant was overthrown, his army intirely dispersed, and above two thousand men left dead upon the field of battle. As the greatest part of these last were auxiliaries sent to *Mamercus* by *Gisco*, the *Carthaginians* themselves suffered considerably in this action ^m.

NOTWITHSTANDING the warlike preparations they were making at *Carthage* for the invasion of *Sicily*, the senate had sent ambassadors to *Timoleon* to attempt striking up a peace with him, imagining, perhaps, that he would be the more inclined to a pacification, when he saw them in a condition to continue the war. The two last blows given their confederates disposed them still more strongly to an accommodation, to which they found *Timoleon* not averse, as he was apprehensive of fresh troubles from *Mamercus* and others, against whom he wanted to turn his arms. A peace was accordingly settled on the following terms: That all the *Greek* cities should be set free; that the river *Halycus*, or, as *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* both call it, the *Lycus*, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the *Carthaginians* should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to *Syracuse*, or its dependences, with their families and effects; and lastly, that *Carthage* should not for the future give any assistance to the remaining tyrants against the *Syracusians* ⁿ.

ABOUT this time, one *Hanno*, who, according to *Justin's* account of him, was the most opulent and powerful citizen in *Carthage*, formed a design of subverting the constitution there, and introducing arbitrary power. In order to accomplish this, he proposed to invite the senators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter's marriage; and there, by mixing poison with his wine, to destroy them all, not doubting, but such a tragical event would at once make him master of the republic. Though the scheme was carried on with great secrecy, yet it came to be discovered by some of his servants; but his interest in the city was so great, that the government did not dare to punish so execrable a crime. The magistrates therefore contented themselves with only preventing it, which they did by passing a law prohibiting too great luxury and magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expence on such occasions. *Hanno*, seeing his stratagem defeated, was resolved to have recourse to

^m Idem ibid.ⁿ PLUT. & DIODOR. ibid.

arms, and for that purpose assembled all his slaves, and fixed upon a day a second time to put his design in execution. However, he was again discovered; but, to avoid punishment, he retired with twenty thousand armed slaves to a castle, that was very strongly fortified, and from thence applied to the *Africans*, and the king of the *Mauritani*, for assistance, but without success. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and carried to *Carthage*, where being severely whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, that punishment might be inflicted on every part; and at last he was executed in the presence of all the people, to deter others from such flagitious attempts; after which his body was hung on a cross or gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime, or revenge his death. *Plutarch* mentions one *Hanno* as admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet, in the beginning of the late war between *Iceas* and *Timoleon*, who, in all probability, was the very person *Justin* represents as so infatuated with ambition, especially as he was, if that author may be credited, very fond of show and parade. However this may be, since *Justin* makes him cotemporary with the younger *Dionysius*, and *Orosius* affirms this conspiracy to have happened in the time of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, we think from hence we are sufficiently authorized to place that event here.

Q. Curtius
guilty of a
mistake.

WE must likewise observe here, that *Diodorus Siculus* places *Alexander's* reduction of *Tyre* in the first year of the 112th olympiad, and *Agathocles's* descent on *Africa* in the third of the 117th; and consequently that Q. Curtius must have been out in his chronology, when he makes these two events to have happened about the same time, as anticipating the latter full twenty-two years by this synchronism. What the last of these authors relates of the arrival of certain *Tyrian* ambassadors at *Carthage*, to implore the assistance of that potent republic against *Alexander*, has a greater appearance of truth, since not only a good understanding, but a most cordial friendship, always subsisted between *Carthage* and *Tyre*, and even at this time most of the inhabitants of the latter were transported to the former of these cities. The extremity to which their countrymen (for so these two states always called one another) were reduced, touched the *Carthaginians* in a most sensible manner, though, by reason of some domestic troubles, they were then incapable of sending them any succours. However, though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty

to comfort them on this melancholy occasion, and therefore dispatched to *Tyre* thirty of their principal citizens to express their grief, that the bad situation of their own affairs would not permit them to spare any troops. The *Tyrians*, tho' frustrated of their hopes, did not despond, but took all the necessary measures for a vigorous defence. Their wives and children they put on board some vessels, in order to send them to *Carthage*; by which being delivered from all apprehensions of danger, with regard to what was the dearest to them of any thing in nature, they were prepared against all events, and thought of nothing but making the most strenuous efforts to repel the enemy. *Curtius* intimates, that the *Carthaginians* offered annually a sacrifice to the tutelary gods of *Tyre*, considering them as their protectors; and that when their ambassadors came to *Tyre* on this occasion, they persuaded the *Tyrians* to stand it out to the last, promising powerfully to support them. As this very historian observes, that the seas at that time were blocked up by the *Carthaginian* fleets, and that by the hopes of mighty succours they spirited up the *Tyrians* to oppose *Alexander's* whole force, 'tis not very probable, that they should be then engaged in so dangerous a war as that with *Agathocles* was, or be reduced to so deplorable a condition as they must have been in, when that general, after giving them a notable defeat, advanced to the very walls of *Carthage*. He therefore seems not to be intirely consistent with himself in this particular; for which reason, as well as upon account of *Diodorus's* superior authority in the point before us, we must beg leave to dissent from him, and look upon the arrival of the *Carthaginian* ambassadors at *Tyre*, as coincident with the transactions of the period we are now upon ^P.

THE *Carthaginians*, hearing of the reduction of *Tyre*, and the great progress *Alexander* made in the east, began to be under some apprehensions for their own safety, as fearing that prince's good fortune might be as boundless as his ambition. But they were much more alarmed, when they received advice, that he had made himself master of *Egypt*, was advancing towards the west, and had built *Alexandria* upon the confines of *Egypt* and *Africa*, in order to rival them. They imagined now he might in reality have an intention to unite *Africa* and *Asia* under his dominion, and aspire to universal monarchy. They therefore chose one *Hamilcar* (or, as *Gellius* intimates, *Asdrubal*), surnamed *Rhodanus*, to sound the inclinations of that prince, and endeavour to pry into his counsels. Being a person of wonderful address, as well as great eloquence, though at the

^P DIOD. SIC. l. xvii. Q CURT. l. iv. c. 3.

same

same time of great subtilty and art, he made it his utmost endeavour to insinuate himself into *Alexander's* favour. Having obtained an audience by means of *Parmenio*, he declared to the king, that he was, by the cabals of his enemies, banished *Carthage*, and begged he might have the honour to attend him in all his future expeditions; which being granted, he did his country signal service by communicating many important discoveries relating to *Alexander's* schemes. The manner of this communication being somewhat singular, we shall give it our readers from *Gellius*. He prepared tables of wood, in which he cut out the letters or characters of his epistle, and afterwards covering them with wax, as was the custom of that age, without any characters upon it, sent them away as blanks. This the people at *Carthage* being before apprised of, decyphered the contents; which could not have been easily done by others, had the dispatches been intercepted, because the manner of writing then was upon the wax itself, and consequently the whole must have been looked upon as a blank. We do not find, that *Alexander* ever discovered the treachery of this *Carthaginian*, or even entertained the least suspicion of him; which is a further proof of the refined genius of that nation for all works of intrigue. Upon his return home, notwithstanding his eminent services, he was considered as a betrayer of his country, and was accordingly put to death at *Carthage*, by a sentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful ⁹.

In the second year of the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, *Thimbro*, after he had assassinated his friend *Harpalus* in *Crete*, sailed with a body of mercenaries to *Cyrenaica*, and being joined by some exiles, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the by-ways and passes there, endeavoured to make himself master of that country. Having given the natives a defeat, they were obliged to apply to the *Carthaginians*, whose dominions were contiguous to theirs, for relief; which they thought that state, in point of good policy, could not well refuse them. This we learn from *Diodorus*; but as the whole country was immediately after conquered by *Ophellas*, and delivered into the hands of *Ptolemy*, 'tis very probable the *Carthaginians* were not then at leisure to assist them.

*The Syracu-
sians
and Aga-
thocles
their ge-
neral a-
gainst So-
stratus.*

A few years afterwards, *Sofistratus*, who had usurped the supreme power at *Syracuse*, having been forced by *Agathocles* to raise the siege of *Rhegium*, returned with his shattered troops to *Sicily*. But soon after this unsuccessful expedition, he was

⁹ JUSTIN. l. xxi. c. 6. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 3. AUL. GELL. noct. At. l. xvii. c. 9. CROS. l. iv. c. 6. Vid. & JENE. in Poliorcet. c. 31.

obliged

obliged to abdicate the sovereignty and quit *Syracuse*. With him were expelled above six hundred of the principal citizens, who were suspected by the populace to have formed a design of altering the plan of government, which then prevailed in that city, as we have already related in the history of *Syracuse*. As *Sofistratus* and the exiles thought themselves ill treated, they had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, who readily espoused their cause. Hereupon the *Syracusians* recalling *Agathocles*, who had before been banished by *Sofistratus*, appointed him commander in chief of all their forces, principally on account of the known aversion he bore to that tyrant. The *Carthaginians* supplying *Sofistratus* with troops, he immediately assembled an army, and advanced at the head of it, to do himself, and his six hundred adherents, justice. After the two armies approached one another, several marches and counter-marches, and even some skirmishes, happened, each side striving to gain some notable advantage. *Agathocles*, in all these military movements and falsifications, acquired great reputation, both for his valour and policy. He frequently contrived some stratagem or other, which turned out much to the advantage of the *Syracusians*; of which the following was one of the most remarkable.

THE *Syracusan* army having encamped near *Gela*, *Agathocles*, with a detachment of a thousand men, found an opportunity of entering the city in the dead time of the night; but being instantly charged by *Sofistratus* with a strong body of troops, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three hundred men. All the rest now looked upon themselves as lost, though *Agathocles* behaved with great intrepidity and resolution. However, having received seven wounds, being ready to faint for loss of blood, and hearing the enemy advancing from all parts to surround him, he ordered his trumpets to sound a charge at both parts of the walls. This greatly alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who now imagined, that another party of the *Syracusians* had forced their way into the town to relieve their companions. As the darkness of the night did not permit them to discover the truth, they thought proper to put an end to the pursuit; and dividing their forces, posted away to the places from whence the trumpets sounded, in order to defend the walls. In the mean time, *Agathocles*, at the head of his detachment, arrived safe in his own camp. By this artifice, he not only preserved the seven hundred men that first entered, but seven hundred more that were sent afterwards to his assistance.

THIS war did not continue long; for *Sofistratus* and the exiles being soon received again into the city, a treaty of peace

* DIOD. SIC. l. xix. c. 1.

* Idem ibid.

Agathocles swears to do nothing at Syracuse, to the prejudice of the democracy there.

was concluded between *Carthage* and *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* now finding, that *Agathocles* began to exercise a sovereign power over his fellow-citizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed, that he aimed at monarchy, had recourse anew to *Corinth* for a general to command their forces. Accordingly one *Acestorides* was sent them to fill this post, who, upon his arrival, found that *Syracuse* could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity as long as *Agathocles* was alive; and therefore formed a design of dispatching him, which he attempted to execute in the manner already related in the seventh volume of this work. But *Agathocles* by a stratagem eluded that attempt; and making his escape, raised a body of forces in the heart of the island, with which he prepared to attack *Syracuse*. The *Carthaginians* being apprised of this, were struck with terror as well as the people of *Syracuse*; and therefore, at the instigation of the former, the latter thought proper to re-admit him, to avoid the fatal consequences of a civil war; however, he was obliged to swear in a solemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy † (D).

But breaks this oath, makes himself master of Syracuse, and concludes a treaty with the Messinians by the mediation of the Carthaginians.

NOTWITHSTANDING the solemn oath he had taken, *Agathocles* still pursued the point he had before in view, and, by a general massacre of the principal citizens, at last raised himself to the throne of *Syracuse*. Not content with this, he proposed to turn his arms against the other cities of *Sicily*, having a design to make himself master of the whole island. Beginning therefore with *Messana*, he seized upon a fort in the territory of that city; and being informed, that the walls were in a ruinous condition, he attempted at the head of a body of horse to surprise *Messana* itself. But missing his aim, he laid siege to the castle of *Mylæ*, which surrendered to him. Soon after he renewed his attempt upon *Messana*; but the citizens, knowing

† DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. JUSTIN. l. xxii. VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 4. Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 218.

(D) It appears from *Diodorus* and *Justin*, as this last author's text is emended by *Sebifus*, that these solemn oaths were usually taken in the temple of *Ceres*, and that at taking them the persons generally put their hands on the altar of that goddess. *Juvenal* and *Virgil* illustrate this point to satisfaction; *Scheffer*, *Tanaquil Faber*, and *Gronovius*, agree with *Sebifus*, but *Vorstius* differs from him; though the passage this last author produces from *Plutarch*, equally supports both opinions (1).

(1) *Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 1. Justin. l. xxii. c. 2. Juvenal. sat. xiv. 238. Virg. Æn. xii. 102. T. Liv. l. xx. Plaut. in rudent. 5, 2, 49. Plut. in Dio. Fid. & Briffon. formul. l. viii.*

what treatment they were to expect, if the city fell into his hands, defended themselves with great bravery, and repulsed him in several attacks. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians*, being applied to, sent ambassadors to him, complaining of such a notorious infraction of former treaties. The tyrant, at that time not caring to draw upon himself the whole power of *Carthage*, submitted to the terms prescribed him; and, in consequence of his peace with the people of *Messana*, concluded by the mediation of *Carthage*, he not only drew off his army from before their city, but restored likewise the castle of *Mylæ* to them. Upon which the *Carthaginian* ambassadors having happily executed their commission, returned to *Africa* ^u.

BUT the restless spirit of *Agathocles* would not suffer him to be quiet. The cities therefore of *Gela*, *Messana*, and *Agrigentum*, entered into a confederacy against him, and sent to the *Lacedæmonians* for a general, not daring to trust any of their own principal citizens, as suspecting them to be too much inclined to arbitrary power. But observing that *Acrotatus*, who came from *Sparta* to command their forces, was more cruel and bloody than even *Agathocles* himself, they not only refused to act under his conduct, but even attempted to stone him. *Hamilcar* therefore, the *Carthaginian* general, judging this a favourable juncture to accommodate matters between *Agathocles* and the confederated cities, proposed a treaty of peace to both parties, which was at last made upon the following conditions: *Hamilcar*, First, that the *Carthaginians* should remain in possession of *Heracleæ*, *Selinus*, and *Himera*; and secondly, that all the other cities dependent on the *Syracusians*, should be governed by their own laws. By this treaty it seems to appear, that the cities above-mentioned were at that time greatly in the interest of the *Carthaginians* ^v.

Agathocles, finding his subjects disposed to second his ambitious views, shewed as little regard to this last treaty as he had before done to his oath; and therefore, in violation of the second article of it, he first made war on the neighbouring states, and afterwards carried his arms into the very heart of the island. He was attended in these expeditions with extraordinary success, insomuch, that in the space of two years he brought intirely under subjection all the *Greek* part of *Sicily*. This rapid progress alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who saw their territories there threatened with the same fate; especially as the tyrant had strengthened himself by many alliances, and, besides a potent army, made up of his own forces and those of his allies, had a body of mercenaries, consisting of ten thousand foot and above

*Several
Sicilian
cities enter
into a con-
federacy
against
him, but
at last
make a
peace with
him by
the medi-
ation of
the Car-
thaginian
general.*

*Agathocles breaks
this treaty,
and pre-
pares for a
war with
Carthage;*

^u DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. c. 4.^v Idem ibid. c. 5.

three thousand horse, all excellent troops. On the other hand, *Agathocles*, being sensible that both his power and proceedings gave great umbrage to the *Carthaginians*, and that they were very angry with *Hamilcar* for being instrumental in concluding the late peace, made all the necessary preparations, not only to put himself into a good posture of defence, but even to act offensively, in case of a war with *Carthage*. Things being in this situation, it was morally impossible but that a rupture must soon commence *.

And commits great depredations in the territories of the Carthaginians.

IT is intimated by *Justin*, that *Agathocles* was at first supported by the *Carthaginians*, or rather by *Hamilcar*, their general in *Sicily*, nay, he assures us, that the tyrant effected the massacre above-mentioned by the assistance of five thousand *Africans* sent him by *Hamilcar*. After the reduction of the other parts of *Sicily*, he made incursions into the *Carthaginian* territories and those of their allies, where he committed great depredations, *Hamilcar* not offering to give him the least disturbance. This highly incensed the people of those districts, who looked upon themselves as betrayed by *Hamilcar*; and therefore sent letters to *Carthage*, filled with bitter complaints of his perfidious conduct and *Agathocles*'s tyranny; adding moreover, that, by the late infamous peace, many cities in alliance with *Carthage* had been sacrificed and delivered up into the tyrant's hands. This greatly exasperated the senate; but as *Hamilcar* was invested with great power in *Sicily*, they judged it prudent to suspend their resentment till the arrival of *Hamilcar*, the son of *Gisco*. In the mean time, they came to a vigorous resolution concerning him; but, for the reason just hinted, did not think proper to declare this openly, but threw all the suffrages that passed it into an urn, which they sealed up, till the other *Hamilcar* came from *Sicily*. But the general, being surprised by death, escaped thereby the punishment prepared for him at *Carthage*; and *Hamilcar*, the son of *Gisco*, was appointed to succeed him in the command of the forces. This incident hastened the rupture between *Agathocles* and the *Carthaginians* †.

He enters into a second treaty with the Messanians, and infringes it.

THE last place that held out against *Agathocles* was *Messana*, whither all the *Syracusan* exiles had retired. His general *Pasiphilus* at first marched against it with an army; but having before received instructions from *Agathocles* to act as he should think fit for the good of his service, and finding that force would prove ineffectual, he cajoled the inhabitants into a treaty. This *Agathocles* likewise infringed when in possession of the town, cutting off all such as had formerly opposed his government; for, as he intended to prosecute the war against *Carthage*

* Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. ubi sup.

† JUSTIN. ubi sup.

with

with the utmost vigour, he thought it a point of good policy to destroy, if possible, all his enemies in *Sicily*^z (E).

In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* arrived with a fleet of sixty sail at *Agrigentum*, and obliged *Agathocles* to desist from an attempt upon that place, which a little before he had projected. But as they had not brought a sufficient body of land-forces, he ravaged all the adjacent country, plundered the subjects of the *Carthaginians*, and took several of their forts by storm. Whilst he was thus employed, another *Carthaginian* squadron of fifty ships entered the great harbour of *Syracuse*, and sunk two transports, one of them an *Athenian*, which were all the vessels then in port. The *Carthaginians*, according to their usual cruelty, cut off the hands of all those they found on board, though they had not offered them the least injury, it being impossible for them to make any resistance. This barbarity was soon retaliated by *Agathocles* upon the *Carthaginians*; for several of their galleys, having been separated from the rest of the fleet upon the coast of *Italy*, fell into his hands, when he served all the prisoners taken therein in the same manner^a.

THE *Carthaginians*, being informed that *Agathocles* had pillaged their territories in *Sicily*, and that his forces grew very numerous upon the frontiers, resolved to assemble an army without delay, in order to reduce that tyrant. As they had received advice, that he had offered battle to a considerable body of their troops posted upon the hill *Ecnomos*, who were obliged to decline his challenge, they were determined to pursue the war with more vigour than they hitherto had done. Having therefore reinforced the troops intended for the *Sicilian* expedition

The Carthaginians prevent his taking Agrigentum; notwithstanding which, he ravages all the adjacent country, and takes several Carthaginian forts by storm.

The Carthaginians assemble a powerful army to oppose him, and encamp near Himera.

^z DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. c. 6.

^a Idem ibid.

(E) In the midst of these troubles, *Dinocrates* assembled a large body of troops, which consisted chiefly of *Syracusan* and *Messanian* exiles. Having a great antipathy to *Agathocles*, he sent a considerable detachment under the command of *Nymphodorus*, one of his captains, to reduce the city of *Centuripe*, which was then garrisoned by that tyrant's troops; but *Nymphodorus* was killed in this attempt, and his men forced to raise the siege with great loss. *Dinocrates* sent to the *Carthaginians* for assistance in this expedition; but whether or no he received any from them, *Diodorus* tells us not. However, *Agathocles* took from hence an occasion of accusing the *Centuripians* of having formed a conspiracy against him, which gave him an opportunity of cutting off all those whom he suspected to be disaffected to his government (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 6.*

with

with two thousand native *Carthaginians*, among whom were many persons of quality, a thousand *Etruscan* mercenaries, as many slingers from the *Balearic* islands, and two hundred chariots, they transported them to that island, under the command of *Hamilcar*, as above-mentioned, to put a stop to the tyrant's conquests. The fleet, consisting of an hundred and thirty long ships, in the passage was dispersed by a violent storm, in which *Hamilcar* lost sixty ships of war and two hundred transports, with a great number of men. Many persons of the best families of *Carthage* were lost by this disaster, which caused a public lamentation in that city, when the walls were all hung with black, as usual on such melancholy occasions. *Hamilcar*, notwithstanding his loss, being joined on his arrival by such of the *Sicilians* as hated *Agathocles*, found, upon a muster, that his army consisted of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near the city of *Himera*, designing to come to blows with the enemy as soon as a fair opportunity offered ^b.

Agathocles defeated by the Carthaginians near Himera.

In the mean time, *Agathocles*, finding the *Carthaginians* much superior to him, concluded, that many cities would join them, particularly that of *Gela*. What confirmed him in this opinion was, a blow he had lately received, twenty of his galleys, with all the troops on board, having fallen into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. To prevent the inhabitants of *Gela* from declaring against him, he found means gradually to introduce a party of his troops into the town, who not only pillaged it, but put four thousand of the citizens to the sword, threatening to use all others in the same manner, who did not immediately produce their treasure. Having thus filled his coffers with wealth, and left a strong garison in the place, he moved with his forces towards the *Carthaginians*; and possessing himself of an eminence opposite to the enemy, there encamped. The *Carthaginians* had posted themselves upon the hill *Ænomos*, on which *Phalaris's* castle, where he tortured offenders in his brazen bull, formerly stood; and *Agathocles* took post in another of that tyrant's castles, which from him was called *Phalerios*, upon the opposite height, being separated from *Hamilcar* by a river which ran between the two camps. As a prophecy or tradition had long prevailed there, that a great battle should be fought on the banks of this river, in which a vast carnage should be made, neither side for a long time shewed any disposition to begin the attack, both armies having a superstitious dread upon them. At last a party of *Africans*, by way of bravado, passed the river, and another of *Agathocles's* troops,

^b Dion. Sic. ubi sup. c. 7.

to return the compliment, did the same; and this brought on a general engagement. For the *Sicilians*, driving off some cattle and beasts of burden belonging to the enemy, were pursued by a *Carthaginian* detachment, which immediately upon its arrival on the opposite bank, fell into an ambuscade, that *Agathocles*, foreseeing what would happen, had laid there to intercept it; and not having time to form itself, was easily routed. This first instance of success greatly encouraged *Agathocles*, who hereupon moving out of his camp, attacked *Hamilcar* with his whole army, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches; though he sustained great loss from the slingers of the *Balearic* islands, who (F) with stones of a large size broke to pieces the shields and armour of his soldiers, and destroyed him abundance of men. But at this critical juncture a strong reinforcement unexpectedly arrived from *Carthage*, which intirely changed the face of affairs; for the *Sicilians*, having before made their utmost efforts, became greatly dejected upon the arrival of these succours, and, almost as soon as the enemy rallied, took to their heels, and were so hotly pursued, that all the plains of the *Himera* were covered with dead bodies. The heats being then excessive, great numbers that were ready to perish with thirst, drank too copiously of the river-water, which was salt and brackish, and thereby lost their lives. The *Carthaginians* had five hundred men killed in this battle, but *Agathocles* at least seven thousand ^c.

AFTER this defeat, *Agathocles*, collecting the shattered remains of his army, burnt his camp, and retired with great precipitation to *Gela*. He had not been there long, before some of his troops, by chicane, deluded three hundred *African* horse into the place, all of whom to a man he caused to be cut off. The tyrant remained some time in *Gela*, that he might draw the enemy thither, and thereby prevent the siege of *Syracuse*, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harvest. *Hamilcar*,

Upon which the people of Catana, Leontium, Taurominium, Abacenum, and Messina, submit to them.

^c Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. l. xxii.

(F) *Diodorus* tells us, that all these *Balearic* slingers had been trained up in the art of slinging from their infancy, and consequently were very expert in that art; that they frequently attacked the enemy with stones of three pounds weight, which did great execution; and that in fine the *Carthaginians* wrested many victories out of the enemy's hands almost intirely by their efforts. Our readers may expect a further account of them from *Lycophron*, *Diodorus*, *Vegetius*, and others, when we come to the history of *Spain* (3).

(3) *Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. & l. xix. c. 7.*

being

being informed, that *Gela* was defended by a strong garison, supplied abundantly with all sorts of provisions and military stores, did not think fit to make an attempt upon it, but contented himself with reducing the forts and castles in the neighbourhood of that place, all of which surrendered upon the first summons. As he behaved in a very affable manner, the people of *Camarina*, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Taurominium*, sent ambassadors to him to implore his protection; as did soon after those of *Messana* and *Abacænum*, though they were before at variance amongst themselves. In such perfect abhorrence did the people over the whole island hold the tyrant and all his adherents^d (G).

And Agathocles shuts himself up within the walls of Syracuse.

Agathocles, finding the Carthaginian general not disposed immediately to undertake either the siege of *Gela* or *Syracuse*, repaired to the latter of these places; and having filled his magazines, reinforced the garison, and perfected all the works, he shut himself up within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the Carthaginians followed him, and laid close siege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would soon have put them in possession of the whole island^e.

The Carthaginians push on the siege of that metropolis, and Agathocles, with a body of troops, sets sail for Africa.

THE Carthaginians having cut off a great part of Agathocles's army, stripped him of his confederates, and got all *Sicily*, except *Syracuse*, into their hands, the tyrant now found himself driven to a state of desperation. Being therefore abandoned by his allies from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, he formed a design of so bold, and, in appearance, so impracticable, a nature, that nothing but the success, with which it was attended, could justify the undertaking of it. This design was to transfer the war into *Africa*, and besiege *Carthage* at a time when he himself was besieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in *Sicily*. His project he communicated to no person whatsoever, but only told the *Syracusians* in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the losses they had sustained to that day. He then chose the most daring and intrepid among the soldiers and citizens of *Syracuse*, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the first call, and the horse-

^d DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

^e Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. ubi sup.

(G) Justin intimates, that there was a second action between *Hamilcar*, the son of *Gisco*, and *Agathocles*, before the Carthaginians, laid siege to *Syracuse*, wherein the latter was totally routed, and obliged to shut himself up within the walls of his metropolis (4).

(4) Justin. l. xxii. c. 3.

men

men to carry each along with him, besides his arms, a saddle and a bridle. Before his departure he gave free permission to all persons, who were not willing to go through the fatigues of a siege, to (H) retire out of the town, which many of the principal citizens, *Justin* says sixteen hundred, accepted of; but were scarce got out of the place, when they were cut off by parties posted upon the roads for that purpose. He set at liberty all the slaves who were able to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, incorporated them among his troops. Having seized upon the estates and effects of those persons who left the city, he raised a considerable sum, which was intended in some measure to defray the expence of the expedition he was going upon; however, he carried with him only fifty talents to supply his present wants, well assured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever was necessary to his subsistence. His forces being all embarked, he appointed his brother *Antandrus* governor of *Syracuse* in his absence, with forces and provisions sufficient to hold out a long siege; and taking with him his two sons *Archagathus* and *Heraclides*, he went on board last himself, where he waited some time for a fair wind. All people were at a loss to conjecture, what design he was going upon: some imagined his intention was to sail to the coast of *Italy* or *Sardinia*, to plunder those countries; others, that he proposed ravaging that part of *Sicily* belonging to the *Carthaginians*; but most persons agreed, that it was a desperate project he had in view. As the *Carthaginians* had a much superior fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the harbour, he was obliged to watch several days for an opportunity to set sail. At last a large fleet of transports appeared laden with corn and other provisions for *Syracuse*. To intercept these, the *Carthaginians* put to sea, and *Agathocles* no sooner saw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewise hoisted sail, and, by the great activity of his rowers, soon got out into the main ocean^f.

THE *Carthaginians*, seeing a squadron of sixty galleys (for so many did this of *Agathocles* contain), at first imagined, that

^f DIOD. SIC. l. XX. c. 1. & JUSTIN. ubi sup. OROS. l. iv. POLYÆN. strat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.

(H) *Polyænus* relates, that vast numbers of *Syracusians* having crowded on board the sixty vessels, of which *Agathocles*'s fleet consisted, the tyrant gave free liberty to all who were not willing to be engaged in a desperate expedition, to retire with their effects. Many, embracing this offer, withdrew into the town, all of whom *Agathocles*, who looked upon them as cowards, ordered to be put to the sword (5).

(5) *Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.*

And, after a slight engagement with the Carthaginian fleet, makes a descent there.

the enemy's fleet was sent to defend the transports; and therefore, tacking about, prepared for an engagement. But observing that this Squadron continued its course straight forward, and was far before them, they immediately gave it chase, crowding all the sail possible. However, *Agathocles* so bestirred himself, that, night coming on, they lost sight of him; and, in the mean time, the transports, unexpectedly escaping the danger, plentifully supplied the city with corn and all other provisions. The next day a most remarkable (I) eclipse of the sun happened, when the stars appeared every-where in the firmament, and the day seemed to be turned into night. As the *Sicilians* were not a little superstitious, this event struck the troops on board with terror, every one believing it to be a presage of their approaching destruction. But *Agathocles* revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by telling them, that if they had seen this before their departure from *Sicily*, it would have portended a disappointment to them; but that as it happened afterwards, it predicted a train of disasters to the *Carthaginians*, whose dominions they were going to invade. He further remarked, that these eclipses always foretold some instant change; that therefore happiness was taking its leave of the enemy, and coming over to them. The *Carthaginian* admiral, finding that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed them both, and that *Agathocles* did not return, resolved to pursue him close, and prevent him from kindling the war in some other place. Having therefore sailed six days and six nights steering his course towards *Africa*, he at last came up with the *Sicilian* fleet, then upon the point of landing the forces on board. As both squadrons had the coast of *Africa* in view, the *Carthaginians* made the utmost efforts to attack *Agathocles* before he could reach the shore; and on the other hand the tyrant, knowing what his fate would be, if he fell into the hands of so cruel an enemy, was no less active in his endeavours to land, before the *Carthaginians* could engage him. In fine, he had just begun to exe-

(I) *Diodorus* and *Justin* both affirm this to have been a solar eclipse; but *Frontinus* makes it a lunar one. The last author has, however, been corrupted in the passage referred to, so that the critics can scarce make sense of it. From the two former writers, as well as many others, that might be produced, it appears, that the antients believed the eclipses of the luminaries to have portended great revolutions in human affairs; and it must be owned, that this notion, as well as some other points in judicial astrology, is of a very high antiquity (6).

(6) *Diod. Sic. Justin. & Frontin. in loc. citat. Vide & Peucerum de divinac. p. 661.*

cute his design, when part of the *Carthaginian* Squadron coming up with his rear, a slight engagement ensued. The weapons chiefly made use of on this occasion were bows and slings, the vessels not being close enough to grapple. As but a small part of the *Carthaginian* fleet found it possible to engage, and the mariners were quite tired with rowing, *Agathocles* gained the advantage; whereupon the *Carthaginians*, tacking about, stood off a little above the cast of a dart. This gave him an opportunity of landing his troops at a place called the *quarries*, without any farther opposition ^z.

Agathocles, having landed his forces in the enemy's country, *Soon after* and secured for the present his shipping by a breast-work or parapet, offered a solemn sacrifice to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, the guardians of *Sicily*. After this he summoned a council of war, composed of such officers as were intirely at his devotion; where, appearing in his royal robes, he acquainted them, that when they were so closely pursued by the *Carthaginians*, he had applied himself to the two goddesses, promising, upon his arrival in *Africa*, to consecrate all the vessels of the Squadron to them, by reducing them to so many burning lamps; and that, since they were now delivered from the enemy, his intention was to perform his vow by burning the whole fleet. He exhorted them to distinguish themselves on the present occasion, declaring, that by the sacrifices the gods promised great success. He likewise observed, that the only way to draw the enemy out of *Sicily* was, to carry the war into their own country; that the *Carthaginians* were softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the *Africans* under their subjection, as well as the neighbouring states, being highly incensed at the *Carthaginian* insolence, would join them on the first news of their arrival; that the cities of *Africa* were not fortified and built on mountains, as in *Sicily*, and therefore could not make any defence; that the boldness only of their attempt would quite disconcert the *Carthaginians*, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their own gates; that no enterprise could redound more to their honour and advantage, since this would, if attended with success, make them masters of all the wealth of *Carthage*, and transmit their names and fame to the latest posterity. In fine, he desired them not to be dismayed at the loss of their ships, since the two goddesses, above-mentioned, would hereafter return them a far greater number. Having uttered these words, a servant brought him a torch, which he eagerly catching hold of, went on board his own ship, and set it on fire.

^z DIOD. SIC. & JUSTIN. ubi sup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 12. ex. 9.

All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the soldiers. As the flames mounted up, the trumpets sounded from every quarter, and, after a joint prayer to the gods to grant the army a safe return home, the whole shore echoed with joyful shouts and loud acclamations. In short, the soldiers fancied themselves already masters of *Africa*; and, not having been allowed time to reflect on the proposal made them, the whole fleet was in a moment consumed. This seems to have been one of the most desperate actions to be met with in history ^b (K).

The motives for this conduct.

THE motives for this astonishing point of conduct were various: First, *Agathocles* was desirous of putting his troops under a necessity of conquering, which he imagined might be done by the destruction of his fleet, since this would leave them no other refuge but victory. Secondly, he considered, that he had not one good harbour in *Africa*, where his ships could lie with safety; wherefore, as the *Carthaginians* were masters at sea, they would infallibly possess themselves of all his shipping, which was no-ways in a condition to cope with theirs. Thirdly, in case he had left as many troops as were necessary to defend the fleet, he would have thereby so weakened his army, which was at best but inconsiderable, that he could not have ventured a battle with the enemy, and of course would have rendered himself incapable of drawing any advantage from this unexpected diversion. These, with other reasons, determined him to act in the manner above-mentioned, and exert that prodigious courage, necessary to work up his troops to such an unparalleled resolution. As they had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, when they began to cool, things appeared in another light. They now considered themselves as in the midst of an enemy's country, separated from their own by the vast ocean, without the least hopes or means of escaping. Upon this a sad and melancholy silence succeeded that transport of joy, which but a moment before had been so general in the army ⁱ.

^b DIOD. SIC. JUSTIN. FRONTIN. POLYÆN. & OROS. ubi sup.
ⁱ DIOD. SIC. JUSTIN. &c. ubi sup. Vid. & POLYB. l. xxii. & ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. iii.

(K) This conduct of *Agathocles*, how wild and extravagant soever it may appear to us at this distance of time, who are not so well acquainted with the springs and motives to it, nor the circumstances of his and the *Carthaginian* affairs, was highly approved of by *Scipio*, as we learn from *Polybius*. That great general looked upon *Agathocles* as a very able commander, and took hints from some points of his conduct, which much facilitated the conquest of *Carthage* (7).

(7) *Polyb. l. xv. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43.*

BUT

BUT to dissipate all gloomy apprehensions, *Agathocles* march-
ed instantly at the head of his troops against a place in the ter-
ritories of *Carthage*, called the *Great city*, leaving the soldiers
here again no time for reflection. The whole country, through
which he passed, afforded the most delicious and agreeable pro-
spect imaginable. On each side were spacious meadows covered
with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houses built with ex-
traordinary magnificence, delightful avenues planted with all
sorts of fruit-trees, charming gardens of a prodigious extent,
and kept with all possible care and elegance, &c. The whole
tract was likewise watered by beautiful streams, and full of
towns adorned with stately palaces belonging to the nobility of

*He ad-
vances to-
wards
Carthage,
takes a
place call-
ed the
Great
City, and
gives the
plunder of
it to his
soldiers.*

Carthage, many of whom inhabited this particular province.
As they had enjoyed a long peace, nothing but a face of plenty
and abundance here appeared, and an immense quantity of
wealth was amassed in every part. This enchanting scene raised
the drooping spirits of the soldiery, who thought the possession
of so fine a country would make full amends for all the toils and
fatigues that could be undergone. They advanced therefore
with intrepidity to the *Great City*, which, after a feeble resist-
ance, they took by storm. As *Agathocles* was desirous of in-
spiring his troops with fresh courage, he abandoned the plunder
of the place, which was very considerable, to them. That
this was a town of importance, and called in the *Punic* lan-
guage *Samath*, *Sumeth*, or *Samatho*, is in some degree proba-
ble from *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Stephanus*, and others^k.

FROM hence the tyrant moved with his army to *Tunes*, a city
of eminence in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, which, being
intimidated by so unexpected a visit, surrendered on the first
summons. The troops would willingly have garisoned both
these places, and laid up in them the plunder they had got;
but *Agathocles* would by no means listen to such a motion.
He, with some difficulty, convinced them, that this was not
consistent with the plan he had laid down, nor at all expedient
in their present circumstances. Being therefore determined,
that his men should have no place to retire to in case of any
misfortune, that they might place all hopes of safety in victory,
he caused both the cities lately reduced to be levelled with the
ground, and encamped in the open fields^l.

*He like-
wise takes
Tunes, and
levels this,
as well as
the above-
mentioned
city, with
the ground.*

IN the mean time, the *Carthaginians* on board the galleys,
that came up with *Agathocles*, just before he made his descent,
expressed great joy upon seeing the *Sicilian* ships all on a blaze,

*The Car-
thaginians
are great-
ly alarmed*

^k DIOD. SIC. & JUSTIN. ubi sup. ALEXAND. POLYHIST. in Libyc. l. iii. apud STEPH. de urb. & BOCHART. Chan. l. ii. c. 12.

^l DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

imagining this to be the effect of fear. But they changed their note, when they observed the enemy marching in good order up into the country, being then convinced, that a push was intended to be made at *Carthage* itself. Hereupon they immediately spread a great number of hides upon the fore-castles of their ships, which was with them a constant signal of some impending public calamity. They also carried on board their own vessels the iron beaks belonging to the *Sicilian* ships that had been destroyed, and dispatched an express to *Carthage* to give the senate a particular account of every thing that had happened. But the whole country was so alarmed upon the first appearance of the enemy's squadron on the *African* coast, that, before his arrival, the news of their unexpected descent had reached *Carthage*, and thrown the whole city into the utmost terror and confusion. They all concluded, that their army before *Syracuse* had been defeated, and their fleet lost; for that, in any other situation of affairs, it was possible for *Agathocles* to leave *Syracuse*, and pass over into *Africa*, they could not believe. The people hastened with trembling hearts to the market-place, while the senate assembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might save the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to besiege. They had no army in readiness to make head against the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. Some therefore were for sending ambassadors to *Agathocles* to propose an accommodation, and at the same time to discover the posture of the enemy; others apprehended it would be better to receive a more perfect intelligence of the true state of affairs, before any public step was taken; and this opinion prevailed^m.

Who, however, make preparations to give the enemy a warm reception.

WHILST the city was in this ferment, the courier sent by the *Carthaginian* admiral arrived, and informed the senate of the destruction of the *Sicilian* fleet, and that *Agathocles* was advancing with his army into the heart of their dominions. However, he gave them to understand, that their troops in *Sicily* were all safe and in good condition; that they pushed on the siege of *Syracuse* with the utmost vigour; that the body of forces under *Agathocles* was not very considerable; and that the advantage he had lately gained by sea was attended with no other consequence in his favour, than that it enabled him barely to land his troops. This pacified the minds of the people, so that by degrees they recovered from the panic they were lately thrown into; though the senate severely reprimanded the sea-officers for their negligence, in suffering the enemy to make a

^m Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. ubi sup.

descent,

descent, when they were masters at sea. It was now resolved, that the citizens should be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry, with two thousand armed chariots. They appointed *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* to command the forces, notwithstanding the grudges that had long subsisted between their respective families, hoping that, laying aside all private animosities, they would jointly exert themselves in the defence of their country, and not permit any family quarrels to interfere with the public welfare. In this, however, they were deceived; for *Bomilcar*, having long thirsted after arbitrary power, passionately wished for an opportunity of subverting the republican form of government at *Carthage*; which believing the post above-mentioned would enable him to do, he readily accepted of it with that view only. As the *Carthaginians* frequently brought false accusations against their generals after the conclusion of a peace, and through envy put many of them most unjustly to death, 'tis not to be wondered at, that sometimes, in order to avoid such perfidious treatment, they either resigned their commissions, or attempted to introduce arbitrary power. Of this *Bomilcar* was an instance, as will more fully appear by-and-by ⁿ.

In the mean time *Agathocles* committed great ravages, razing several castles, and burning many villages, on his march, tho' his army did not consist at most of above fourteen thousand men. The *Carthaginian* generals, to find him other employ, immediately took the field, and advancing towards him with great celerity, at last possessed themselves of an eminence in sight of his camp, and drew up their forces in battle-array. *Hanno* commanded the right-wing, supported by the (L) sacred

Agathocles commits great ravages in Africa, and prepares to engage the Carthaginians.

ⁿ DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

(L) The sacred cohort consisted of the sons of senators, and the prime nobility, who seem to have had their tents placed near that of the general. His aids de camp were taken out of this body, and the officers of it were his principal companions. The precise number of this corps cannot be determined; but from *Appian* we may conclude, that it consisted of about four thousand men. It was known to the *Romans* by the appellations *sacra cohors*, *stipatores*, *prætoriani*, *delecta cohors*, and answered to the *evocati* and *ablecti* of that nation. In short, it was a body composed of volunteers of distinction, who might be looked upon as the general's guard and particular friends. *Curtius* intimates, that *Amyntas* had a guard of *Macedonian* youths something resembling these. For a further account of them, we must refer our readers to the authors cited in the margin (8).

(8) *Diod. Sic. l. xx. Appian. in Libyc. 2. Curt l. v. & Christ. Hendr. de rep. Carthag. l. ii. §. 2. m. 1. c. 7. p. 424, 425.*

cohort;

cohort; *Bomilcar* the left, making his phalanx very deep, since the nature of the place would not permit him to extend his wing farther in front; and the cavalry and chariots were placed, as usual, in the van. *Agathocles*, on the other hand, made a proper disposition of his forces, which were composed of *Syracusians*, *Samnites*, *Etruscans*, *Celtes*, and *Greek* mercenaries. The right wing he committed to the conduct of his son *Archagathus*; the other at the head of the troops of the household and a thousand cuirassiers, opposite to the *Carthaginian* sacred cohort, he commanded himself; and lastly, the slingers and archers, to the number of five hundred, were distributed in both wings to the best advantage. Finding several of his soldiers unarmed, he obliged them to draw the covers and cases of shields over a quantity of rods collected for that purpose, and to carry those before them, as if they had been real. By this stratagem, though none of the most refined, he imposed upon the enemy, who were at some distance from him, and prevented the nakedness of his troops from being exposed to their view.

*And by a
stratagem,
together
with Bo-
milcar's
treachery,
intirely
over-
throws
them.*

Agathocles was in no small consternation, when he saw so numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he dissembled his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite dispirited, and under great apprehensions of the enemy's horse and chariots, he let out several owls, which he had before prepared for that purpose. These flying about the camp, and lighting on the soldiers shields, so raised their spirits, that of their own accord they began to advance against the enemy, not doubting, but by the assistance of *Minerva*, to whom that bird was sacred, and therefore looked upon by the whole army as a good omen, they should gain a complete victory. The first charge was made by the enemy's chariots, and the cavalry intermixed with them; but the body of *Sicilian* troops opposed to them did not only withstand their efforts with incredible bravery, but pierced some of them through with darts and arrows, and drove the rest back into the midst of their own foot. This naturally threw the foot into confusion, and occasioned the defeat of the horse; for these, finding themselves deprived of their chief support, were easily broken, and never afterwards made the least attempt to rally. However, *Hanno*, with the sacred cohort, which consisted of the flower of the troops, sustained a long time the fury of the enemy, and even put them into disorder; but being overwhelmed with showers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell, fighting bravely to the last. His death obliging the right wing to give ground, inspired *Agathocles* and his troops with such ardour, that they bore down all

• *Idem* *ibid.*

before

before them, though for some time they were most vigorously opposed by the enemy. *Bomilcar*, understanding that his colleague was slain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity put into his hands by the gods of possessing himself of the sovereignty, to which he had long aspired. Though therefore it was in his power to have changed the face of things, yet being sensible, that he could not accomplish the design he had in view, if the army of *Agathocles* were destroyed, but might easily put it in execution, if the enemy conquered, he resolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting, but he should be able to get the better of *Agathocles* whenever he pleased. Accordingly, acquainting his men with *Hanno's* death, he enjoined them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to escape the fury of the victorious enemy. As by the general's direction the retreat was so precipitate, that it looked like a downright flight, the *Africans* in their rear imagined, that all the rest of the army were totally routed, and therefore immediately fell into disorder; which being observed by *Agathocles*, he took advantage of this confusion, and pursued them so close, that they were obliged to take to their heels, as their companions before had done, whereby he gained a complete victory. The sacred cohort, however, fought with great bravery, even after the death of *Hanno*, and courageously advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, till they saw themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. Then, indeed they thought it proper to have some regard to their own safety, and therefore retiring in good order, gained an eminence, where they halted, and endeavoured to make head against those who pursued them; but not being supported by *Bomilcar*, they were either cut off, or forced to save themselves by flight, after having distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. That general, after the defeat of his army, retired to *Carthage*, not having been pursued far by *Agathocles*, who returned back with great expedition to take possession of the enemy's camp. This he allowed his soldiers to plunder for their further encouragement; where, among other rich spoils, they found many chariots of curious workmanship, that carried twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided for the *Sicilian* prisoners, not doubting but they should fill all the dungeons in *Carthage* with them. Of the *Sicilians*, according to *Diodorus*, not above two hundred were slain, and about a thousand *Carthaginians*, or, as others will have it, six thousand. *Justin* makes the loss to be pretty equal on both sides; for he tells us, that two thousand *Sicilians*, and three thousand *Carthaginians*, fell in this battle. As *Bomilcar*

quitted the field of battle without fighting, and *Agathocles* did not long continue the pursuit, it is probable, that the slaughter was not very considerable, and that both sides suffered pretty much alike, especially since the sacred cohort behaved to the last with such unparalleled resolution. *Justin* likewise differs from *Diodorus* in his account of the strength of the *Carthaginian* forces in this action; for whereas the former will have that host to have been very numerous, the latter relates, that it consisted only of thirty thousand men. Be this as it will, the *Carthaginians* received a notable defeat, when they thought themselves in a manner certain of victory; GOD, as our historian here observes, being pleased, by this instance, to let them know, that HE is the supreme disposer and arbiter of events ^P.

The Carthaginians endeavour to appease some deities, whom they imagined they had offended.

THOUGH the *Carthaginians* had sustained no very considerable loss in the late engagement, they were extremely disheartened, believing the gods fought against them. They could not imagine it possible for *Agathocles*, after his whole army had been totally routed in *Sicily*, and he reduced almost to the necessity of surrendering his metropolis, to land in *Africa*, in spite of a powerful fleet, with the shattered remains of his broken troops, and afterwards defeat a numerous body of forces, without the interposition of some superior being. Under the influence of this persuasion, they made it their first endeavour to appease the offended deities, particularly *Hercules* and *Saturn*, whom they considered as the tutelar gods of their country. From the foundation of their city, they had sent the tenth part of all their revenues annually to *Tyre*, as an offering to *Hercules*, the patron and protector both of *Carthage* and its mother city. This custom for many ages had been religiously observed; but their revenues at last growing immensely large, they not only had omitted to raise the tenths sacred to *Hercules* in proportion, but even discontinued their antient acknowledgment to that deity. For this sacrilegious avarice they now imagined themselves punished; and, therefore, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confession of their insincerity, and sent the golden shrines of their other deities to *Hercules* at *Tyre*, having a notion, that such sacred gifts would make a more effectual atonement. As for *Saturn*, in antient times it was usual to sacrifice children of the most noble families to him, as has been above observed; but for some years past in these sacrifices they had substituted children of mean extraction, secretly bought and bred up for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. This they now considered as a departure from the religion of their forefathers, and a remarkable failure of paying this divinity the honour due

^P DIOD. SIC. & JUSTIN. ubi sup.

to him, and consequently were conscious of having given him just cause of offence. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice of two hundred children of the first rank was made to the bloody god, and above three hundred other persons, in a sense of their dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of this deity. Such were the sentiments of the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, and such the method, they apprehended, would prove the most effectual in reconciling the offended deities to them, whom they imagined the immediate authors of the bad success that attended their arms; though it is probable, that soon after, upon the discovery of *Bomilcar's* perfidious conduct, they admitted at least of the concurrence of an inferior cause ⁹.

AFTER these expiations, the *Carthaginians* thought it not *And recal* improper likewise to make use of human means for their pre- *Hamilcar* servation; they therefore dispatched messengers to *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, with advice of what had happened in *Africa*, and express orders to hasten over to the relief of his country. When the messengers arrived, *Hamilcar* commanded them not once to mention the victory of *Agathocles*; but, on the contrary, to give out amongst the troops, that he had been intirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet destroyed by the *Carthaginians*. The senate of *Carthage* had sent to *Hamilcar* by the messengers all the beaks of the *Syracusan* ships, that this report might more easily gain credit; for it was by their orders that he had caused it to be propagated. *Hamilcar* therefore, in consequence of these orders, immediately sent the persons newly arrived from *Carthage* to *Syracuse*, to publish this melancholy news there, and at the same time, in confirmation of it, to produce the iron beaks of the ships pretended to be taken from the enemy. This they did, summoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, since they could expect no succours, their army and fleet in *Africa* being utterly ruined. At first this sad account was generally believed, and greatly affected the whole city; but the leading men, to prevent all commotions, dismissed the messengers without any answer, and soon after expelled eight thousand of their citizens, who seemed disposed to an insurrection. This threw every part of the city into the utmost confusion, the women running about the streets in a distracted manner, and every house being filled with outcries and lamentations. Some bewailed the death of *Agathocles* and his sons; others the loss of their friends, who were supposed to be

⁹ POLYB. p. 944. Q. CURT. l. iv. c. 2, 3. PESCEN. FEST. apud LACTANT. divin. instit. l. c. xxi. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra, &c.

cut off in *Africa*; and great numbers their own hard fate, in being driven, with their wives and children, into the hands of the enemy. But *Hamilcar* entertained the exiles with great kindness; and being informed by them of the deplorable condition the city was in, he resolved to make a general assault on all quarters at once. Tho' he expected easily to carry the place, as believing it to be almost destitute of troops to defend it, yet he first sent new deputies to *Antandrus* the governor, promising to spare him and all those who sided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was summoned, at which all the principal officers were invited to assist; when, after much debate, *Antandrus*, being a man of a mean spirit and very unlike his brother, declared himself for a capitulation; but *Eurymnon* the *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left to assist his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the rest to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. *Hamilcar*, being apprised of the resolution the garrison had taken, prepared his battering-engines to play afresh upon the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions to storm the town without delay^r.

Who, upon this, raises the siege of Syracuse, and sends a detachment of five thousand men to Africa. WHILST matters remained in this situation, a galley with thirty oars arrived in the harbour of *Syracuse*, whose rowers, crowned with garlands, and singing the *Io Pæan*, made directly to the city. This vessel *Agathocles* caused to be built immediately after the battle; and having manned it with some of his best rowers, under the conduct of his intimate friend *Nearchus*, dispatched it to *Syracuse*, to carry thither the agreeable news of his late victory. The *Carthaginian* guard-ships, discovering it, gave it chase so briskly, that it narrowly escaped falling into their hands; which it must infallibly have done, had not the *Syracusians* advanced to its relief, when it was within a dart's cast of the shore. *Hamilcar*, observing that the garrison flocked down to the port on this occasion, and believing that he should find the walls unguarded, ordered his soldiers to rear up scaling ladders, and begin the intended assault. The enemy having left the ramparts quite exposed, the *Carthaginians* mounted them without being discerned, and had almost possessed themselves of an intire part lying between two towers, when the patrol discovered them. Upon this a warm dispute ensued; but at last the *Carthaginians* were repulsed with considerable loss. *Hamilcar* therefore, finding it in vain to continue the siege, after such glad tidings had restored life and resolution to the *Syracusians*, drew off his forces from before the place, and sent a detachment of five thousand men to reinforce the troops in *Africa*^s.

^r Idem ibid.^s Idem ibid.

Agathocles, after his victory over the *Carthaginians*, finding no enemy to oppose him, reduced many forts and castles in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. Many cities likewise, either out of fear, or aversion to the *Carthaginians*, joined him, by which his army being considerably reinforced, he moved towards the maritime towns, having left a body of troops to defend his fortified camp at *Tunes*. The first place he attacked was the *New City*; which he carried sword in hand, but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He then advanced to *Adrumetum*, and laid siege to it. The *Carthaginians*, by degrees recovering from the consternation they were thrown into by the late defeat, and being informed of the progress *Agathocles* made, as also of his being supported by *Elymas* king of *Libya*, immediately assembled another army, and marched against *Tunes*. After a stout resistance, they made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, and by their repeated attacks so pressed the town, that it was soon reduced to great extremity. *Agathocles*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's success, left the greatest part of his army to carry on the siege of *Adrumetum*, and, with a small body of troops, privately posted himself on the top of a mountain between *Adrumetum* and *Tunes* (M), from whence he could take a view both of his own camp and that of the *Carthaginians*. Here he ordered his soldiers in the night to make large fires, that the *Carthaginians* might think he was advancing at the head of a formidable army to the relief of *Tunes*; and, on the other hand, the garison of *Adrumetum* might be induced to believe, that a strong reinforcement was coming to his camp before that place. The stratagem answered both these views; for the *Carthaginians* raised the siege of *Tunes* hereupon with so much precipitation, that they left all their battering engines behind them; and the *Adrumetines* were so intimidated, that they immediately capitulated. *Thapsus* he afterwards took by storm, and reduced in that tract above two hundred cities and towns, partly by force, and partly by composition. *Justin* intimates, that he put a great number of peo-

(M) The learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* supposes mount *Zorwan*, or *Zag-wan*, a conspicuous mountain in the inland part of the summer circuit of the *Tuniseans*, to have been the place from whence *Agathocles* was entertained with a view both of the country of the *Adrumetines* and *Carthaginians*. *Solinus* intimates, that the foot of this mountain was one of the limits of *Africa Propria*; which, in conjunction with the name, renders it something probable, that the *Regio Zeugitana* received its denomination from it (9).

(9) Dr. *Shaw's* geograph. observat. relating to the kingdom of *Tun.* c. 3. p. 184, 185. *Solin.* c. 27. Vide & *Strab.* l. x. p. 320.

ple

ple to the sword in this expedition; but as the contrary seems to appear from *Diodorus*, we must suspend our belief of this particular. Perhaps the author above-mentioned took this article from *Timæus Siculus*, who painted all the expeditions of *Agathocles*, and his whole life, in the blackest colours. Be that as it will, he made himself master of the whole territory of *Carthage*; but hearing that *Elymas*, king of *Libya*, in violation of the late treaty, had declared against him, he immediately entered *Libya Superior*, and in a great battle overthrew that prince, putting to the sword a good part of his troops, and the general that commanded them. This blow obliged the *Libyan* monarch to recal the body of auxiliaries he had sent to aid the *Carthaginians*, and enabled *Agathocles* to march against that nation, who, he was acquainted, had formed the siege of *Tunes* a second time. Advancing with great expedition, he at length encamped within two hundred stadia of the enemy, and commanded his soldiers not to make any fires at all. This prevented the *Carthaginians* from having any suspicion of his approach; so that marching all night with wonderful celerity, he arrived by break of day in the neighbourhood of their camp; where meeting with a body of their forces, that had been plundering and laying waste the adjacent country, he charged them with such vigour, that two thousand were killed upon the spot, many taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. The *Carthaginians*, being extremely mortified at this disaster, and receiving advice, that *Elymas* had been obliged to recal the troops sent to their assistance, without waiting for *Agathocles*, abandoned the siege [†].

Hamilcar
intirely de-
feated by
the Syra-
cusians,
and his
head sent to
Agathoc-
cles in
Africa.

IT has been before observed, that *Hamilcar* sent only a detachment of five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country: keeping therefore the main body of his forces together, he still entertained hopes of obliging *Agathocles* to quit *Africa*, and return to the defence of his own dominions. He spent some time in making himself master of such cities as sided with the *Syracusians*; and after having brought all their allies under subjection, returned again to *Syracuse*, hoping to surprise the city, by attacking it in the night. The *Syracusians* were, before the approach of the *Carthaginian* army, reduced to some straits; for *Hamilcar* had not only cut off all supplies of provisions, that might have come to their relief by sea, but likewise destroyed all the corn and fruits of the earth he could meet with in their territory, and had attempted to possess himself of the castle of *Olympia* or *Olympicum*, lying before the town. However, they were not discouraged, but took all the necessary

[†] DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

measures for a vigorous defence; and suspecting *Hamilcar* to have formed a design of surprising the city, they, by way of precaution, ordered a body of three thousand foot and four hundred horse to take post in *Euryalus*, the citadel of *Epipolæ* (N). About midnight, *Hamilcar* advanced, at the head of a strong party, to begin the attack, and was supported by *Dinocrates*, general of the horse. His army was divided into two phalanxes, one formed of the *Carthaginian* forces, the other of the *Greek* mercenaries, which were followed by a confused multitude, composed of various nations (O), who attended the army for the sake of plunder. The passes being then rough and narrow, this unwieldy rabble for some time found it impossible to move forwards; and therefore the barbarians, of which it consisted, quarrelling for the way, came at last to downright blows; which put the whole army into confusion. The *Syracusians* posted at *Euryalus*, taking advantage of this, made a sally, and after having terribly galled the *Carthaginians* with their darts and arrows from the hill, attacked them in form. *Hamilcar* at first received the enemy with great resolution, crying out to the officers to do their duty, and endeavour to animate their troops to sustain the shock of the enemy; but the *Syracusians* having seized upon the passes, and there not being room for so numerous an army as *Hamilcar's* to act, great numbers of the *Carthaginian* foot were trod to death by their own horse; and the confusion they were at first thrown into being heightened by the darkness of the night, one part of their army engaged the

(N) *Diodorus* here makes a fine reflection on the uncertainty of war, and insinuates, that neither valour nor conduct has the greatest share in bringing it to a happy conclusion. *Agathocles*, one of the greatest captains of his age, at the head of a numerous army, was routed by *Hamilcar* at the battle of *Himera*; and yet soon after, this very victorious army, weakened only by an inconsiderable detachment sent to *Africa*, and consisting then of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, was intirely defeated by a small party of the routed enemy, supported only by the advantageous situation of the post they were ordered to defend (10).

(O) From this passage it appears probable, that the *Carthaginian* armies were attended by a numerous rabble in all remarkable expeditions. This will enable us to account for the prodigious carnage made of their troops when the enemy was victorious; for such an undisciplined number of people must first greatly contribute towards throwing the regular troops into confusion; and then, not being able either to resist or escape, be totally cut off. The *Turks* labour under the same inconvenience at this day, or at least have done so till of late.

(10) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.*

other;

other; so that the rout became general, and the slaughter dreadful. *Hamilcar* therefore, being deserted by all his army, which, before the engagement, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, was taken prisoner, and carried into *Syracuse*. *Diodorus* relates, that an *haruspex*, or sooth-sayer, before the beginning of the action, predicted, that *Hamilcar* should sup the next night in *Syracuse*; which though it proved true, yet the entertainment he there met with was not much to his satisfaction; for those, whose parents and relations he had barbarously murdered, led him in chains about all the streets of the city, and, after having vented their rage on their miserable captive by all sorts of torments, struck off his head, and sent it into *Africa*, a welcome present to *Agathocles*, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head of their general, struck them with such terror, that their commanders with the utmost difficulty kept them from abandoning the camp, and returning to *Carthage*^u.

The Agrigentines take several places from the Carthaginians and Syracusians.

THE day after this defeat, the *Carthaginians* rallied their shattered troops at some distance from *Syracuse*; but having lost their general, they could not agree amongst themselves about the choice of his successor: the exiles and *Greek* mercenaries therefore pitched upon *Dinocrates* for their commander, and the *Carthaginians* vested with the supreme command of the national troops the *Carthaginian* officer who was next in dignity to the late general. The *Agrigentines*, finding the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians* had extremely weakened each other by this bloody war, and that the latter were in great distress for want of provisions, judged this a favourable opportunity of seizing upon the sovereignty of the whole island themselves; and therefore set on foot a considerable army for that purpose, appointing *Xenodicus*, one of their countrymen, general. This army was soon reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the city of *Gela*, which *Xenodicus* had found means to engage in the *Agrigentine* interest. He first made himself master of *Enna*, and then marched to *Herbessus* (P), that was defended by a
Carthaginian

^u DIOD. SIC. l. xx. c. 1. JUSTIN. l. xxii. c. 7. sub. init. & OROS. l. iv. c. 6.

(P) That the cities of *Enna* and *Herbessus* were of *Phœnician* or *Carthaginian* extraction is apparent from the names themselves. The former is undoubtedly a *Greek* corruption of *Ennaam* or *Ennam*, which, in *Punic* or *Phœnician*, imports, *the fountain of pleasure*, or *the pleasant fountain*. The *Greeks*, having no words ending in M, frequently expunged that letter from *Oriental* proper names, in order to accommodate them to their own language, of which *Maria*, *Gebenna*,

Carthaginian garison. Upon his arrival there, he immediately caused it to be attacked. For some time the garison made a vigorous defence; but at last the inhabitants declaring in favour of the besiegers, the town after a brisk action, was taken; on which occasion a great number of *Carthaginians* were killed, and above five hundred taken prisoners. In fine, the *Agrigentines* prosecuted this war with such success, that in a short time they wrested many places of note both out of the hands of *Agathocles* and the *Carthaginians* ^w.

THE *Syracusians*, in the mean time, being threatened with a famine, and, understanding that some vessels laden with corn were coming to the enemy, fitted out twenty galleys to intercept them. As the *Carthaginians* had entertained no suspicion of such an attempt, the *Syracusians* found an opportunity of slipping by them, and for some time pursued their course, in quest of the transports above-mentioned. But the *Carthaginians*, being apprised of what had happened, pursued them with thirty galleys; and coming up with them off of *Hybla*, immediately attacked them. At first the *Syracusians* seemed to prepare themselves for a warm engagement; but being soon driven on shore, they abandoned their ships, and taking shelter in the temple of *Juno*, endeavoured there to defend them against the *Carthaginians*. After a sharp dispute, the latter, by means of their grappling-irons, carried ten of them off; but the rest were drawn on shore by the assistance of the garison of *Hybla*, who, upon the first news of the action, advanced to the relief of the *Syracusians* ^x.

^w DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. c. 2. ^x Idem ibid.

benna, &c. are sufficient instances (11). The authors referred to in the margin evince this etymon (12). The latter signifies in *Punic* or *Phœnician*, the mountain of the cave, or the hollow mountain; and that the town of *Herbessus* stood upon such a mountain, appears from several authors (13). We must not omit observing, that the word begins with an H, since *Pliny* (14) enumerates the *Herbessenses* amongst the inhabitants of those cities, whose names begin with that letter; nor that, in confirmation of what has been advanced, the place at this day is called *Le Grotte*, or caverns. From *Polyænus* we may infer, that the *Greeks* sometimes pronounced only one of the words of which this town's name was composed, viz. *Bessa* or *Vessa*, which greatly strengthens *Bochart's* conjecture (15).

(11) *Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 28.* (12) *Ovid. fast. l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. Cic. ad Ver. 4. Claud. l. ii* (13) *Bochart. ubi supra. Vide & Polyb. l. i. Diodor. Sic. l. xx. Thucyd. l. iv. c. 6. & Strab. l. vi.* (14) *Plin. l. iii. c. 8.* (15) *Cluver. & Fazcl. de reb. Sic. Vide & Bochart. ubi sup. ut & Polyæn. l. v. c. 1. ex. 4.*

The Carthaginians greatly dejected at the defeat of their army, and death of their general, in Sicily.

Agathocles, having forced the *Carthaginians* to raise a second time the siege of *Tunes*, and reduced all the places subject to them, prepared now to besiege *Carthage* itself; and, in order thereto, advanced with his army to a post within five miles of that capital. On the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the great losses they had sustained, in order to cover the city, encamped betwixt it and the enemy with a powerful army. This was the face of affairs, when *Agathocles* received advice of the defeat of the *Carthaginian* forces before *Syracuse*, and the head of *Hamilcar* their general, who being taken prisoner in the action, had been put to death in *Syracuse*, as above-related. Upon receiving this agreeable news, *Agathocles* rode up to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head, gave them an account of the total destruction of their army in *Sicily*. This threw the whole army into the utmost consternation, and filled every part of the camp with outcries and lamentations. The barbarians, according to the custom of their country, prostrated themselves before the head of their prince; for *Hamilcar*, at the time of his death, according to *Diodorus*, was one of the *Carthaginian* suffetes. In short, they were so dejected at the first publication of this melancholy account, that, in all human probability, *Agathocles* would soon have made himself master of *Carthage*, and put a glorious end to the war, had not an unexpected incident happened, which had like to have proved fatal to the tyrant himself, and thrown the game once more into the hands of the *Carthaginians* ^y.

A mutiny in Agathocles's camp.

Lyciscus, an officer of great bravery, being invited by *Agathocles* to supper, and heated with wine, reflected upon the tyrant's conduct in the most opprobrious terms, uttering at the same time against him the most bitter imprecations. *Agathocles*, having a personal value for him, on account of his merit, turned all his insolence and scurrility into a jest; but his son *Archagathus*, highly resenting such infamous behaviour, did not fail to recriminate, and to his invectives not a few menaces were added. When the entertainment was over, and every one retired to his tent, *Lyciscus* charged *Archagathus* with incest, he being suspected of an illicit commerce with *Alcia*, his father's wife. This incensed *Archagathus* to fury and madness; so that losing all moderation, he snatched a lance out of the hands of one of the guard, and immediately piercing *Lyciscus* with it, laid him dead at his feet. The friends of the deceased, and many other soldiers, enraged at the fact, filled the whole camp by break of day with tumult and confusion. To these many officers who

^y Idem ibid. Vide & CHRIST. HENDR. in Carthag. l. ii. sect. 1. p. 168.

were justly obnoxious to the tyrant's displeasure for various crimes, thinking this a fair opportunity of delivering themselves from all future apprehensions of punishment, joined in exciting the troops to revolt. The whole army was soon in motion, and determined to take vengeance either of *Archagathus* or *Agathocles*, if he refused to deliver up his son into their hands. The troops therefore, electing new officers to command them, soon possessed themselves of the walls of *Tunes*, to which place the tyrant returned after the arrival of the last express, and surrounded him, and his son, with their whole body of guards. The *Carthaginians*, apprised of what had happened, dispatched messengers to the *Sicilian* forces, promising them larger pay, and ample rewards, if they would abandon the tyrant, and take on in their service. Hereupon *Agathocles*, seeing himself in the most imminent danger, especially as many of his officers had already closed with the enemy's proposal, and judging it better to fall by the hands of his own soldiers, than to be put to an ignominious death by a cruel and insulting enemy, divested himself of his royal robes, and, in the habit of a poor peasant, appeared in the midst of his troops. This strange sight so confounded them, that there was a deep silence all over the camp; which *Agathocles* taking advantage of, made a speech suitable to the occasion, wherein he gave a particular detail of the most memorable events of his past life, and the great actions in which he had been concerned, concluding, that he was determined never to forfeit his honour for the sake of his life, and that therefore he was ready to put a period to his days immediately, if they, his fellow-soldiers, deemed this expedient for the public good. Upon this he drew his sword, as though his intention was to have killed himself upon the spot; but when in all appearance he was upon the point of thrusting it into his body, the army cried out aloud to him to forbear; and desiring him to resume his purple robe, and other ensigns of royalty, in a moment returned to their duty. This greatly disappointed the *Carthaginians*, who were in continual expectation of being joined by the most considerable part at least of the tyrant's army, not dreaming of what was really in agitation at that time in the *Sicilian* camp. *Agathocles* therefore surprised a strong body of the enemy, who had posted themselves close by his troops, that they might be at hand to join them, in case the proposal above-mentioned was listened to; and having put them to the rout, forced them back to their camp with great slaughter. Thus *Agathocles* not only extricated himself out of a strange difficulty, in which his son's imprudence had involved him, but likewise defeated the enemy, when they looked upon his situation as desperate. However, the ring-leaders of the mutiny, and two

Which had hundred others, who bore *Archagathus* a grudge, went over in a bad effect upon his affairs. a body to the *Carthaginians* ².

BUT notwithstanding the tyrant's affairs took so happy a turn at this critical juncture, when he seemed to be upon the very brink of destruction, yet the effects of the late mutiny might, in some measure, have been esteemed as fatal to him, since it gave the *Carthaginians* an opportunity of recovering from the consternation, into which the deplorable news of the total ruin of their army in *Sicily*, and the death of their general there, had thrown them. Could *Agathocles* have attacked the *Carthaginian* forces immediately upon his communication of this advice to them, he would, in all human probability, have easily defeated them, and made himself master of *Carthage*, had he directly followed his blow, without any resistance; but this unfortunate incident gave them time to shake off their panic, and make such preparations for their defence, as, in concurrence with other unforeseen events, baffled all the tyrant's future efforts to reduce that city. In the mean time, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances with the *African* princes, to whom he sent ambassadors, inviting them to join in the common cause, and assist him in overturning that imperious republic, which, with so much haughtiness, lorded it over them. This, together with the fame of his victories, had such an effect upon the *Numidians*, that, immediately declaring in his favour, they renounced all allegiance to the *Carthaginians* ².

A drawn battle betwixt *Agathocles* and the *Carthaginians*.

THE next year the people of *Carthage*, notwithstanding their deplorable circumstances, sent an army into *Numidia*, to reduce the revolvers; which, in conjunction with the (Q) *Zuphons*, a nation of that country, brought back many of them to their duty. *Agathocles* being informed of this, and fearing to lose the benefit of so seasonable a diversion, left his son *Archagathus* with part of his forces at *Tunes*, and with the rest, con-

² DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

² Idem ibid.

(Q) The *Zuphons* were a hord or canton of those *Numidians*, who either always persisted in their fidelity to the *Carthaginians*, or were the first who returned to their duty. It seems probable, that their capital city, if they had any, must have been named *Zuphon*, or *Zupbo*, and situate not far from the frontiers of *Africa Propria*. It is impossible, however, to determine this situation with any tolerable degree of precision, especially as none of the antient writers, except *Diodorus* in this place, if our memory fails us not, have taken any notice of them. *Cellarius*, though an accurate author, has passed them over in silence (16).

{16} *Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2.*

sisting of eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, all chosen men, together with fifty *African* carriages, for the sake of the greater expedition, advanced to the relief of the *Numidians*. The *Carthaginians*, receiving advice of his approach, encamped upon an eminence on the opposite bank of a deep, and seemingly impassable, river, in order to prevent a surprise; from whence they detached a body of light *Numidian* horse, to obstruct his march, and harraßs him by continual alarms. To keep these in play, *Agathocles* sent out parties of his slingers and archers, and with the main body of his army marched directly towards the enemy's camp, where he found them drawn up in battalia ready to receive him. Upon his first attempting to pass the river, he was charged by a body of the *Carthaginians* with great fury, and lost a considerable number of men; but his troops, notwithstanding the great resistance they met with, at last carried the opposite bank, where they warmly attacked the enemy. Most of the *Carthaginian* troops were, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and driven into their camp; but a body of *Greek* auxiliaries, under the command of *Clinon*, for a considerable time sustained the shock of the whole *Sicilian* army, where they did great execution, though at last they thought proper to retire. *Agathocles*, not judging it expedient to pursue such resolute fellows, fell upon the *Carthaginian* camp in two places at once, but, by reason of its being strongly fortified, was vigorously repulsed. Notwithstanding this, he continued his efforts to force it, depending greatly upon his *Numidian* allies; but these during the heat of the engagement kept themselves perfectly neuter, having an eye chiefly to the plunder of both camps. The action happening near that of the *Carthaginians*, they durst not move that way, and therefore advanced to the camp of *Agathocles*, which was at some distance, and defended but by a small guard. This they plundered, after having put to the sword, or taken prisoners, all that defended it; of which *Agathocles* being apprised, he hastened thither, and recovered part of the spoil. The *Carthaginians*, in the mean time, not only preserved themselves by this defection of the *Numidians* from *Agathocles*, but put their affairs in *Numidia* upon the antient footing ^b.

THOUGH the tyrant had been hitherto the favourite of fortune, yet finding himself unable to carry on the war alone, he endeavoured to gain *Ophellas*, one of *Alexander's* captains, then possessed of *Cyrenaica*, over to his interest. In order to this, he sent *Orthon*, a *Syracusan*, one of his intimate friends, as ambassador to that prince. *Ophellas* had at this time a consider-

Agathocles gains over Ophellas, prince of the Cyreneans, to his interest.

^b Idem ibid.

able army on foot, and was forming a project to enlarge his dominions. *Agathocles* therefore thought proper to flatter his ambition, by promising him the sovereignty of *Africa*, if, by his assistance, he would enable him to subdue the *Carthaginians*. He suggested, that could he get rid of so troublesome a rival, he should easily reduce the whole island of *Sicily*, which would abundantly gratify his ambition; that, had he more extensive views, *Italy* was near at hand, where he could make farther conquests; that being separated from *Africa* by a large sea, he had no intention to settle there; and that his last expedition did not proceed from a motive of choice, but necessity. *Ophellas* was intirely brought over by these suggestions, and, to succour his new ally the more effectually, sent to *Athens* for a body of troops. As he had married *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Miltiades*, who commanded the *Greeks* at the battle of *Marathon*, and was made free of the city, he obtained his request, the *Athenians* not doubting but they should share with him and *Agathocles* all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*. The low condition to which that people, as well as the other states of *Greece*, were then reduced by civil dissensions, and the immediate prospect they had of considerable gain, made them exert themselves on this occasion with the greater alacrity^c. *

And cuts
him off by
treachery.

Ophellas, having finished his military preparations, found his army to consist of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse, all regular troops, besides an hundred chariots, and a body of ten thousand men, attended by their wives and children, as though they had been going to plant a new colony. At the head of these forces he continued his march towards *Agathocles* for eighteen days, and then encamped at *Automolæ* (R), a city about

^c *Idem* *ibid.* JUSTIN. & OROS. *ubi sup.*

* The battle of *Marathon* was fought in the 490th year before Christ, *Ophellas* joined *Agathocles* the 320th year before Christ: So that it seems improbable *Ophellas* could have married the daughter of *Miltiades*, who died soon after that battle. There seems to be some mistake or oversight in the authors, there being no less than 170 years between the death of *Miltiades* and this battle.

(R) This city seems to be the *Automalax* of *Ptolemy*, which, according to that author, was fortified, and undoubtedly a frontier town of *Cyrenaica*. *Apollodorus* and *Strabo* call it *Automala*, *Diodorus* here *Automolæ*, and *Stephanus* *Automalaca*. It was situate, according to *Strabo*, at the bottom of the *Greater Syrtis*, now called the gulf of *Seedra*, at a small distance from the *Philænorum aræ*, the *Carthaginian* frontier. None of the antients, except *Diodorus*, have told us how far it was from *Cyrene*, the capital of *Cyrenaica*. This last author here gives us to understand, that it stood on the borders

CH
abou
nion
but
was
prov
wild
serpe
ing c

ders
Ptole
three
great
(S)
descr
misch
were
diers
presu
confir
tirely
streng
to inf
it ma
specie
were
which
noxio
upon
in val
by irr
severa
of thi
count
rodota
with f
sense
for th

(17)
Apolla
in loc.
Vide &
natur.
c. 38.
p. 422
Lucan
Deut.

about three thousand stadia distant from the capital of his dominions. From thence he advanced through the *Regio Syrtica*, but found himself reduced to such extremities, that his army was in danger of perishing, for want of water, bread, and other provisions. Besides, they were greatly annoyed by serpents and wild beasts, with which that desolate region abounded. The serpents made the greatest havock amongst the troops; for being of the same colour with the earth (S), and extremely venomous,

ders of the *Regio Syrtica*, which agrees with the site assigned it by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, and that it was three thousand stadia, or about three hundred and seventy-five miles from *Cyrene*; which seems greatly to exceed the truth (17).

(S) One remarkable circumstance may be observed in the short description *Diodorus* here gives us of these serpents, or rather of the mischiefs arising from thence to *Opbellas's* army, *viz.* that they were so exactly of the colour of that barren (18) soil, that the soldiers could not distinguish them from it. This certainly is a strong presumptive proof, that their whole substance must in a manner have consisted of that soil, and consequently that they must have fed intirely upon it. The argument will receive a farther accession of strength from the nature of the region itself, which *Diodorus* seems to insinuate, was void of every other kind of sustenance. Further, it may be remarked, that these serpents were of a most malignant species of that animal; since *Diodorus* (19) here intimates, that they were extremely venomous, and destroyed a vast number of men; which seems to point particularly at the *cherfydrus*, one of the most noxious species of serpents, subsisting, according to *Nicander* (20), upon dust, and found, if *Cicero* and *Ælian* (21) may be credited, in vast numbers in the deserts of *Libya*. *Bochart* has likewise proved by irrefragable (22) arguments, that the *saraph*, or, according to several authors, the serpent in which the devil beguiled *Eve*, was of this particular species; and that *Arabia*, as well as the adjacent countries, abounded with them (23); which is also evinced by *Herodotus*, *Mela*, *Lucan*, *Solinus*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, together with scripture. Let all these particulars be admitted, and the literal sense of a passage in the *Mosaic* history, which has been hitherto, for the most part, either allegorically taken, or not fully understood,

(17) *Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Strab. l. xvii. Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2. Apollodor. apud Steph. & Steph. Byzant. de urb. in loc. citat.* (18) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.* (19) *Idem ibid.* (20) *Nicand. in Theriac. v. 372. Vide & Talmudic. in tract. de sabbat. & Phil. c. 50.* (21) *Cic. de natur. deor. l. i. Joseph. antiq. l. ii. c. 7. Ælian. de animal. l. ii. c. 38. sub. fin.* (22) *Bochart. in hierozoic. part. post. l. iii. c. 13. p. 422, 423.* (23) *Herodot. l. ii. & l. iii. c. 109 Mel. l. iii. c. 9. Lucan. l. vi. Solin. c. 32. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. Num. c. 21. v. 6. Deut. c. 8. v. 5.*

mous, many of the soldiers trod upon them without seeing them, and were stung to death. At last, after a very fatiguing march of two months, he approached *Agathocles*, and encamped at a small distance from him, to the great terror of the *Carthaginians*, who apprehended the most fatal consequences from this junction. *Agathocles* at first highly caressed him, and advised him to take all possible care of his troops, that had undergone so many fatigues (T); but making no scruple to commit the

will be thereby rendered most apparent and incontestable, viz. (24) *And the LORD GOD said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat ALL THE DAYS OF THY LIFE.* This (25) seems also to be confirmed in the strongest manner by the prophets *Isaiab* and *Micab*. To what has been said, we may add, if any thing is requisite to be added to so clear a point, that several sorts of animals live upon dust, when they can meet with nothing else to eat, as we learn from (26) *Aristotle*, *Bardefanes* in *Eusebius*, and others: and that though other serpents feed upon fish, frogs, herbs, &c. the *cherfydrus*, or *saraph*, lives only in such places as the deserts of *Libya*, *Arabia*, &c. where there is scarce a possibility of finding any other food than dust or sand to live upon (27).

(T) *Diodorus* (28) relates, that upon *Ophellas's* approaching the *Regio Syrtica*, he came to a double ridge of mountains, with a valley betwixt them, in which was a cave, wherein queen *Lamia*, a lady celebrated for her beauty, formerly had her residence. It is pretended, that this lady, being bereaved of all her children, out of an invidious and vindictive principle, caused all those of her subjects to be destroyed. This gave all the neighbouring *Africans* such a frightful idea of her, that they made use of her name as a bugbear to frighten their children with. Being extremely addicted to drunkenness, according to our author, she never made an inquiry into any of her subjects conduct, but permitted them all to do what they pleased. For this reason she was feigned to be blind, and for her cruelty above-mentioned had the face of a monster assigned her. That she was an *African* (29), *Euripides* likewise asserts; we may therefore take further notice of her, when we come to treat of the proper *African* nations.

- (24) *Gen. c. 3. ver. 4. Isai. c. 65. v. 25. Mic. c. 7. v. 17.*
 (25) *Phil. c. 59. Plaut. in Casin. act. 1. Bardefan. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. vi. Plin. l. x. Porta Cæli. fol. 22. c. Cardan. de varict. l. vii. c. 35.* (26) *Aristot. de animal. l. viii. c. 5. Pifid. in hexaëm. & Bochart. in hierozoic. part. prim. l. i. c. 4. p. 27.*
 (27) *Bochart. hierozoic. part. p. 2. l. iii. c. 13. p. 422, 433.* (28) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.* (29) *Eurip. apud Diod. Sic. ibid.*

most

most enormous crimes, in order to promote his own interest, he resolved upon his destruction. Observing therefore, that one day the greatest part of *Ophellas's* (U) troops were gone out to forage, he thought a proper opportunity now offered of putting his design in execution. Accordingly he drew up his forces in order of battle, and acquainted them, that *Ophellas* was guilty of the blackest perfidy, since under the pretext of assisting him as an ally, he had formed a scheme to deliver (X) him up to the enemy. Incensed at this, the army fell with great ardour upon *Ophellas*, who, being at that juncture too weak to oppose them, was killed upon the spot; Upon which *Agathocles*, by fair words and large promises, prevailed upon the *Cyreneans*, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him, and be intirely at his devotion. *Polyænus* relates this event in a diffe-

(U) According to *Diodorus*, *Polyænus*, *Theophrastus*, and others, this prince's name was *Ophelas*, or *Ophellas*; but *Justin* calls him *Apbellas*, and others *Opheltas*. With these last *Tanaquil Faber* agrees, though the reason he assigns for this agreement seems to us not to have any great force in it, viz. because *Opheltas* is a *Lacedæmonian* name, and consequently more likely than *Ophellas* to be the name of a *Cyrenean*, since the *Cyreneans* were a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. Now, this supposes *Ophellas* to have been a *Cyrenean*, and that *Opheltas* was a proper name peculiar to the *Lacedæmonians*; neither of which suppositions can be proved, but are both improbable; since the *Lacedæmonians* had few, if any, names, that we know of peculiar to themselves; and *Ophellas* was one of *Alexander's* captains, and therefore undoubtedly a native of *Greece* (30), probably of *Macedon*.

(X) *Justin* relates, that *Agathocles* endeavoured to ingratiate himself with *Ophellas*, who frequently supped with him, by the most fawning address, and the lowest adulation; that *Ophellas* adopted the *Syracusan* tyrant's son; and that this *Cyrenean* prince was cut off by treachery, not having taken the precaution to guard himself against a surprise. The same author likewise informs us, that, after this base and infamous action, *Agathocles* cajoled the *Cyrenean* army into his service, and overthrew the *Carthaginians* in a pitched battle, with incredible slaughter, though at the same time he himself sustained a very considerable loss. This last article, however, not agreeing so well with *Diodorus*, will hardly engage our assent to the truth of it (31).

(30) *Plut. in Demet. Pausan. in Corinth. Theophrast. de plant. l. iv. c. 4. Polyæn. strat. l. iii. c. 3. ex. 4. Justin. l. xx. c. 7. Vide etiam. Bongarsium, & Tan. Fab. in Justin. loc. citat. (31) Conf. Justin. ubi sup. cum Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 2, 3.*

rent manner from *Diodorus*; for he tells us, that *Agathocles*, being informed, that *Ophellas* was addicted to an unnatural species of lust, decoyed him by means of his son *Heraclides*, who yet preserved himself inviolate, and put both him, and the greatest part of his army, to the sword^d.

^d DIOD. SIC. JUSTIN. & OROS. ubi sup. POLYÆN. strat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 4. Vide & THEOPHRAST. de plant. l. iv. c. 4. PLUT. in Demet. & PAUSAN. in Corinth.

A N

I N D E X

T O T H E

S I X T E E N T H V O L U M E .

The Numbers direct to the Page, and the great Letters to the Notes.

A.

- A** *BADDIR* and *Abaddires* at *Carthage*, whence worshipped, 483.
Abdelmelek the *Saracen* makes peace with *Justinian II.* 218.
Ablavius put to death for treason, 187.
Abraham Halim defeated by the *Romans*, 313.
Abundantius the raiser of *Eutropius*, 9. Ungratefully requited by him, 11. Banished, *ibid.*
Abydus taken by the *Turks*, 388.
Aca, *Aco*, a famed port in *Phœnice*, 415, & (C).
Acacius sent against the *Persians*, 191. Abandoned by the army, *ibid.*
Achaia betrayed to, and ravaged by, *Alaric*, 6.
Acholla, where situate, 435.
Acra, *Hippo*, whence so called, 431.
Acradina taken by *Himilco*, 618.
Adda, *Addis*, its situation, 428, (A).
Adranum, the battle of, 643.
Adrian banished for not relieving *Syracuse*, 266.
Adrianople betrayed to the *Bulgarians*, 275. Besieged by the *Scythians*, 336. Preserved by stratagem, *ibid.* Taken by the *Turks*, 394. Made the metropolis of their empire, *ibid.*

- Adrumetum* described, 432, & seq. Whence so called, 433. Besieged by the *Carthaginians*, 685.
- Adnasmanus* defeated by the *Romans*, 194.
- Ægidius*, the *Gaul*, marches against *Ricimer*, 144. Success against the *Visigoths*, 145. Murdered, 146.
- Ægimurus*, island, described, 439, sub not. (8).
- Ægyptians* subdued by *Haumur*, 412.
- Æsculapius*, his temple at *Carthage*, 420. Burnt, 480.
- Æthusa*, island, where situate, 439, sub not. (4).
- Ætius*, governor of *Constantinople's* life attempted by *Coryachus*, 80. His rise and character, 91. Sides with the usurper *John*, ibid. Submits to *Placidia*, 93. Success against the *Vandals*, 94, &c.
- treachery to *Boniface*, 95. Success against the *Franks*, 96.
- Treachery to *Felix*, ibid. To *Placidia* discovered, 97. Success against the *Burgundi*, 99. Rejects the complaints of the *Britons*, 110. Raises numerous forces against *Attila*, 122. Repulses him at the battle of *Chalons*, 123, & seq. Alarmed at his entering *Italy*, 125. Undermined by *Heraclius*, 129. Murdered by *Valentinian*, 130.
- *Irene's* favourite, prevents her marriage with *Charles* of *France*, 242. Sent against the *Saracens*, 259. Defeated, 260.
- Ætolia* seized by *Michael Angelus*, 366.
- Africa* revolts to *Arcadius*, 16. Returns to *Honorius*, 19. Kept locked up by *Heracian*, 58, 61. Over-run by the barbarians, 98. Possessed by the *Vandals*, 157. Subdued by the *Saracens*, 213. Ravaged by them, 216.
- *Propria* described, 425, & seq.
- Africans*, their bad discipline, 580, (H). Abandoned by the *Carthaginians*, 625. Revolt and march against *Carthage*, 627, & seq. Dispersed for want of a leader, 629.
- Agar*, where sited, 434.
- Agathocles* chosen general of the *Syracusians*, 665. Stratagem against *Gela*, ibid. Breaks his oath with the *Syracusians*, 666. Makes peace with *Carthage*, 667. Breaks it, and plunders them, ibid. & seq. Treachery to the *Messanians*, 668. Retaliates the *Carthaginians* cruelty, 669. Defeated by them, 670. Shut up in *Syracuse*, 672. Leaves it, and sails for *Afric*, ibid. Lands, and burns his fleet, 675. Takes and razes two cities, 677. Ravages *Africa*, 679. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 680. Narrowly escapes a revolt, 690, & seq. Treachery to *Ophellas*, 694, & seq.
- Agrigentine Pheaces*, what, 562, & (B).
- Agrigentines* success against the *Carthaginians*, 562. Humanity to the fugitive *Selinuntines*, 577. Preparations against *Hannibal*, 584. Resolute defence against him, ibid. & seq. Sad infatuation; 587. And mutiny, ibid. Forsaken by their mercenaries, 588. Dismal catastrophe, 590, & seq. The survivors take some cities in *Sicily*, 688.
- Agyris* the tyrant assists *Dionysius*, 630.
- Ailderic*, king of the *Huns*, born, 134.



- Air* worshipped by the *Carthaginians*, 481.
- Alabicus* put to death. for treason; 66.
- Alacaseus's* noble stratagem, 336.
- Aladin's* family and empire, 364.
- Alamundarus's* impotent threats against the *Romans*, 83. Commands the *Saracens* against them, 178. Repulsed in *Syria*, *ibid.*
- Alans* enter *Gaul*, 60. Settle in *Spain*, *ibid.* & seq. Defeated by *Wallia*, 78. Submit to *Gonderic*, *ibid.* Settle upon the *Loire*, 103. Defeated in *Italy*, 146.
- Alaric* makes dreadful havock in *Syria*. 6. Narrowly escapes, 10. Promoted by *Arcadius*, *ibid.* Invades the *Roman* territories, 32. His extract and character, 33. First retirement, 34. Second invasion, 35. Ravages *Italy*, *ibid.* Defeated, 37. Makes peace, 38. Exorbitant demands on *Honorius*, 47. Strengthened by the barbarians, 52. Blocks up *Rome*, *ibid.* Raises the siege on exorbitant terms, 53. Retires into *Hetruria*, *ibid.* Second siege of *Rome*, 55. Sends more moderate terms to the emperor, 57. And to the city of *Rome*, *ibid.* Proclaims *Attalus* through *Italy*, 59. Deposes him, and confirms *Honorius*, 62. Breaks off with him, *ibid.* Restores and deposes *Attalus*, 63. Takes the city of *Rome*, *ibid.* His death, 65. Buried in the bottom of a river, *ibid.*
- Alcan's* bravery at the siege of *Mantzirchierta*, 314.
- Alexander*, the brother of *Leo*, made regent of the empire, 272. His cruelty and debauchery, 273. Affront to the king of *Bulgaria*, 274. Death, *ibid.*
- Alexius* patriarch's base complaisance to *Zoe*, 306.
- *Comnenus*. Vide sub *Comnenus*, 326, & seq.
- II. governed by his wicked mother, 350. By *Andronicus*, 351. pass. Strangled by him, 352, & seq.
- *Angelus* revolts against his brother *Isaac*, 357. Cruelty to him, *ibid.* Defeat and flight, *ibid.* & seq.
- president under *Alexius* II. defeated, 350. His wretched character, 351.
- the son of *Isaac*, stirs up the western princes in his favour, 358. His success against *Angelus*, 359. Crowned with his father, 360. Murdered, 361.
- stirs up the *Turks* against *Lascaris*, 364, & seq. Defeated by him, 365. Imprisonment and death, *ibid.*
- *Strategopoulos* sent against *Angelus*, 372. Seizes on *Constantinople*, *ibid.*
- Alsace* taken by the *Burgundi*, 71.
- Amantius* conspires against *Justin*, 174. Executed, 175.
- Ambrose* St. letters to queen *Fritigil*, 14. Death, 16.
- Ambustus's* conspiracy, 317. Bravery, 318.
- Amida* taken by the *Persians*, 169. Restored to the *Romans*, 171.
- Amidans's* brave defence against the *Persians*, 169, 170. Put to the sword, 170.
- Amorium* taken by the *Saracens*, 215. Retaken from them, *ibid.* Why engraven upon their shields, 259. Betrayed and razed, 260.

Amratb's

- Amurat's* success in *Europe*, 394. Severity to his son, *ibid.* & seq.
- repulsed before *Constantinople*, 398. Frequently defeated by *John Hunniades*, 399. Signal victory over him, *ibid.* Haughty demands on the emperor, 400. Death, *ibid.*
- Anac Anax* the father of *Anakims*, 441, (A). Whence so called, *ibid.*
- Anaëtes* or *Dioscuri* at *Carthage*, who, 487, & (Z).
- Anastasia* wife of *Tiberius*, created *Augusta*, 193. Affronted by her son's ministers, 219.
- Anastasius* crowned emperor, 164. His rise and extract, 165. Excellent beginning, *ibid.* Insulted on account of his new tax, 167. Acknowledges *Theodoric* in *Italy*, 168. Escapes being massacred, 169. Invaded by the *Persians*, *ibid.* & seq. Makes a truce with them, 171. His long wall described, *ibid.* Compliments to *Clovis*, 172. Persecutes the orthodox, *ibid.* & seq. Treachery to *Vitalianus*, 173. Death and character, *ibid.*
- patriarch of *Antioch*, massacred by the *Jews*, 202.
- *Phocas's* minister, conspires against him, 203. Put to death, *ibid.*
- the son of *Thomas*, put to death, 252.
- *Artemius* proclaimed emperor, 224. His excellent character, *ibid.* Fortifies himself against the *Saracens*, *ibid.* Banned by *Theodosius*, 225. Resumes his claim, 227. Put to death, *ibid.*
- Andromachus's* brave answer to the *Carthaginians* threats, 642, & seq.
- Andronicus* excommunicated and degraded, 66.
- *Ducas* betrayed by *Samonas*, 270. Flees to the *Saracens*, 271. Dies, *ibid.*
- the son of *Ducas* left under guardianship, 320. Treachery to *Diog. Romanus*, 323.
- revolts against *Alexius II.* 350. Declared his guardian, 351. And protector, *ibid.* Horrid butcheries and impiety, 352. Defeated by *William* king of *Sicily*, 353. His dreadful end, *ibid.*
- *Paleologus*. Vide sub *Paleologus*, 329, & seq.
- Ann*, princess, conspires against her brother, 344. Forgiven, 345.
- Anna*, empress, instigated against *Cantacuzenus*, 389. Over-reached by his enemies, 391.
- Anna Perenna* worshipped at *Carthage*, 482.
- Antandrus* left governor of *Syracuse*, 673. His indiscretion, 684.
- Anthemius's* rise and consulship, 41. Excellent government, 53, 66. Extract and character, 53. Resigns to *Pulcheria*, 74. Success against the *Ostrogoths*, 144. Against the *Huns*, 147. Raised to the empire by *Ricimer*, *ibid.* & seq. His reception at *Rome*, *ibid.* Put to death by *Ricimer*, 153.
- Antioch* gratitude to *Eudocia*, 103. Ruined by an earthquake, 142. Under *Justin*, 176. Destroyed by the *Persians*, 181. By

I N D E X.

703

- By an earthquake, 196. Retaken by *Burtzas*, 285. By the
cruifadors, 341.
- the noble portico of, built by *Rufinus*, 4.
- Antiochus* betrays *Achaia* to *Alaric*, 6.
- the governor of *Theodosius* II. 54. Degraded, *ibid.*
- Anyfius* drives the *Moors* out of *Pentapolis*, 69.
- Apamea* plundered by *Cofrboes*, 182. Taken and burnt by him,
192. By *Cofrboes* II. 204.
- Apocaucus's* cruelty to *Cantacufennus's* mother, 391.
- Apochapfus* feizes on *Crete*, 253.
- Apollinarians* fuppreffed by *Arcadius*, 17.
- Apollo's* temple and golden ftatue at *Carthage*, 423.
- Apfimar* revolts againft *Juftinian*. See *sub. Tiberius*, 220.
- Aquilaria* in *Tunes*, where fittuate, 429.
- Aquileia* Destroyed by *Attila*, 125.
- Aquitania* fecond and third given to *Vallia*, 79. Their fittuation,
ibid.
- Aquitans* invaded by the *Vandals*, 44.
- Aquiulphus* revolts from *Theodoric*, 138.
- Arabia Felix* fubdued by the *Saracens*, 213.
- Aradus* conquered by the *Saracens*, 213.
- Aratius* revolts to the *Romans*, 176. His reception from *Narfes*,
178.
- Arbazacius* countenances the plundering of the *Ifaurians*, 40.
- Arcadia* born to *Arcadius*, 32. Her character, buildings, &c. 46,
Death, 109.
- Arcadians*, under the care of *Rufinus*, 1. Proves a weak prince,
4, & feq. Marries *Eudoxia*, 5. Swayed by the villain *Eutro-
pius*, 10. Againft *Stilicho*, 11. Law againft the afyla of churches,
13. Journey to *Ancyra*, 15. Acknowledged in *Afric*, 16. De-
pofes *Eutropius*, 25. Laws againft idolatry, 27. Timorous
compliance to *Gainas*, 28. Interview with him, 29. Severity
to the *Goths*, 30. Prefented with the head of *Gainas*, 32. His
column and ftatue reared, 36. Death and iffue, 46. The fa-
bulous ftory of his laft will, 54.
- Archagathus* commands under *Agathocles*, 679.
- Archylus's* bravery rewarded by *Dionyfius*, 607.
- Ardaburius's* fucces againft the *Persians*, 82, 83. Sent into the
weft againft *John*, 92. Shipwrecked and taken by him, *ibid.*
Outwits and takes him, 93. Becomes fufpected to *Leo*, 151. Put
to death, *ibid.*
- Ariadne* married to *Zeno*, 150. Sufpected of incontinence, &c.
163. Married to *Anaftafius*, *ibid.* Infulted with him, 167.
- Arians* fuppreffed by *Juftin*, 176.
- Ariobindus's* valour againft the *Persians*, 83. Defeated by *Caba-
des*, 170.
- Arifius* defeated in *Thrace*, 169.
- Aristotle's* account of the *Carthaginian* government, 443, *pass.*
Defects obferved by him, 455, & feq. & (M).

Arles

- Arles* besieged by *Geroncius*, 66. By *Constantius*, 67. Surrendered, 68. Relieved by *Egidius*, 144.
- Armenia Major*, the end of that kingdom, 106. Subdued by the *Saracens*, 219. Betrayed to them 221.
- Armenian* legions refuse to swear to *Irene*, 238, & seq. Severely punished, 239.
- Armorici*, who, 60. Short-lived revolt, *ibid.*
- Arnegiselus* defeated and killed by *Attila*, 110.
- Arfaces* yields his kingdom to the *Persians*, 106.
- Arsacius* disgraced, 56.
- Artabanus's* success against the *Romans*, 191, & seq.
- Artemius* proclaimed emperor. Vide *Anastasius*, 164, & seq.
- Asan's* ill success in *Media*, 312.
- Asdrubal* succeeds *Mago* at *Carthage*, 550. Defeated and killed by the *Sardinians*, *ibid.* & seq. His character, 551.
- sent into *Sicily*, 651. Defeated, 657.
- Asoumes*. See *Mercury*, 477.
- Aspar* sent with *Placidia* into the west, 92. Takes *Aquileia* from the rebel *John*, *ibid.* Enters *Ravenna*, and takes him prisoner, 93. Narrowly escapes being taken prisoner by the *Vandals*, 98. Escapes, and is defeated by *Attila*, 110, 111. Raises *Leo* to the throne, 140. A great favourer of the *Arians*, *ibid.* Fatal jealousy of *Leo*, 151. Put to death by him, *ibid.*
- Aspocastron*, a *Turkish* fort at the mouth of the *Bosporus*, 401.
- Astarte*, conjectures concerning that deity, 465, (R).
- Astoria*, island, whence so called, 441, (A).
- Asterius's* success against *Gonderic*, 79, 80.
- his gigantic remains, 441, (A).
- Astorga* plundered and massacred by the *Goths* 141.
- Astulphus* the *Lombard* seizes *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis*, 235. Stripped of them by *Pepin*, *ibid.*
- Ata* killed by *Vallia*, 78.
- Atapacus* lays waste all *Phrygia*, 349.
- Atbaulphus* sent for into *Italy*, 52. Defeated, 55. Joins *Alaric*, 56. Raised by *Attalus*, 58. Made king of the *Goths* in *Italy*, 65. Betrays *Jovinus* to *Honorius*, 69. Falls out with him, 71. Marries *Placidia*, 72. Generosity to her, 73. Flees into *Spain*, 74. Stabbed to death, 75.
- Athenodorus*, one of *Longinus's* generals, 168. Beheaded, *ibid.*
- Attalus* promoted by *Honorius*, 55. Narrow escape from *Alaric*, *ibid.* Made prefect of *Rome*, 56. Made emperor by *Alaric*, 58. His character and religion, *ibid.* Falls out with *Alaric*, 62. Deposed by him, *ibid.* Restored, 63. Advice to the *Goths*, 69. Forced to resume the purple, 73. Taken prisoner, 77. His mild punishment, *ibid.*
- Atticus* chosen consul, 14.
- bishop of *Constantinople's* kindness to the refused christians, 82.
- Attila* the *Hunn's* advantageous peace with *Rome*, 107. Cruelty to the *Hunnish* princes, 108. Northern conquests, *ibid.* & seq. In *Thrace*, &c. *ibid.* Peace with *Theodosius*, *ibid.* Proud demands

- mands on him, 109. Horrid devastations in the empire, 110. New peace, 111. Falls out with *Valentinian*, *ibid.* & seq. Conspired against by *Theodosius*, 112. Reconciled to him, *ibid.* Powerful army against *Valentinian*, 120. High demands on him, *ibid.* Ravages in *Gaul*, 122. Repulsed by *Ætius*, 123. Bravery at the battle of *Chalons*, *ibid.* Repasses the *Rhine*, 125. Enters *Italy*, *ibid.* Cruelty to the *Aquileians*, *ibid.* Odd retaliation for the *Roman* pictures, 126. Truce with *Rome*, *ibid.* Invades *Dauphiné*, 127. Defeated by the *Visigoths*, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.* & seq.
- Avari*, at *Rome*, who, 190. Deprived of their pension by *Justin*, *ibid.* By *Tiberius*, 194. Invade the *Romans*, 197. Defeated by *Priscus*, 198. Stirred up by *Cosroes* against *Heraclius*, 208.
- Augustus*, the son of *Orestes*, why so called, 155. Crowned emperor, *ibid.* Deposed and resettled by *Odoacer*, 157.
- Avitianus's* bravery against the *Saracens*, 83.
- Avitus* makes peace with the *Goths*, 82. Made general of the *Romans*, 132. Proclaimed emperor by *Theodoric*, 137. Deposed, 139. His death, *ibid.*
- Aulon* taken by *Robert Guiscard*, 331.
- Aurelianus* chosen consul, 28. Sacrificed to *Gainas*, and banished, *ibid.* Escapes to *Constantinople*, 29.
- Auses*, from whom descended, 439.
- Austin* St. his sermon on the deliverance of *Constantinople*, 14. Character of *Olympius*, 51. Apology for the destruction of *Rome*, 64.
- Ausurians*, who, 69. Waste *Pentapolis*, *ibid.*
- Automolæ*, where situate, 694, (R).
- Auvergne* taken by *Euric*, 151.
- Auxoriani* where situate, 41. Ravage *Egypt*, *ibid.*
- Axan* sultan's offers of peace rejected by *Romanus*, 323. His singular generosity to him, *ibid.* Treaty with *Cutlu-moses*, 325.
- Axeros*, what among the *Phœnicians*, 486, (Y).
- Azar*, the *Saracen*, defeated in *Cilicia*, 221.
- Azarethes* commands the *Persians* against the *Romans*, 178.
- Azazene*, where sited, 82. Abandoned by the *Romans*, *ibid.*

B.

- B** *ABEL*, conjectures concerning that deity, 464, 465, (R).
 — sometimes signifies the true God, 475.
- Bætyli* of the heathens, their origin, 483, 484, (X).
- Bayrada* river, described, 437.
- Bagaudæ* give a free passage to *Sarus*, 45.
- Bajazet's* swift conquests in *Europe*, 395. Arrogance to the *Greek* emperor, *ibid.* Defeats 130,000 christians, 396. Defeated by *Tamerlane*, 397. His dismal end, *ibid.*
- Baldwin* saves *Edeffa*, 341. Sudden disappearing, 342
 — crowned emperor of *Constantinople* 363. Defeat and miserable end, 364.
- VOL. XVI. 4 U *Baldwin*

- Baldwin II.* crowned *Latin* emperor at *Constantinople*, 368, 369.
 Driven out of it, 372.
Balearic islands ravaged by the *Vandals*, 94.
Balearics, expert slingers, 671, (F).
Barabans kills *Siroes*, and mounts the throne, 210.
Barames dethrones *Hormisdas*, 196.
Barca goes with *Dido* into *Afric*, 535.
Barbine or *Barcan* family at *Carthage*, 512. not.
Bardanes's revolt, 244. Eyes put out, *ibid.*
Bardas's treachery to *Theodissus*, 262. Tyranny under *Michael*, 263. Murdered, 264.
 ——— defeated by the *Saracens*, 279.
 ——— *Phocas's* revolt, 287. Punishment, 288. Proclaimed emperor, 296. Treachery to *Sclerus*, *ibid.* Death, 297.
 ——— *Sclerus's* Success against the *Rossi*, 287. Defeats *Bardas Phocas*, 294. Defeated by him, *ibid.* Imprisoned by *Cosroes* 295. By *Phocas*, 296. Submits to *Basilius*, 297.
Bargus, the infamous betrayer of *Timasius*, 12. Put to death, 13.
Basilica or *Basilius's* laws, whence so called, 267.
Basiliscus made admiral of *Leo's* fleet, 148. Treachery and defeat, 149. Declared emperor, 156. His extortions and heresy, 159. Resigns his crown, *ibid.* Death, 160.
 ——— the son of *Harmatius*, created *Cæsar*, 160. Deposed, *ibid.* Made bishop of *Gxyzus*, *ibid.*
Basilitzas, an infamous favourite of *Alexander*, 273.
Basilus Tiberius declared emperor, 226. Put to death, *ibid.*
 ——— sent to treat with *Alaric*, 52.
 ——— a favourite of *Michael*, created *Cæsar*, 264. His extract and character, *ibid.* Over-reaches *Bardas*, *ibid.* Kills the emperor, 265. Makes two of his sons *Cæsars*, *ibid.* Defeats the *Manichees*, *ibid.* Success against the *Saracens*, 266. Builds a great number of churches, *ibid.* His death, 267. Wife instructions to his son, *ibid.*
 ——— an impostor's treason and death, 277, 278.
 ——— an extortioning eunuch, 290. Poisons the emperor, 291. Defeated by *Sclerus*, 292.
 ——— the son of *Romanus*, made colleague with *Remisces*, 286. Defeated by *Sclerus*, 292, & seq. Ill success against the *Bulgarians*, 295. Defeats *Bardas Phocas*, 296. Wars against the *Bulgarians*, 298. Cruelty to them, 299. Subdues them, *ibid.* pass. Against the *Saracens*, 301. Death and character, *ibid.*
Belisarius defeated by the *Persians*, 175. Made commander on the *Persian* frontiers, 176. Fortifies them, 177. Forced to abandon them, *ibid.* Defeats the *Persians*, *ibid.* & seq. Appeases a revolt at *Constantinople*, 180. Sent into *Afric*, 181. Recalled against the *Persians*, 183. Drives away the *Huns*, 186. Disgraced and stripped, *ibid.* Cleared and restored, 187.
Beltis. Vide *Urania*, 466, & seq.
Belus, many deities of that name, 470.
Bergor defeated by *Ricimer*, 146.

- Bergula*, whence surnamed *Arcadianopolis*, 35.
Bessus's success against the *Persians*, 185.
Belimer marches to succour *Rome*, 152. Defeated by *Ricimer*,
 ibid.
Bito made governor of *Motya*, 608.
Bleda, the *Hunn*, makes peace with *Theodosius*, 107.
Blemmyes repulsed by *Marcian*, 123.
Boanes defeated by the *Saracens*, 211.
Bætica reduced by the *Hunns*, 109.
Boetius murdered by *Valentinian*, 130.
Bobemond's success against *Alexius*, 333. Narrow escape, 341.
 Enters *Antioch*, ibid. Made prince of it, ibid. Wars with
Alexius, 342. Raises new forces in *Italy*, 343. Returns and
 besieges *Dyrrhachium*, ibid. Makes peace with *Alexius*, ibid.
 His death, ibid.
Bolus, a *Persian* fortress, betrayed to the *Romans*, 178.
Bomilcar sent against *Agathocles*, 679. His fatal ambition and
 treachery, 681.
Bonifacius, count, repulses *Athaulphus* from *Marsilles*, 72. Highly
 rewarded by *Placidia*, 94. Undermined by *Ætius*, 95. Defeats
 and kills *Sinex*, ibid. Invites the barbarians into *Afric*, ibid.
 Besieged by them, 97. Returns to *Italy*, 98. Sent by *Placidia*
 against *Ætius*, ibid. Killed, ibid.
 — made king of *Thessaly*, 363.
Bonofus sent against the revolted *Jews*, 202.
Bonus, governor of young *Constantius*, 205.
Books, 120,000 burnt at *Constantinople*, 160.
Borises taken prisoner, 289.
Bosporans cruelly butchered by *Justinian*, 222. Join with the
Chazari against him, 223.
Bosra taken by *Hanmar* 211.
Bourdeaux receives *Athaulphus*, 72.
Branas's fatal rashness and defeat, 334.
 — defeats the *Sicilians*, 354. Revolts, 355. Defeated
 and killed, ibid.
Bretagne, whence so called, 146.
Brienne, *John de*, made guardian of *Baldwin II.* 368. Defeats
Azem and *Ducas*, ibid. His death, 369.
Britain succoured by *Stilicho*, 20. Abandoned by the *Romans*,
 157.
Britons revolt afresh from the *Romans*, 59. Invaded by the *Picts*
 and *Scots*, 110. Settle in *Vennes*, &c. 146.
Bryennius recalled, 316. Quarrel with *Opferas*, 317. Eyes put
 out by him, ibid.
 — revolt and defeat, 326. Taken prisoner, 327.
Bulgaria, whence so called, 217.
Bulgarians defeat *Arifius*, 169. Invade the empire with 100,000
 men, 217. Make peace with it, ibid. Defeat *Justinian* 218.
 Ravage quite to *Constantinople*, 223. Assist *Anastasius*, 227.
 Irruptions into the east, 233. Totally defeated, 234. Put to
 flight by *Constantine*, 240. Success against *Nicephorus*, 246.
 4 U 2 Against

Against *Michael*, 247. Against *Constantine*, 276, & seq. Defeated, 298. Submit to *Basilus*, 299. Revolt, 307. Defeat the *Latins*, 364. Defeated by *Andronicus*, 386, & seq. Make peace with him, 387.
Burgundi join with the *Vandals*, 44. Their kingdom in *Gaul*, how founded, 71. 20,000 killed by the *Hunns*, 99. Settle in *Savoy*, 103. Seize on part of *Gaul*, 139.
Burtzas ill requited by *Nicephorus*, 285.
Butbrotum taken by *Guiscard*, 331.
Euzes defeated by the *Persians*, 177. Abandons *Syria* to the *Persians*, 181.
Byrsa the citadel of *Carthage*, described, 420. Whence so called, 421.
Byzantium described, 432. Whence called *Libyphœnicia*, 442, (B).

C.

C*Abades* invades *Armenia*, 169. Defeats the *Romans*, 170. Makes a truce of 20 years with them, 171. Embassy to *Justin*, 175. Wars with him, 177. His death, 179.
Cabiri, their worship, &c. at *Carthage*, 485.
Caccabe, *Carthage*, whence so called, 419.
Cadmus's expedition to *Carthage*, 412.
Cæcilianus sent to, and promoted by, *Honorius*, 55.
Cæsarea razed by *Basilus*, 266.
Cæsarius chosen consul, 14.
Callinicus the *Heliopolitan's* invention of sea-fire, 216.
——— patriarch of *Constantinople*, causes *Justinian* to be deposed, 220. His punishment, 222.
Campanians assist *Hannibal*, 570, & seq. Discharged and displeated by him, 582. Left to guard *Sicily*, 597.
Canaanites retire to *Carthage*, 412.
Candax and his subjects settled in *Scythia Minor*, 128.
Candia, by whom built, 253.
Candidianus commands in the west, 92.
Candidus's writings and character, 164, (V).
Cantacufenus, a wicked tool of *Andronicus*, 381, 388. Made guardian to young *John*, 389. Undermined by *John* the patriarch, 390. Proscribed, *ibid.* Assumes the purple, *ibid.* Marches towards *Adrianople*, *ibid.* Over reached and attempted, 391, 392. Enters that metropolis, *ibid.* Crowned, 393. Resigns, and turns monk, *ibid.*
Canthele, where situate, 430.
Capellas's philological writings, 89, not.
Cappsa, where situate, 436.
Caracia scours the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, 402.
Carbear, head of the *Mânichæes*, flees to the *Saracens*, 261. Defeated by *Basilus*, 265.
Carpis, where situate, 429.

Carthage

- Carthage* founded, 410, & seq. By whom, 412, 414. Its various names and etymons, 415. Described, 420, & seq. Its extent, 423. Old ruins, *ibid.* Division, 425. Situation, 426. Government, 443, & seq. Senate, 446, & 447, (G). Centumvirate and quinquevirate, 448. Officers, 451, & seq. Laws, 453, & seq. Their defects, 455. Antient state very powerful, 542. Taken by *Sigisvult*, 95. By *Genferic*, 102. By *Machæus*, 546.
- Carthage*na seized by the *Alans*, 61. By the *Suevians*, 109, 137.
- Carthaginians*, from whom sprung, 412. Their various names, 419. How populous, 422. Extent of their dominions, 424, (I). Antient *Canaanites*, 440. Sacrifice noble children to *Saturn*, 453. Forbid to learn *Greek*, 454. Their religion, 457, & seq. And various deities, 458, & seq. Portable temples, 485. Language, 492, & seq. Character and coin, 502. Arts and sciences, 505. Customs, *ibid.* Hospitality, 506. Character, 508. The genealogy of their noble families, 510, & seq. nor. Commerce and military discipline, 510, & seq. Learned men, 513. Expert artificers, *ibid.* (M). Writers, 513, & seq. Trade and navigation, 517. Chronology, 520, & seq. Wars with the *Phœceans*, 543. With *Sicily*, 544. First treaty with the *Romans*, 549. Continue tributary to the *Africans*, 551. Courtied by *Darius*, *ibid.* Ill success in *Sicily*, 552. League with *Xerxes*, *ibid.* First footing in *Spain*, 553. Colony at *Ebusus*, *ibid.* First footing in *Corfica*, 556. Expedition against *Sicily*, 557. Defeated by *Gelon*, 559. Sue for peace, 563. Shake off the *African* tribute, 566. Quarrels with the *Cyreneans*, *ibid.* & seq. Succour the *Egestines*, 569. Barbarity to the *Selinuntines*, 577. Repulsed before *Himera*, 579. Take *Agrigentum*, 590. *Gela*, 596, & seq. Method of encamping, 592, (N). Destroyed by a grievous plague, 597. Preparations against *Dionysius*, 603. Ravaged by him, 609. Defeated at sea, 610, 619. A strange plague in their army, 620. That distemper described, 620, & seq. Defeated, 622, 626. New preparations against *Sicily*, 629. Ill success there, 632, & seq. Under a fresh plague, 635. Make peace with *Dionysius* II. 638. Undermine the *Syracusians*, *ibid.* (F). & seq. Baffled by *Timoleon*, 641. Let into *Syracuse* by *Ictas*, 647. Fresh preparations against *Sicily*, 651. Defeated by *Timoleon* 653, & seq. Suffer a terrible loss, 657. Make peace with him, 661. In fear of *Alexander*, 663. War with *Agathocles*, 667, & seq. Invaded and ravaged by him, 677, & seq. Defeated by him, 680. Their horrid superstition, 682.
- women prostituted themselves for gain, 490, 491, (B).
- Cartalo* disobeys his father, 545. Crucified by him, 546.
- Cassandria* destroyed by the *Hunns*, 181.
- Cassianus*, killed by the crusaders, 341.
- Cassiodorus* publishes the *historia tripartita*, 115, not.
- Cassius*'s success and ill timed rashness in *Spain*, 84. Stirs up *John* to revolt, 91. Banished, 93.
- Catacles*'s success against *Thomas*, 252.
- Catada*, river, described, 458.

Catalaunian

- Catalaunian* plains, whither the same with the *Mauriac*, 123.
Catalans hired by the *Greek* emperors, 377. *Ravage* his dominions, *ibid.* Invite the *Turks* to join, 378.
Catapultæ described, 594, not. 605, (H).
Celer, *Anastasius's* general, ravages *Arzanene*, 170.
Censor, at *Carthage*, his power, &c. 453.
Censorius besieged and taken prisoner, 103.
Ceres, one of the *Carthaginian* deities, 477. Her temple plundered, 618.
Chabdanus's revenge on *Leo*, 279. On *Phocas*, *ibid.* Defeated, 282.
Chaedranech, an antient name of *Carthage*, 440.
Chagan, king of the *Avari*, invades the *Romans*, 194. Makes a truce, and breaks it, 197. His army destroyed by pestilence, *ibid.* &c. Cruelty to his prisoners, 198. Makes peace with *Heraclius*, 205. Kindness to *Justinian*, 221. Bought off by *Tiberius*, *ibid.*
Chalcis plundered by *Chosroes*, 182.
Chalons, the battle of, 123. Number of the slain, 124.
Charchedon, the *Greek* name of *Carthage*, 413, 419, (F).
Chariots, armed, their origin, use, &c. 654. (B).
Charles the Great's embassy to *Irene*, 241. Acknowledged emperor of the west, 244.
 — of *Anjou*, makes peace with *Paleologus*, 375. Gets him excommunicated, *ibid.*
Chartaca, an antient name of *Carthage*, 415.
Chazari, who, 208. 40,000 join *Heraclius*, *ibid.*
Gherfonians horridly butchered by *Justinian*, 222. Submit to *Philippicus*, 223.
Chesnuts eaten instead of corn, 61.
Childeric taken prisoner, 121.
Children, four, eaten by their mothers, 60.
Chios taken by the *Turks*, 334.
Christians massacred by the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, 75. Barbarity to *Hypatia*, 76. Persecuted in *Persia*, 82. Their liberty restored, 84. Massacred by the *Jews*, 202, 204. By the *Mohammedans*, 226. By the *Saracens*, 236.
Christopher banished and murdered, 241.
 — the son of *Romanus*, crowned, 276. His death, 277.
Chronos. Vide *Saturn*, 458, & seq.
Chrysaphus's treachery to *Atila*, 112. Forgiven, *ibid.*
Chrysargyrum, abolished by *Anastasius*, 165. Various sorts of it, 166.
Chrysostom's panegyric on *Eudoxia*, 5. Banished by her, 13. Letters to *Pentadia*, *ibid.* Zeal for the church at *yla*, 25. Saves the lives of three great persons, 29. Intrepidity against the *Arians*, *ibid.* Banishment, 39. His manuscripts burnt, 238.
Chrysotelia, a new tax, raised by *Anastasius*, 167.
Churches, the refuge of, suppressed by *Eutropius*, 13. Restored, 14. Respected by *Alaric*, 63. And by the *Goths*, 64. By *Honorius*, 74. Enlarged fifty paces round, 79.

- Circumcellæ*, the antient name of *Civita Vecchia*, 87. not.
- Claudian's* poem on *Eutropius*, 10. & seq. & (N). On *Honorius's* marriage, 20. On *Stilicho's* exploits, *ibid.* On *Manlius's* consulship, 21. His other writings and character, 85, (R).
- Claudiopolis* taken by *Diogenes*, 168
- Clergy, their immunities enlarged by *Honorius*, 17. By *Marcian*, 134.
- Clitomachus's* writings and character, 515.
- Clodius* defeated by *Ætius*, 96.
- Clovis* defeats *Alaric*, 172. Congratulated for it by *Anastasius*, *ibid.* & seq.
- Clypea*, where situate, 430.
- Code of *Justinian*, 101, 188, 189. Of *Theodosius*, *ibid.* Gives way to a second, 189.
- Celestis dea*. Vide *Urania*, 466, & seq. Her temple at *Carthage* turned into a church, 27.
- Coimbra* taken by the *Suevians*, 146.
- Colossus* of *Rhodes* destroyed by the *Saracens*, 213. The weight of it, *ibid.*
- Comet, appears under *Constantine IV.* 234. Under *Ducas*, 320.
- Commentiolus's* success against the *Persians*, 196. Put to death by *Phocas*, 199, 202.
- Comnenus, Isaac*, chosen emperor, 317, & seq. Defeats *Stratisticus*, 318. Crowned, *ibid.* & seq. Resigns, 319.
- *Alexius's* success against the rebel *Rufelinus*, 326. Sent against *Bryennius*, *ibid.* Stratagem against him, 327. Against *Basilacius*, *ibid.* Chosen emperor, 329. Crowned, *ibid.* Does penance, 330. Makes peace with the *Turks*, *ibid.* Marches against count *Guiscard*, 331. His defeat and flight, 332. By the *Scythians*, 334. Signal defeat of them, *ibid.* Second defeat and peace with them, 337. Jealousy of the crusaders, 339. Treachery to them, 342. Success against the *Turks*, *ibid.* Falls out with *Bohemond*, *ibid.* Makes peace with him, 343. And with the *Turks*, 344. His death and character, *ibid.* &c.
- *John*, his son, declared emperor, *ibid.* Defeats several barbarians, 345. Reduces several provinces, *ibid.* & 346. Impious attempt upon *Antioch*, *ibid.* Death, *ibid.* Singular character, 347.
- *Alexius II.* Vide sub *Alexius*, 350.
- Conon* bishop of *Claudiopolis's* bravery against the *Romans*, 168. Slain, *ibid.*
- Constantina*, the widow of *Mauritius*, racked and executed, 201.
- Constantine III.* chosen emperor in *Britain*, 44. Success in *Gaul*, 45, &c. In *Spain*, 47. Acknowledged by *Honorius*, *ibid.* Invades *Italy*, 65. Driven back, 66. Besieged in *Arles*, 67. Surrenders to *Constantius*, 68. Beheaded, *ibid.*
- IV. the son of *Heraclius*, created *Cæsar*, 205. Meets his father's triumph, 209. Crowned and poisoned, 213.
- V. the son of *Constans II.* proclaimed emperor, 215. Why surnamed *Pogonatus*, 216. Jealous of his two brothers, *ibid.* & seq. Makes peace with *Mahuvias*, 217. With the *Bulgarians*, *ibid.* Calls a council, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
- — VI.

- VI. *Copronymus* born, 226. Why so called, *ibid.* Proclaimed, 227. Marries *Irene*, 231. Crowned, *ibid.* Deposed by his brother-in-law, 232. His revenge on him, *ibid.* Success against the *Saracens*, *ibid.* & seq. Diverted from his pursuit by public calamities, *ibid.* & seq. Invaded by the *Bulgarians*, 233. Persecutions against image-worshippers and friars, *ibid.* Defeats the *Bulgarians*, 234. Outwitted by their king, *ibid.* His death and character, 235.
- Constantine VII.* the son of *Leo III.* by *Irene*, created his colleague, 235. Crowned, 236. Why surnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, *ibid.* Conspired against, 237. Falls out with his mother, *ibid.* Confined by her, 238. Restored, and deprives her, *ibid.* Success against the *Bulgarians*, 239. Cruelty to *Nicephorus* and his friends, *ibid.* To the mutinous *Armenians*, *ibid.* Divorces *Mary*, and marries *Theodota*, 240. Noble answer to *Cardames*, *ibid.* Put to flight by him, *ibid.* Put to death, *ibid.*
- VIII. the son of *Michael*, made *Cæsar*, 265. His death, 266.
- IX, the son of *Leo*, born, 269. Left under his uncle's care, 272. Kept under by *Romanus*, 276. Resumes his power, 279. Severity to *Romanus's* family, *ibid.* His death, 281.
- X. the brother of *Basilus*, made his colleague, 286. Reigns sole emperor after his death, 302. His wicked reign, *ibid.* & seq. Death, 303.
- XI. *Monomachus*, marries *Zoe*, 310. Crowned, *ibid.* Success against the *Saracens*, *ibid.* Against the *Turks*, 314. His death, 315.
- XII. *Ducas* chosen emperor, 319. His fatal avarice and death, *ibid.* & seq.
- the son of *Michael*, suffered to wear the purple robe, 330.
- XIII. *Paleologus*. Vide sub *Paleologus*, 400, & seq.
- *Attilius's* general, cut off in *Afric*, 58.
- the son of *Andronicus*, his narrow escape, 271. *Leo's* timely warning to him, *ibid.* His treason and death, 274.
- the favourite of *Leo*, made high chamberlain, 272. Swears the *Romans* before the holy cross, 275. Dies, 281. His character, *ibid.* & seq.
- the son of *Andronicus Paleologus*, sent against his rebellious grandson, 383. Over-reached and kept prisoner by him, 384.
- square of burnt, 169.
- Constantinople* in danger from the *Goths*, 6. Threatened by a fiery sky, 14. Shattered by an earthquake, 32. The great church of it burnt, 39. In an uproar for want of corn, 61. Surrounded with new walls, 72. Burnt by a three days fire, 98. Damaged by an earthquake, 110. By a six days fire, 146. City and library burnt, 160. In a tumult through various factions, 180. 30,000 persons killed in it, *ibid.* Laid waste by a pestilence, and the *Hunns*, 186. Besieged by the *Saracens*,

- Saracens*, 216. Surprised by *Justinian*, 222. Taken by *Theodosius*, 224. Brave defence against the *Saracens*, 226. Damaged by an earthquake, 231. Taken and plundered, 232. Both seas of it frozen, 234. Damaged by a great fire, 238. And earthquake, *ibid.* Plundered and ravaged, 309. Besieged by *Alexius*, 359. Set on fire, 360. Besieged by the *Latins*, 361. Taken and plundered, 362. Retaken by the *Greeks*, 372. Rebuilt, 373. Besieged by *Bajazet*, 395. Relieved, 397. Blocked up by *Mohammed II*, 401. Besieged, 403. Taken and put to the sword, 408. Becomes the metropolis of the *Turkish* empire, *ibid.*
- Constantius*, the son of the *British* *Constantine*, made *Cæsar*, 47. Conquers *Spain*, *ibid.* Declared *Augustus*, *ibid.* Driven out of *Spain*, 60. Chosen consul, 72.
- the grandson of *Heraclius* crowned, 213. The disasters of his reign, *ibid.* Promotes *Monothelism*, 214. Defeated at *Sea*, *ibid.* Marches against the *Sclavi*, *ibid.* Makes peace with the *Saracens*, *ibid.* Murders his brother, *ibid.* His melancholy state since, *ibid.* Successful expedition against the *Lombards*, 215. Extortions and death, *ibid.*
- Constantius*, general of *Theodosius*, sent against *Constantine*, 66. His extract and character, *ibid.* Success, 67. Chosen consul, 72. Defeats *Ataulphus's* offers, 74. Raised to the Imperial dignity by *Honorius*, 80. His death, *ibid.*
- Consulship*, reckoning by, abolished, 181.
- Contostephanus* sent to intercept *Bohemond*, 343.
- Corcyra* taken by *Manuel*, 348.
- Corinth* damaged by an earthquake, 176. Great rejoicings at *Timoleon's* victory, 658.
- Corinthians* send *Timoleon* to relieve *Syracuse*, 639. Their noble defence of its citadel, 646. Take *Acradina*, 647.
- Corfica*, when invaded by the *Carthaginians*, 556. Described, *ibid.*
- Corybantes* among the *Phœnicians*, who, 485.
- Cosroes* invades *Syria*, 181. Destroys *Antioch*, *ibid.* Makes peace with *Justinian*, 182. Treachery to him, *ibid.* Marches against *Belisarius*, 183. Repulsed by him, *ibid.* Before *Edeffa*, *ibid.* Truce with the *Romans*, 185. Sues for peace, 186. Renews the war, 191. Takes *Daras*, 192. New truce made and broken, *ibid.* Defeated and breaks his heart, 193.
- the son of *Hermisdas*, forced to depose his father, 196. Driven from his kingdom, 197. Restored by *Mauritius*, *ibid.* Takes up arms against *Phocas*, 200. Success and devastations in *Syria*, 202. In *Cappadocia*, &c. 204. *Egypt* and *Palestine*, *ibid.* Blasphemous answer to *Heraclius*, 205. Defeated by him, 206. Persecutes the christians in revenge, 207. Flees to *Seleucia*, 208. Deposed and murdered, 209.
- Cossa*, why forsaken by its inhabitants, 87, *sub not.*
- Cossyria*, island, described, 438. (E).
- Cothon*, one of the three parts of *Carthage*, 421. Its etymon. 422.

- Council of Ephesus*, 97. Of *Chalcedon*, 128. Third of *Constantinople*, 217. Second of *Nice*, 243, 261. Of *Clermont*, decrees the holy war, 338. Of *Lyons*, 375. Of *Florence* unites the Greek and Latin churches, 400.
- Crales's* kind reception of *Cantacuzenus*, 392. Falls out with him, 393.
- Craterus* defeated in *Crete*, 254. Crucified, *ibid.*
- Crete*, whence called *Candia*, 253. Recovered by the *Romans*, 281.
- Crispus* general of *Heraclius*, his ill success against the *Persians*, 204.
- Cræsus's* treasure found and carried off by *Heraclius*, 207.
- Cross*, part of *Christ's*, carried off by the *Persians*, 205. Restored and brought back to *Heraclius*, 209. To *Jerusalem*, 210. Several sorts of crosses used by the *Jews*, &c. 546, (F).
- Crucifixion*, an account of that punishment, 546, (F). Inflicted at *Carthage* on the noblest persons, 548. in fin. not.
- Crumus's* success and indignities against *Nicephorus*, 246. Defeated by *Leo*, 248.
- Crusade*, or holy war, the beginning of, 337, & seq.
- Curtzes's* rashness and defeat, 177.
- Curubis*, where situate, 430.
- Cutlu-mose's* ill success against the *Arabians*, 312. Revolts against *Tangrolipix*, 325. Makes a treaty with his son *Azan*, *ibid.*
- Wars against the *Romans*, *ibid.* & seq.
- Cyprian* women prostitute themselves for a dowry, 537.
- Cyrene*, their ambassadors over-reached by the *Philæni*, 567.
- Cyrl St.* falls out with *Orestes*, 75.
- governor of *Thrace* taken prisoner by *Vitalianus*, 173.
- Cyrnus*, the Greek name of *Corfica*, 556.
- Cyrus's* rise and character, 105.
- bishop of *Alexandria* saves *Egypt* by a tribute, 211, & seq.
- Cyzicus*, part of, overturned by an earthquake, 143.

D:

- D**ACIA, *Netw.* part of, yielded to *Theodoric*, 161.
- Dagistæus* sent against *Petra*, 184. Cowardly flight, *ibid.*
- Dagobert's* embassy to *Heraclius*, 210.
- Dalmatia* destroyed by the *Goths*, 6. Made a new empire, 145.
- Damaretia*, a *Sicilian* coin, whence so called, 564, & (C).
- Damascus* taken by the *Saracens*, 211.
- Damianus* defeated and killed, 253.
- Dandalo*, *Henry*, his singular bravery, 360.
- Daphneus's* success against the *Carthaginians*, 586, & seq. Starves them, 588.
- Daphnomelus's* desperate attempt on *Ibatzes*, 300. Rewarded, *ibid.*

Daras

Daras, where cited, 172. Fortified, *ibid.* Taken by *Cosroes*, 192.

Dardanus, prefect of *Gaul*, his motley character, 70, (O).

Darkness, a dreadful one under *Constantine IV.* 233.

Delassenus Constant. sent into banishment, 306.

Deleanus chosen chief of the revolted *Bulgarians*, 307. Treachery to *Teichomerus*, 308. His reward, *ibid.*

Delphinus defeated by *Basilus*, 296.

Demaretus's valour against the *Carthaginians*, 652, 654.

Demetrius high treasurer to *Honorius*, 56.

Demon or genius of *Carthage* worshipped there, 485.

Dengizic, the *Hunn*, slain, 147.

Dexippus's brave defence of *Agrigentum*, 584, &c. Justly blamed for indiscretion, 587.

Diana, her worship at *Carthage*, 466, & seq.

Dido, the time of her coming to *Carthage*, 412, 414. Whether she founded it, 413, & seq. Worshipped there, 482. Her flight from *Tyre*, 535. Settles in *Afric*, 537. Her death, &c. 540.

Didymus driven out of *Spain*, 47. Put to death, *ibid.*

Die in *Dauphiné* subject to the *Burgundians*, 139.

Digesta of *Justinian*, when and by whom compiled, 188.

Dinocrates repulsed before *Centuripe*, 669, (E).

Diocles, his noble defence of *Himera*, 579, &c. Goes to succour *Syracuse*, 581.

Diogenes, *Anastasius's* general, closely shut up in *Isauria*, 168. Relieved by crook-back'd *John*, *ibid.*

—— *Romanus* raised to the empire, 321. Success against the *Turks*, 322. Defeated, and taken prisoner, 323. Kindly received and released by the sultan, *ibid.* Defeated by *Andronicus*, 324. His miserable end, *ibid.*

Diomedes's writings and character, 90, sub not.

Dionysius, tyrant of *Syracuse*, sent generalissimo against *Hamilcar*, 592, 595. Defeated by him, 596. Makes peace, 597. Commences tyrant of *Syracuse*, *ibid.* & seq. Breaks the peace with *Carthage*, 599, & seq. Fortifies himself, 600. Repulsed before *Motya*, 607. Cruelty to the *Greeks* and *Motyans*, *ibid.* Repulsed before *Egesta*, 609. Marches against the *Carthaginians*, 613, & seq. Defeated at sea, 616. Returns to *Syracuse*, 617. Defeats *Himilco*, 622. Suffers him to march off, 624. Success against *Mago*, 629. Peace with him, 630. Descent into *Etruria*, 632. Breaks with the *Carthaginians*, *ibid.* &c. Defeats them, *ibid.* & seq. Truce with them, 633. Defeated by young *Mago*, *ibid.* & seq. Invades the *Carthaginians* afresh, 636. Dies, *ibid.*

—— II. makes peace with *Carthage*, 638. Defeated by *Ictas*, 641, & seq.

Distagerda, the *Roman* standards, &c. released from, 208.

Dobbinus, the murderer of *Ataulphus*, 75.

Dogs flesh eaten by the *Carthaginians*, 506.

- Domestics* forbid to impeach their masters, 17.
Domitia married to *Priscus*, 201.
D natists favoured by *Honorius*, 56.
Dorotheus's success against the *Persians*, 177.
Dracontia, island, 439, sub not. 6.
Ducas, John, sets his nephew on the throne, 324. Governs him, *ibid.* Taken prisoner by *Rufelius*, 325. Inveteracy against *Boloniates*, 329.
 — success against the *Turks*, 334. Makes peace with *Tzachas* 335. Defeats him, *ibid.*
 — *Murtzuphius's* treachery to *Alexius III.* 361. Proclaimed emperor, *ibid.* Wars with *Henry the Latin* emperor, 365.
 — *Vataces* succeeds *Lascaris*, 366. Successes against the *Latins*, 367. Allies with *John*, *ibid.* Ravages *Thrace*, 369. His death, *ibid.*
 — account of the taking of *Constantinople*, 406, & seq.
Duilius's columna rostrata explained, 416, (D).
Duras taken by the *Ostrogoths*, 161. Abandoned by them, *ibid.*
Dyrrachium revolts. 308. Attempted by *Guiscard*, 331. Taken, 332. Relinquished by his son, 333. Opens to young *Alexius*, 359.

E.

- E** *Earthquake* in the east under *Arcadius*, 14. Under *Theodosius*, 110. At *Antioch*, 142. At *Cyzicus*, 143. At *Neocæsarea*, 169. At *Antioch*, &c. 176. Under *Justinian*, 186. At *Antioch*, 196. At *Constantinople*, 231. A dreadful one under *Constantine IV.* 233. Under *Michael Balbus*, 254. Under *Romanus II.* 305, 307. Under *Ducas*, 320.
Ebesus, Eresus, colonied by the *Carthaginians*, 553. Where sited, *ibid.*
Ecdices's treachery and reward, 68.
Eclipses frightful to the *Sicilians*, 674.
Edeon hired to assassinate *Attila*, 112.
Edeffa taken by *Cosiboes II.* 204. Narrow escape from the *Saracens*, 307.
Edeffans, their prayer against *Alaric*, 36.
Edobicus succours *Constantine*, 67. Killed by *Ecdices*, 68.
Egestines invite the *Carthaginians* against the *Selinuntines*, 568. Bravery against the *Syracusans*, 609.
Eleric's stratagem to find out his treacherous subjects, 234. Turns christian and abdicates, 236.
Elias, the *Bisporan* king, defeats and kills *Justinian*, 223.
Elisa, the same with *Dido*, 414. The etymon of her names, 539. (D). Whether cotemporary with *Æneas*, 542. The rest see under *Dido*, 412.
Ellebicbus succeeds *Vigilantius*, 56.
Elymas assists *Agathocles*, 685. Turns tail, and defeated by him, 686.
Empedocles's famed saying concerning the *Agrigentines*, 591.
Emporium

- Emporium* taken by *Hannibal*, 575.
Enna taken by the *Agrigentines*, 688, (P).
Entella taken by *Dionysius*, 636. By *Timoleon*, 650.
Eoeric, the *Alan*, settles on the *Loire*, 103.
Ephori of *Sparta* compared with the *Carthaginian* *quinquevirate*, 449, (H).
Ephorus's writings and character, 571, (E).
Epipolæ fortified by *Dionysius*, 600.
Epirus plundered by the *Gauls*, 10. Seized on by *Michael Angelus*, 366.
Erigenes, a copier of *Macrobius*, 89, sub not.
Ermeric king of the *Suevians* in *Spain*, 61. Vain attempt on *Galicia*, *ibid*. Driven out by *Gonderic*, 79. His treaty with the *Galicians*, 101.
Ernac and his *Hunns* settle in *Scythia Minor*, 128, 129.
Eryx taken by *Dionysius*, 636.
Eububezer succeeds *Mohammed*, 211. His conquests and death, *ibid*.
Eucherius, the son of *Stilicho*, born, 3. Vain threats against christianity, 49. Put to death, 50.
Eudocia's extract and character, 80, & seq. Marriage with *Theodosius*, *ibid*. Excellent poems, 81, & (Q). Declared *Augusta*, 92. Journey and largesses to *Jerusalem*, 102, 103. Retirement, 104. Death, buildings, &c. 105.
—— *Eudoxia's* daughter, carried prisoner, 134. Married to *Huneric*, *ibid*. & 145.
—— the wife of *Heraclius*, crowned, 204. Her delivery and death, *ibid*.
—— widow of *Ducas*, made regent, 320. Invaded by the *Turks*, *ibid*. Forced to marry, 321. Deposed and confined, 324.
Eudoxia married to *Arcadius*, her extract, &c. 5. Imperious and wicked sway, 28. Assumes masculine titles, 32. Gets *St. Chrysostom* banished, 39. Dies in child-bed, *ibid*.
—— *Licina* betrothed to *Valentinian III.* 92. Married to him, 100. Forced to marry *Maximus*, 132. Hatches his death, 133. Carried away captive, 134. Sent back to *Leo*, 145.
Eugenius defeats the *Scenites* in *Syria*, 169.
Eunuchs excluded from being patricians, 109.
Euphemia, *Marcian's* daughter, married to *Anthemius*, 120.
Euphemius's sacrilege, 254. Treason, 255. Death, *ibid*.
Euphrasius killed by an earthquake, 176.
Euphrosyna forced out of a monastery by *Balbus*, 254. Sent back by his son, 256.
Euric murders his brother, and mounts the *Gothish* throne, 147. Seizes some provinces in *Gaul*, 151. Makes peace, 154.
Eusebius, high chamberlain to *Honorius*, 56.
—— the author of *Gainas's* war, his poem lost, 90, not.
Eustathius, his writings and character, 164, (U).
—— archbishop, his learned comment upon *Homer*, 350.
Euthymius

Euthymius absolves the emperor of his unlawful marriage, 269.
Eutropius's high sway with *Arcadius*, 5. Envied by *Rufinus*, *ibid.*
 Succeeds him, 8. His extract and sad character, 9. Envy
 against *Stilicho*, 10. Treachery to *Abundantius*, 11. To *Tima-*
sius, 12. To *Bargus*, 13. Stirs up *Gildo* to revolt, 15. His
 consulship, 21. Disowned by *Stilicho*, *ibid.* Undermined by
Gainas, 23. Degraded and deposed, 25. Protected by St.
Chrysostom, *ibid.* Banished, 26. Beheaded, *ibid.*
Eutychians suppressed by *Marcian*, 134. Raise a tumult in *Alex-*
andria, 140. And a massacre at *Constantinople*, 172.
Euxine sea frozen 20 days, 34.
Exilaratus, duke of *Naples*, murdered, 229.

F.

FABIA *Eudocia*. Vide sub *Eudocia*, 204, & seq.
Faction, blue, at *Constantinople*, beaten by the green, 169.
Faramond, whether he had any sway over the *Franks*, 78. His
 extract, *ibid.*
Felix, a famed rhetorician, 89, not.
 — murdered by the soldiers, 96.
Fire worshipped by the *Carthaginians*, 481.
Fishes, a strange kind of, caught, 151.
Flaccilla, daughter of *Arcadius*, born, 17.
Flesh, human, sold publicly, during the famine, 61.
Florence relieved by *Stilicho*, 42.
Franks ravage *Gaul*, 71. Allowed to settle in *Thongria*, 78. De-
 feated by *Attila*, 121. Waste *Germany*, 130. Settle along the
Rhine, 146.
Fravitus's fidelity to the *Romans*, 31. Consulship, 34. Repulses
 the *Hunns*, *ibid.* & seq.
Frederic, the *Visigoth*, slain, 145.
 — *Barbarossa* betrayed by *Isaac Angelus*, 355, 356. Invades
 his territories, 356. Answer to his ambassadors, *ibid.*
French assist *Alexius III.* 358. Besiege and take *Constantinople*,
 361, 362.
F. itigil converted to christianity, 14.
Frost, a terrible and long one in the east, 234.
Frumarius wastes *Lusitania*, 143.
Fulgentius Planciades, an ignorant and trifling author, 90.
Furca of the *Romans*, what, 547, (F).

G.

GADE S, when first founded, 555.
Gadir, the *Punic* name of *Cadix*, its etymon, 554. (A).
Gainas, a *Gaulish* general, 7. Assassinate *Rufinus*, 8. Stirs up
 a revolt against *Eutropius*, 23, & seq. Marches against *Con-*
stantinople, 28. Arrogant demands granted, *ibid.* Those in fa-
 your

- vour of the *Arians* refused, 29. His design on *Constantinople* defeated, 30. Driven out of *Thrace*, 31. Repulsed by *Fravitus*, *ibid.* His death, 32.
- Galata*, island, 439, not. 7.
- Galicia* seized by the *Vandals*, 61. Ravaged by the *Goths*, 141.
- Galla*, the wife of *Dardanius*, 70, (O).
- Gamaliel*, the last patriarch of the *Jews*, deposed, 77.
- Garamantes*, who, 519. Trade with the *Carthaginians*, *ibid.*
- Gascony* invaded by the *Vandals*, 44.
- Gaul* harrassed by the *Vandals*, 44. By *Attila*, 122. Erected into several kingdoms, 157.
- Gauferic* repulsed before *Bazas*, 102.
- Gautier* marches on the crusade, 338. Defeated by the *Hungarians*, *ibid.*
- Gaza*, the famed church of, built by *Eudoxia*, 5.
- Gela* taken by *Hamilcar*, 596.
- Gelean* women, their signal bravery, 593.
- Gellias* the *Agrigentine*, his immense wealth and profusion, 590, (M). Burns himself in the temple of *Minerva*, *ibid.*
- Gelon* defeats the *Carthaginians*, 552. Stratagem against them, 559. Victory over them, 560. Grants them a peace, 563. Vast donatives, 565, (D). His tomb demolished by *Himilco*, 618.
- Generides* made general of *Rhætia*, 56. His character, *ibid.*
- Genius*. Vide *Demon*, 485.
- Genoese* settled in *Constantinople*, 374. Removed to *Galata*, *ibid.* Seize on several islands, 393.
- Genferic*, king of the *Vandals*, his character, 95. Assists *Bonifacius* in *Afric*, 96. Falls out with him, 97. Makes peace with the *Romans*, 99. Surprises *Carthage*, 102. Success in *Sicily*, 103. Outwits *Theodosius*, 106. Invited by *Eudoxia* against *Maximus*, 133. Plunders *Rome*, *ibid.* Defeated at sea, 138. Defeats the *Romans* before *Alicant*, 143. Makes peace with them, *ibid.* Breaks it, 144. High demands on *Leo*, 145. In favour of *Olybrius*, 147. Resentment at his refusal, 148. Outwits and defeats the *Romans*, 149. Makes peace with *Zeno*, 156. Succeeded by *Huneric*, 561.
- Gepidæ* kill one another in the dark, 123. Join the *Avari*, 197.
- Germanus* forced to command the mutinous *Romans*, 195. Totally defeats the *Persians*, *ibid.* Defeated by *Narses*, 200. His death, *ibid.*
- Gerontius* betrays the straits of *Thermopylæ* to the *Goths*, 6 ——— sent into *Spain*, 47. Guards the *Pyrenees*, *ibid.* Sets up *Maximus* in *Spain*, 59. Success against *Constantine*, 66. Desperate end, 67.
- Getæ*, their terrible inroads into *Illyricum*, &c. 173.
- Gildo* revolts from *Honorius*, 15. His rise and character, *ibid.* Defeated and taken, 18, 19. Hangs himself, 19. His huge estate confiscated, *ibid.*

- Gisco*, the son of *Hamilcar*, banished and starved, 566. Recalled and sent into *Sicily*, 659.
- Gladiators* forbid by *Honorius*, 39.
- Glycerius* takes the imperial diadem, 153. Deposed by *Nepos*, and made bishop, 154. Receives him in his flight, 155.
- Godfrey's* hostile march against *Constantinople*, 339. Treaty with *Alexius*, *ibid.*
- Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, invades *Gaul*, 44. And *Spain*, 61. Driven out of *Biscay*, 80.
- Gondiac* defeated by *Ægidius*, 144.
- Gondibal* supports *Glycerius* in his usurpation, 153.
- Gondicarius*, king of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, 71. Defeated by the *Hunns*, 99.
- Gongylas*, *Constant.* defeated by the *Saracens*, 280.
- Goths* allowed a church at *Constantinople*, 29. Massacred and burnt in it, 30. Ravage *Italy*, 34. Take and destroy *Rome*, 63. Ravage *Gaul*, 69. Transplanted from *Pannonia* into *Thrace*, 94. Settled in *Spain*, 96. In *Aquitaine*, 99. Defeated before *Narbonne*, *ibid.* By *Ætius*, 101. How divided and settled, 128. Their treachery to the *Spanish* cities, 141. Ravage *Lusitania*, 151. Strive to revenge *Aspar's* death, 152. Make war against both empires, 153.
- Greece* over-run by the *Barbarians*, 6.
- Greek* forbid by the *Carthaginians*, 454, & (K), & 637.
- Greeks* invite the *Bulgarians* against the *Romans*, 364. Submit to the pope, 375. Shake him off, *ibid.*
- Gregory*, bishop of *Antioch*, quells the mutinous *Romans*, 196.
- pope, his flattering letter to *Phocas*, 199.
- prefect of *Afric*, defeated, 213.
- II. pope, stirs up the *Venetians*, 228. Attempted by *Leo*, *ibid.* Letter to the *Lombards*, &c. *ibid.* Whether he assumed the supreme power, 229, 230.
- *Michael's* general defeated and killed, 252.
- Grimoald* defeats *Constans* II. 215.
- Gryllus*, a wicked tool of *Michael*, 262.
- Gubazes* goes over to the *Persians*, 182. Treacherously attempted by *Cosroes* 184. Goes back to the *Romans*, *ibid.* Takes *Petra*, 185. Treacherously murdered by the *Romans*, *ibid.*
- Guiscard*, *Robert*, his extract and character, 330. Preparations against *Alexius Comnenus*, *ibid.* Success against him, 332. Against the emperor *Henry*, 333. His death, *ibid.*
- *Roger*, relinquishes his father's conquests, *ibid.*
- Gurgenes*, king of *Iberia*, invaded by the *Persians*, 175.
- Gyzacum* taken and burnt by *Heraclius*, 207.

H.

- H** *Adrumetum*, see *Adrumetum*, 432.
- Hali* murdered by *Mabuvias*, 215.
- Haly*, a private friend to the christians, 405.

Hamilcar,

- Hamilear* worshipped at *Carthage*, 482. Succeeds his father, 550. Successful war against the *Sardinians*, *ibid.*
- the son of *Hanno*, his expedition against *Sicily*, 558. Besieges *Himera*, *ibid.* Over-reached by *Gelon*, 559. Defeated and killed, 560. Deified, 561.
- sent against *Timoleon*, 651. Defeated, 653, & seq. Betrays the *Syracusians*, 668. His death, *ibid.*
- *Rhodanus* sent to sound *Alexander's* designs, 663. Method of sending them to *Carthage*, 664. Ungratefully put to death, *ibid.*
- the son of *Gisco*, succeeds him, 668. Shipwrecked, 670. Defeats *Agathocles*, *ibid.* Recalled from *Sicily*, 683. Raises the siege of *Syracuse*, 684. Defeated by the *Syracusians*, 686. His dismal end, 688. His head sent to *Agathocles*, *ibid.* Throws *Carthage* into despair, 690.
- Hammam Lef*, a hot water, described, 438, (D).
- Hannibal's* smart rebuke to *Antiochus*, 509, *not.* Writings, 513.
- chosen suffete, 569. Sent against the *Egestines*, *ibid.* & seq. Lands in *Sicily*, 570. Besieges *Selinus*, 574. Takes it, 577. Impious answer to the *Syracusians*, 578. Kindness to the poor remains of *Selinus*, *ibid.* Besieges *Himera*, *ibid.* Entry into *Carthage*, 582. Second expedition and army, *ibid.* & 583, (I). Fleet, *ibid.* Besieges *Agrigentum*, 584. His death, 586.
- his tower, where sited, 435.
- his effigy and name on the Punic coins, 503.
- Hanno's* design of enslaving *Carthage* frustrated, 455, 661. His dreadful end, 662. Unmeasurable arrogance, 509. His writings and navigation, 514. Tames the first lion, 515, 516, (N).
- sent against *Sicily*, 636. Undermined by *Suniates*, *ibid.* Sent against *Agathocles*, 679. Defeated and killed, 680.
- Harmatius* betrays *Basiliscus*, 159. Promoted by *Zeno*, 160. Murdered by him, *ibid.*
- Haumar*, the *Saracen*, his conquests in *Arabia*, 211. Success against *Heraclius*, *ibid.* Other conquests, 212. Begins a temple at *Jerusalem*, 213. Subdues *Afric*, *ibid.* Persecutes the christians, 226. Ill success in *Thrace*, *ibid.* Before *Constantinople*, *ibid.*
- Helio* sent with the purple to *Valentinian*, 93.
- Heliocrates's* moderation to *Stilicho*, 50. Narrow escape, *ibid.*
- Helpidius* put to death by *Phocas* 201, 203.
- revolt and defeat, 237.
- Hemeric's* cruelty to his wife, 121. Stirs up *Attila* against her father, *ibid.*
- Henry* succeeds to *Baldwin*, 365. Wars against the *Greek* emperors, *ibid.* Death, 366.
- Heraclea* burnt by the *Persians*, 191, & seq. By *Michael*, 253.
- Heracianus* defeats the *Romans* in *Afric*, 58, 59. His consulship erased for revolting, 70. His great fleet, *ibid.* Defeat and death, 71.
- Heraclius's* treachery to *Ætius*, 129. Death, 131.

- Heraclius the Edeſſan*, his ſucceſs in *Libya*, 148. Forced to retire, 150. Conſpires againſt *Phocas*, 202.
- the ſon of the former, declared emperor, 203. Puts *Phocas* to death, *ibid.* Crowned, 204. Marries his brother's daughter, 205. Preparations againſt *Coſroes*, *ibid.* Succeſs againſt him, 206, & ſeq. Releases 50,000 *Perſian* priſoners, 207. Gains ſeveral victories, *ibid.* & ſeq. Waſtes *Lazica*, 208. Deſtroys the *Perſian* dominions, *ibid.* & ſeq. Returns in triumph, 209. Thankful journey to *Jeruſalem*, 210. Receives embaſſies from far and near at *Edeſſa*, *ibid.* Turns *Monothelite*, *ibid.* Invaded by the *Saracens*, 211. Retires to *Conſtantinople*, *ibid.* Perſecutes the orthodox, and countenances the *Monothelites*, 212. His death, *ibid.*
- the brother of *Conſtantine III.* diſfigured by him, 216.
- brother of *Tiberius*, defeats the *Saracens* in *Syria*, 220. In *Cilicia*, 221. Put to death by *Juſtinian*, 222.
- Herbeſſus* taken by the *Agrigentines*, 689. Its origin, 688, (P).
- Hercules* worſhipped at *Carthage*, 477. Forty-five heroes of that name, 478, & (W).
- Horebus* worſhipped at *Carthage*, 480.
- Heretics* ſuppreſſed by *Arcadius*, 9. By *Honorius*, 45. By *Leo*, 152.
- Hermogenes* concludes a peace with the *Perſians*, 179.
- Herta* ſeized by *Mundon*, 171.
- Heruli*, ſettled in *Thrace*, 172.
- Himera's* noble defence againſt the *Carthaginians*, 559, & ſeq. Taken, 581. Razed, 582.
- Himerans* noble defence againſt *Hannibal*, 579. Cruelly butchered by him, 584.
- Himerius*, *Leo's* general, defeated, 272.
- Himilco's* preparations againſt *Dionyſius*, 604, & ſeq. Sinks the *Syracuſian* ſhips, 605, & (G). Repulſed by them, 609. Takes and razes *Meſſana*, 613. Inveſts *Syracuſe*, 617, & ſeq. Builds three forts againſt it, 618. Defeated at ſea, 619. Reduced by a grievous peſtilence, 620, & ſeq. Defeated, 622. Buys his flight and retires, 624, & ſeq.
- journal, 514.
- Hippo* in *Aſric*, deſcribed, 431. Taken by *Sigiſwult*, 95. Beſieged by the barbarians, 97. Taken and deſtroyed, 98. Reſtored, 635.
- Hippodrome*, at *Conſtantinople*, burnt by the mob, 169.
- Hipponitis*, the lake of, deſcribed, 436.
- Hittites* ſettle in *Africa*, 502, (H).
- Homer's* works burnt at *Conſtantinople*, 160.
- Honorina*, the daughter of *Placidia*, taken with her at *Conſtantinople*, 84.
- ſiſter to *Valentinian*, her incontinence and treaſon, 99. Demanded in marriage by *Attila*, 120.
- Honorius* under the guardianship of *Stilicho*, 1. Comes to the empire very young, 3. Stripped of *Africa*, 15. Complains to *Arcadius*, 16. Recovers it, 19. Laws againſt falſe informers, *ibid.*

- ibid. Marries *Maria*, 20. Demolishes the heathen temples, 27. Retires to *Ravenna*, 36. Triumphant entry into *Rome*, 38. Fixes his seat at *Ravenna*, 40. Acknowledges *Constantine* his colleague, 47. Marries *Thermantia*, 49. Laws against heretics, 51. Provokes *Alaric* to invade him, 55. His troops intercepted, and cut off, *ibid.* Rejects *Alaric's* new proposals, 57. His offers to *Attalus* rejected, 58. Supported by *Theodosius*, 59. By *Heraclianus*, *ibid.* Agrees with *Alaric*, 62. Falls out with him, *ibid.* & seq. Breach of faith to *Constantine*, 68. Proves irreconcilable to *Athaulphus*, 74. Confirms the churches asyla, *ibid.* Enters *Rome* in triumph, 78. Makes *Constantius* his colleague, 80. Attempts the recovery of *Spain*, 84. Falls out with *Placidia*, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
- Hormisdas*, successor of *Cosroes*, defeated by the *Romans*, 194. Sues for peace and breaks it, *ibid.* & seq. Defeated by *Philippicus*, 195. Dethroned and imprisoned by *Baranes*, 196. His proud behaviour, and miserable end, 197.
- the last king of the *Persians*, 210.
- Horse's* head, why stamped on the *Carthaginian* coin, 538.
- Hugh*, prince, sent prisoner to *Constantinople*, 339. Success against the *Turks*, 341. Shameful return into *France*, 342.
- Huneric* makes peace with *Zeno*, 161.
- Hunniades*, *John's*, sundry victories over the *Turks*, 399. Defeated at *Verna*, *ibid.*
- Hunns*, incursions into the eastern empire, 5, & seq. Ravage *Thrace*, &c. 39. Cut off by the *Romans*, 55. Invited by the usurper *John*, 91, & seq. Dismissed by him, 93. Driven out of *Thrace*, 94. Assist the *Romans* against the *Goths*, 99, & seq. Re-enter *Thrace*, 107. Defeated before *Orleans*, 122. The end of their kingdom, 127. Defeated in *Dacia*, 147. Dreadful inroads into *Illyricum*, 181. Ravages about *Constantinople*, 186. Put to flight by old *Belisarius*, *ibid.* Defeated by *John Comnenus*, 345.
- Hypatia's* excellent character, 76. Murdered by the christians, *ibid.*
- Hypatius*, *Anastasi's* general, defeated by the *Persians*, 170. Defeated and taken by *Vitalianus*, 173. Released, *ibid.* Forced to revolt, 180. Defeated and put to death, *ibid.*

I.

- J**ACOB's stony pillar worshipped by the *Canaanites*, 483.
- Iarbas's* embassy to *Dido*, 540.
- Jathatines* assists *Alex. Angelus*, 364. Defeated and killed by *Lascaris*, 365.
- Iberians* cruelty to the *Himerians*, 581.
- Ibrions*, who, and where sited, 122.
- Iceas* invited by the *Syracusians*, 638. Strives to enslave them, *ibid.* Defeated by *Timoleon*, 643. Makes a new alliance with *Carthage*, 659. Defeated and taken by *Timoleon*, *ibid.* Tragical end, *ibid.*

- Iconium* taken by the *Turks*, 322.
- Iconoclasts*, who, 229. Raise a revolt in the empire, *ibid.* The rest see under images, *ibid.* & seq.
- Idatius's* writings and character, 134.
- bishop, taken prisoner, 143.
- Idolatry* forbid by *Arcadius*, 27. Whether revived during the siege of *Rome*, 52. Forbid through the whole empire, 100.
- Jerusalem* plundered by the *Isaurians*, 40. Taken by the *Persians*, 204. Hard fate of the christians taken prisoners in it, *ibid.* &c. Taken by *Haumar*, 212.
- Jews* privileged by *Arcadius*, 17. Massacre the christians at *Alexandria*, 75. Expelled by *St. Cyril*, 76. Massacre them at *Antioch*, 202. Forbid to come within three miles of *Jerusalem*, 210.
- Ignatius*, patriarch, his zeal, 263. Deposed and imprisoned, *ibid.*
- Jibbel Had-Deffa*, a salt mountain described. 438.
- Illus* sent against *Zeno*, 159. Revolts, *ibid.* Joins with *Leontius*, 162. Put to death, 163.
- Illyricum* ravaged by the *Hunns*, 40. The frontiers of, fortified, 70. The western part yielded to *Theodosius*, 100. Its extent, *ibid.* Repeopled by barbarian nations, 128. Ravaged by the *Hunns*, 181.
- Images* destroyed at *Constantinople*, 228. By *Leo*, 229. By *Constantine IV.* 233. By *Leo III.* 236. By *Leo X.* 249. Allowed by the second council of *Nice*, 261.
- Imilcar* joined with *Hannibal*, 582. Becomes sole commander, 586. Defeated by the *Syracusians*, *ibid.* Intercepts their provisions in a good time, 588. Horrid butchery of the *Agrigentines*, 590. Takes *Gela*, 596. Makes peace with *Syracuse*, 597.
- Informers* suppressed by *Anastatius*, 166.
- Innocent*, pope, sent to treat with *Alaric*, 56.
- Institutes* of *Justinian*. 188.
- John*, *Arcadius's* secretary, delivered up to *Gainas*, 28. Escapes to *Constantinople*, 29.
- *Honorius's* secretary, sent to treat with *Alaric*, 52. Assumes the purple, 90. Taken and beheaded, 93.
- a deacon, put to death, 104,
- two historians of that name, 117, sub not.
- admiral under *Basilus*, his bravery and death, 148, 149.
- general of *Zeno*, his success against *Leontius*, 162.
- the *Scythian*, and the crookbacked, their bravery against the *Isaurians*, 167. Against the *Saracens*, 220.
- the deacon, made admiral, 224. Killed for his severity, *ibid.*
- *Zimisces*. Vide *Zimisces*, 284. & seq.
- *Comnen*. Vide sub *Comnen*. 344.
- Joseph's* treachery to *Nicephorus*, 282. Outwitted by him, *ibid.* & seq. Banished, 284. Refuses to submit to the pope, 375. Banished, *ibid.*

Jovinus takes the imperial dignity, 68. His extract and character, *ibid.* Falls out with *Atthaulphus*, 69. Put to death, *ibid.* Vide & 70.

Jovius made prime minister to *Honorius*, 56. Interview with *Alaric*, 57. Swears perpetual war against him, *ibid.* & seq. Sent to treat with *Attalus*, 58. Treachery to *Honorius*, *ibid.*

Irene converted, and married to *Constantine*, 231. Disgraced for her devotion to images, 236. Takes the reins of government during her son's minority, *ibid.* Allies him with *Charles* of *France*, 237. Breaks off, and marries him to *Maria*, *ibid.* Stripped of her power, 238. Recalled, 239. Undermines her son, 240. Causes him to be murdered, *ibid.* Enters *Constantinople* in triumph, 241. Her popularity, *ibid.* Courted by *Charles the Great*, 242. Deposed and confined, *ibid.* Her death, *ibid.*

— encourages *Alexius* to regain the empire, 358.

Isaac Comnenus seizes upon *Cyprus*, 352. His cruelties there, *ibid.* Defeats *Angelus's* fleet, 354.

— *Angelus's* narrow escape, 353. Proclaimed emperor, *ibid.* Severity to *Andronicus*, *ibid.* Successes in *Sicily*, 354. Vain attempt on *Cyprus*, *ibid.* Treachery to *Fred. Barbarossa*, 355, & seq. Forced to submit to him, 356. Defeated by the *Scythians*, 357. His eyes put out, and flung into prison, *ibid.* & seq. Released and restored, 360. His death, *ibid.*

Isaurians ravage several provinces, 40. Banished out of *Constantinople*, 167. Revolt, *ibid.* Defeated, *ibid.* Maintain the war six years, *ibid.* Forsake their country, 168.

Isdegestes, king of *Persia*, persecutes the christians, 22. Whether left guardian of *Arcadius's* children, 54.

Ishmael outwitted by *Manuel*, 258. Fury against *Theophilus*, 259.

Italy ravaged by the *Goths*, 35. Freed from them, 38. Invaded by *Radagaisus*, 41. Subdued by *Odoacer*, 157. By *Theodoric*, 163. By the *Lombards*, 191.

Ituca, the antient name of *Utica*, whence, 426.

Julian, the son of *Constantine*, besieged, 67. Beheaded, 68.

Juno worshipped at *Carthage*, 466, & seq.

Jupiter worshipped at *Carthage*, 470. Whence so named, *ibid.* (T).

Justin, the emperor, proclaimed, 174. His rise and character, *ibid.* & seq. Conspired against, *ibid.* Rejects *Cabades's* proposals in favour of *Cosroes*, 175. Edict against the *Arians*, 176. Death and character, 177. Piety to the destroyed cities, 176.

— a nephew of *Justinian*, proclaimed, 190. Incensed against the *Avari*, *ibid.* Cruelty to his kinsman *Justin*, *ibid.* Takes the *Persarmenians* under his protection, 191. Runs mad, 192. Death and character, 193.

Justinian's code compiled and published, 101.

— chosen consul, 175. Copartner with *Justin*, 176. Succeeds him, 177. His proposals of peace rejected by the *Persians*, 178, 179. Stratagem against them, 179. Concludes a peace with them, *ibid.* Insulted at *Constantinople*, 180. Fatal jealousy of *Belisarius*, 181, 186. Fresh peace with *Persia*, 182.

I N D E X.

182. Truce, 183. Conspired against, 187. His death and character, *ibid.* Code, &c. 188, 189.
 — the kinsman of *Justin*, his success against the *Persians*, 193. Disgraced, *ibid.*
 — II. chosen emperor, 218. Ill success against the *Bulgarians*, *ibid.* Breaks the peace with the *Saracens*, *ibid.* Defeated by them, *ibid.* Cruel revenge on the *Slavi*, *ibid.* Buies himself with building, 219. His massacre of the *Constantinopolitans* prevented, *ibid.* Deposed, 220. Defaced and banished, *ibid.* Flees to the *Chazari*, 221. To the *Bulgarians*, *ibid.* An instance of his unforgiving temper, *ibid.* Restored to his crown, 222. Cruelties and ingratitude, *ibid.* Defeated by the *Eulgarians*, *ibid.* Horrid butcheries, *ibid.* Taken prisoner, and beheaded, 223.
Justiniani's brave defence of *Constantinople*, 403. Death, 407.
Juthungi defeated by *Aetius*, 96.
Iard, the son of *Mabuvias*, wastes *Phrygia*, 215. Ravages *Sardinia*, 227.
 — *Mualabis* revolts in *Persia*, *ibid.*
Izeth repulsed before *Constantinople*, 226.

K.

- K** *Egenes* well received at *Constantinople*, 313. Sound advice to the *Roman* general, *ibid.*
Krun, some probable conjectures about that deity, 460, & seq. sub (P).

L.

- L** *Agodus* driven out of *Spain*, 47.
Lamia, the story of, 696, (T).
Laodicea taken by *Alexius*, 342. By his son, 345.
Larissa restored to *Zeno*, 161.
Larunefiez, islands, where, 439, not. 5.
Lascaris, *Theod.* sides with the usurper, *Angelus*, 360. His flight to the *Turks*, *ibid.* Erects *Nice* into a new kingdom, 363. Success against the *Turks*, 365. Death, 366.
 — the son of *Vataces*, success against the *Bulgarians*, 369, & seq. His death, 370.
 — *John*, his son and successor, *ibid.* & seq. His eyes put out, 374.
Lazi revolt to the *Persians*, 182. To the *Romans*, 184. Abandoned by them, 185. Appeased by *Justinian*, 186. Treachery to *Heraclius*, 207.
Lazica, its situation and government, 182.
Lemnos taken by the *Saracens*, 270.
Leo, a tool of *Eutropius*, sent to *Tribigil*, 23. Defeated and killed, 24.
 — pope, sent ambassador to *Attila*, 126. His character of *Martian*, 139.

Leo

- Leo I.* proclaimed emperor, 140. His extract and rise, *ibid.* Makes peace with the *Ostrogoths*, 144. Embassy to the revolted *Marcellinus*, 145. And to *Genferic*, *ibid.* Vast fleet against the latter, 148. Defeated by the treachery of *Basiliscus*, 149. Promotion of *Zeno* the *Isaurian*, 150. Flattery to *Aspar*, 151. Puts him to death, *ibid.* His death, 154.
- the son of *Zeno*, created *Cæsar*, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
- II. the *Isaurian*, sent against the *Saracens*, 224. Success against *Theodosius*, 225. Proclaimed emperor, *ibid.* Why surnamed *Iconomachus*, *ibid.* Edict against images, 227. Insulted by the people for it, 228. Deserted by the *Romans*, 229. His death, 231.
- III. proclaimed, 233. Succeeds his father, 235. Promotes his brother, 236. Reception of *Eleric*, *ibid.* Severity against saint and image-worshippers, *ibid.* Death, *ibid.*
- IV. Success against the *Saracens*, 247. Proclaimed emperor, *ibid.* Cruelty to *Michael* and his family, 248. Victory over the *Bulgarians*, *ibid.* Severity to the image-worshippers, 249. Murdered at the altar, *ibid.* His character, 250.
- the son of *Michael*, created *Cæsar*, 265. Over-reached by a monk, 266. Released by means of a parrot, 267. His excellent character, *ibid.* Defeated by the *Bulgarians*, 268. Causes a schism in the church, 269. By his fourth marriage, *ibid.* His life attempted, 270. Invaded by the *Saracens*, *ibid.* His death and character, 272. Writings, *ibid.*
- *Zoe's* general, makes the *Romans* lose a victory, 275. His treason and death, 276.
- bishop, his wonderful golden machine melted down, 263.
- Leon's* noble defence of *Syracuse*, 646, & seq.
- Leontia*, the wife of *Phocas*, crowned empress, 198. Her character, 200.
- Leontium* reduced by *Timoleon*, 651.
- Leontius*, the *Chalcedian*, revolts against *Zeno*, 162. Defeated by *John*, *ibid.* Besieged four years in *Papyra*, *ibid.* His death, 163.
- *Phocas's* general, defeated, 200.
- a patrician, imprisoned by *Justinian*, 219. Deposes him, 220. Proclaimed emperor, *ibid.* Success against the *Saracens*, *ibid.* Deposed, defaced, and confined, *ibid.* Put to death, 222.
- Leptines* commands the *Sicilian* fleet, 604. Inroads against *Entella*, 608. Success against *Mago*, 610. Defeated by him, 616. Killed at the battle of *Cronion*, 634.
- tyrant of *Leontium*, submits to *Timoleon*, 650.
- Leptis*, the *Major*, and *Minor*, described, 434.
- Lerida* taken by the *Suevians*, 111.
- Libellers*, *Arcadius's* law against, 43.
- Libyans*, their odd manner of trading with the *Carthaginians*, 519.
- Lichudes* made patriarch, 319.
- Liguria* plundered by *Attila*, 126.
- Lilybæum's* brave defence against *Dionysius*, 626.
- Lions* forbid to be hunted for shows, 74.

- Lipara* taken by *Himilco*, 611. Its situation, &c. *ibid.* (K).
Liparites success against the *Turks*, 313. Taken prisoners, *ibid.*
 Honourably dismissed, *ibid.*
Lisbon taken by the *Suevi*, 142. Betrayed by *Remismond*, 150.
Lisians, who, and where sited, 122.
Litorius's success against the *Goths*, 100, 101. Defeated and killed, 101, & seq. His character, 102.
Lombards found their kingdom in *Italy*, 191. Defeat the *Romans*, 215. Oppose the iconoclasts, 229.
Longinus, the brother of *Zeno*, defeated by *Leontius*, 162. Set aside from succeeding his brother, 164. Raises new commotions, 166. Stripped and sent into *Isauria*, *ibid.* Revolts, 167.
 — *Selinoncius* joins in *Longinus's* revolt, *ibid.* Taken and racked to death, 168.
Lopadusa, island, described, 439, sub not. 3.
Lucianus count of the east, misrepresented to *Arcadius*, 4. Barbarously put to death, *ibid.*
Lucius, a pagan. attempts the life of young *Theodosius*, 72.
Luitprandius seizes *Ravenna*, 228. Driven out by the *Venetians*, *ibid.*
Lusitania seized by the *Alans*, 61. By the *Suevians*, 142.
Lyciscus causes a mutiny in *Agathocles's* army, 690, & seq.
Lyons taken by the *Vandals*, 44. By the *Burgundians*, 139. Retaken by *Majorianus*, 142. By the *Burgundians*, 151.

M.

- M**ACEDONIUS the orthodox bishop of *Constantinople*, deposed, 172.
Machæus's great conquests, 544, (E). Banished, 544. Besieges *Carthage*, 545. Severity to his son, 546. To the *Carthaginians*, *ibid.* His punishment, 548, & seq.
Macodana, where situate, 435.
Macrobius's writings and character, 88, not.
Magna, a zealous orthodox, 165.
Mago's genealogy, 510, not. Writings, 514. Succeeds *Machæus* at *Carthage*, 550. Made their admiral, 610. Defeats the *Syracusians*, 616. Defeated by *Dionysius*, 629. Makes peace with him, 630. Returns to *Carthage*, *ibid.* Defeated and killed, 632, 633.
 — his son succeeds him, 633. Defeats the *Syracusians*, 634. Peace with them, *ibid.* Ill success against *Syracuse*, 646, & seq. Outwitted by *Timoleon*, 648. Basely forsakes *Ietas*, 649. Desperate end, *ibid.*
Mabuvias destroys and sells the *Rhodian* colossus, 213. His fleet burnt, 214. Success against the *Romans*, *ibid.* & seq.
Majorianus proclaimed emperor, 140. His rise and extract, *ibid.* & seq. Success against the *Vandals*, 142. In *Gaul*, *ibid.* Defeated at sea, 143. Deposed by *Ricimer*, 144. Put to death, *ibid.*

Malta

- Malta*, &c. possessed by the *Carthaginians*, 556.
Maltese language allied to the *Punic*, &c. 494, & seq.
Malus's writings and character, 164, (V).
Mamur's war with *Manuel*, 347, & seq.
Maniaces recovers the *Roman* plunder by a stratagem, 304. Revolts, 310.
Manuel defeated in *Egypt*, 212. His bravery saves *Theophylus*, 258. Forced to flee to the *Saracens*, *ibid.* Restored to great honour, *ibid.* Retires, 262.
 — the emperor, proclaimed, 347. Treachery to the crusaders, *ibid.* Wars with the king of *Sicily*, 348. Makes peace with him, *ibid.* Distressed by the *Turks*, 349. Makes peace with them, *ibid.* His death, 350.
 — the son of *Michael Paleolog*, killed, 381.
 — the son of *John* defeated by *Bajazet*, 396. Resigns to his nephew *John*, 397. Goes to beg assistance from the christian princes, *ibid.* Restored, *ibid.* Dies, 398.
Marazas, general of the *Persians*, defeated and killed, 196.
Marcellinus raises a new empire in *Dalmatia*, 145. Joins with *Anthemius*, 147. Sent to invade *Sardinia*, 148. Assassinated, 149.
Marcellus revolts, and stabs himself, 187.
Marcian's revolt and punishment, 160, 161.
Marcianus, general of *Theodosius*, taken prisoner, 98. Marries his sister *Pulcheria*, 118. Chosen emperor, *ibid.* His character, 119. Why set free by *Genferic*, *ibid.* Answer to the proud *Attila*, 120. Convenes the council of *Chalcedon*, 128. Laws in favour of the church, 134. Admits *Avitus* his colleague, 137. His death and excellent character, 139.
Marcomir's treachery to *Stilicho*, 7. Supposed the father of *Faramond*, *ibid.*
Marcus declared *Cæsar*, 156.
Maria, daughter of *Stilicho*, born, 3. Married to *Honorius*, 20. Her death, 49. Rich tomb discovered, *ibid.*
Mavina, daughter of *Arcadius*, born, 36. Her life, &c. 45.
Mark made emperor, and killed, 44.
Maronites settled in *Libanus*, 217. Defeated by *Justinian II.* 218.
Marseilles, when founded, 522, (A).
Martina married to *Heraclius*, 205. Poisons the *Constantines*, 213. Her punishment, *ibid.*
Martinianus sent against the *Persians*, 191. Baffled before *Nisibis*, *ibid.*
Martinus's house burnt by the *Eutychians*, 172.
Martyropolis taken by the *Persians*, 169. Where situate, 179. Besieged and forsaken, *ibid.* Betrayed to them again, 196. Retaken, *ibid.*
Mary, princess, put to death by *Andronicus*, 351.
Mascezel, his singular character, 17. Miraculous success against his revolted brother, 18. Treacherously murdered by *Stilicho*, 19, & seq.

- Massagetes* invade the *Romans*, 179. When first called *Turks*, 190. Where situate, *ibid.* & *seq.* Defeated under *Otboman*, 376. Ravage *Hellepont*, 377.
- Matthew*, the son of *Cantacusen*, assumes the purple, 394. Defeated and resigns, *ibid.*
- Mauritania* secured to the *Romans*, 102.
- Mauritius* sent against the *Persians*, 193. His extract and character, *ibid.* Vast success against them, *ibid.* & *seq.* Created *Cesar*, 194. Crowned emperor, *ibid.* Success against the *Persians*, 195. Kindness to young *Cosiboes*, 197. Delivered from the *Avari*, *ibid.* & *seq.* Insulted by his soldiers, 198. Forced to retire, *ibid.* Put to death with five of his children, 199.
- Maximus* made emperor in *Spain*, 59.
- *Petronius* undermines *Ætius*, 129. Murders *Valentinian*, and mounts the throne, 130, 132. Forces his widow to marry him, 132. Murdered, 133.
- Maxula*, where situate, 428. Described, *ibid.*
- Mazara*, whether a town or river, 575. (G).
- Mazichi*, where situate, 41. Ravage *Egypt*, *ibid.*
- Mecca* seized by *Mohammed*, 211.
- Medea* taken by the *Saracens*, 224.
- Medina* taken by *Mohammed*, 211.
- Megara*, one of the three parts of *Carthage*, 421.
- Mejerdab*, river, stops up the *Carthaginian* harbour,
- Melenius* entertains the emperor, 298. Confined by him for his wealth, *ibid.*
- Mentz* taken by the *Vandals*, 44.
- Mercury* worshipped at *Carthage*, 477, & (U).
- Merdaſa* declared *Cosrhoes's* successor, 209. Murdered by his brother, *ibid.*
- Merida* taken by *Richila*, 102. Taken and ravaged by the *Goths*, 151.
- Mermeroes* defeated by *Derotheus*, 177. Relieves *Petra*, 184. Repulsed before *Archeopolis*, 185.
- Mesopotamia* put to fire and sword by the *Saracens*, 155. By *Cosrhoes*, 182.
- Messana* invested by *Himilco*, 612. Taken and razed, 613. Taken by *Timoleon*, 648.
- Messianus's* embassy and entry into *Tholouse*, 132.
- Mexizius* proclaimed at *Syracuse*, 215. Put to death, *ibid.*
- Michael* chosen emperor, 246. Defeated by the *Bulgarians*, 247. Resigns the empire to *Leo*, 248. Imprisoned by him, *ibid.*
- *Traulus* forces *Leo* to accept of the empire, 248. Treason and condemnation, 249. Mounts the throne by murder, *ibid.* & *seq.* Cruelty to *Theodosius* and her four sons, 250. Horrid heresies, *ibid.* Defeated by *Thomas*, 251. Calamities under his wicked reign, 254. His death, 255.
- the son of *Theophylus*, taken into partnership, 259. Becomes a second *Nero*, 262. Defeated by the *Saracens*, 263. Expedition into *Crete*, 264. Murdered by *Basilus*, 265. Funeral honours, 268.

- a *Paplagonian*, raised to the empire, 306. Leaves the government to his brother *John*, 307. Resigns the empire, and dies, 309.
- *Calaphates* raised to the empire, 309. Cruelties and deposition, *ibid.*
- *Stratioticus* chosen emperor, 316. His inability, *ibid.* Conspired against, 317. Defeated, 318. Resigns, *ibid.*
- *Ducas* set up by his uncle, 324. His fatal indolence, *ibid.* Why nicknamed *Parapanates*, 326. Forced to resign, *ibid.* Flees to *Robert Guiscard*, 330.
- *Paleologus* defeated by the *Turks*, 376. By the *Catalans*, 378. Dies for the loss of his son, 381.
- Milan* taken by *Attila*, 126.
- Miletene* taken by *Constantine*, 233.
- Minerva's* temple at *Agrigentum*, why burnt, 590.
- Misua*, where sited, 429.
- Mohammed* spreads his doctrine, 211. His death and successor, *ibid.*
- general of the *Saracens*, sent against *Justinian II.* 218. Defeats him, *ibid.* Recovers *Armenia*, 221.
- invites the *Turks* to his assistance, 311. His death, 312.
- the son of *Bajazet*, defeats his four brothers, 398.
- the son of *Amurat*, butchers all his brothers, 400. Shuts up the mouth of the *Bosporus*, 401. Besieges *Constantinople*, 402, & seq. His fleet forced by the *Genoese*, 404. Impotent rage against them, *ibid.* Prodigious causeway and bridge, 405. Cruelty to the *Constantinopolitans*, 408.
- Moloch*, the same with *Chronos*, 460, sub (P).
- Monaxes's* house burnt at *Constantinople*, 61.
- Monaxius* chosen consul with *Plintha*, 79.
- Mondon*, the *Goth*, invades the *Romans*, 171.
- Monks* suppressed by *Constantius IV.* 233.
- Monomachus* sent to poison *Cantacuzenus*, 392.
- Monothelites*, their doctrine, 210, & seq. Condemned by the council of *Constantinople*, 217. Revived by *Philippicus*, 223.
- Mopsuestia* taken and fortified by the *Saracens*, 221.
- Mopsus*, who, 481. Worshipped at *Carthage*, *ibid.*
- Mortagon* comes to the relief of *Constantinople*, 252. Defeats *Thomas*, *ibid.*
- Mosols*, *Alexius*, set up by the *Armenians*, 239. His punishment, *ibid.*
- Motya* besieged by *Dionysius*, 604. Its situation, *ibid.* Stout defence, 606. Taken and plundered, 607. Retaken by the *Carthaginians*, 610.
- Mundus* quells a riot at *Constantinople*, 180.
- Mustapha* strangled by *Amurat*, 398.
- Musulani*, who, and whence, 429, (B).
- Muzalo* made guardian to *John Lascaris*, 370. Assassinated by the nobility, 371.
- Mysticus*, *Nicol.* excommunicates the emperor *Leo*, 269. Deposed, *ibid.*

N.

- N** *ABAL*, a city in *Tunes*, 430.
Nachoragan defeated in *Lazica*, 186.
Narbonne taken by *Ataulphus*, 71. Relieved by *Litorius*, 99. Betrayed to the *Visigoths*, 144.
Narfes defeated by the *Romans*, 82. Success against them, 176. Revolts to them, 176. Spirits up *Cosroes* against *Phocas*, 200. Defeats *Germanus* and *Leontius*, *ibid.* Burnt alive by *Phocas*, 201.
Nazar defeats the *Saracens* fleet, 266.
Napolis, an ancient emporium of the *Carthaginians*, where sited, 430.
Neocastrum, a *Turkish* fort at the mouth of the *Bosporus*, 401.
Nepheris, where situated, 431.
Nepos deposes *Glycerius*, 154. Flight, 155.
Nepotianus sent against *Remismund*, 143.
Neptune, one of the *Carthaginian* deities, 475.
Nestorius condemned by a council, 97.
Nevers, count of, assists *Manuel*, 395. Taken prisoner, 396.
Nice delivered up to *Sclerus*, 293. Taken by the christians, 340. Made into an empire, 363. Taken by the *Turks*, 387.
Nicephorus rebels against his brother, 236. Banished, *ibid.* Severely used by *Constantine III.* 239.
—— the brother of *Constantine*, banished and murdered, 241.
—— a patrician, deposes *Irene*, 242. Declared emperor, *ibid.* Instances of his cruelty, 244. Defeated by the *Saracens*, 245. Slain, 246. His character, *ibid.*
—— *Phocas's* success in *Crete*, 281, & seq. Sent for to court, 282. Forced to take the purple, 283. Excommunicated and restored, 284. Success against the *Saracens*, *ibid.* Murdered, 285. His character, 286.
—— *Uranus's* success against the *Bulgarians*, 298.
—— *Comnenus's* eyes put out for being virtuous, 302.
—— outwitted by *Theodora*, 315.
—— *Basilianus* taken prisoner by the *Turks*, 322.
—— *Botoniates* usurps and resigns the empire, 326, & seq.
Nicetas conspires against *Phocas*, 202. Murdered by *Nicephorus*, 244.
Nicomedia taken by the *Turks*, 388.
Ninilingbus joins in *Longinus's* revolt, 167. Slain, *ibid.*
Nisibis besieged by *Ardaburius*, 82. Abandoned in a great fright, 83.
Ninnichia's desperate end, 67.
Norici defeated by *Ætius*, 96.
Notitia imperii, when and by whom written, 136, sub not.
Novellæ, the constitutions of *Justinian*, so called, 189.
Novem populania, the ancient name of *Auch*, 79.

Nubians

Nubians repulsed by *Marcian*, 128.

Numidia kept by the *Romans*, 102.

Numidians revolt to *Agathocles*, 692. Treachery to him, 693.

O.

O*asis*, a dismal place in *Libya*, 12.

Odoacer defeated by *Childeric*, 151. His extract and character, 156, & seq. Puts *Orestes* to death, 157. Kindness to his son, *ibid.* Takes the title of king of *Italy*, *ibid.* Defeated by *Theodoric*, 163.

Odonachus driven out of *Lazica*, 185.

Olbianus's success against *Thomas*, 252, & seq.

Olybrius marries *Placidia*, 145. Proclaimed emperor, 153. His death, *ibid.*

Olympiodorus's account of the siege of *Rome*, 52. Other writings and character, 85, (R).

Olympius, a confident of *Honorius*, discovers *Stilicho's* treason, 48. Made his prime minister, 50. His character and zeal against heretics, 51. Disgraced, 56.

Onoulus murders *Basilicus*, 160.

Ophellas gained over by *Agathocles*, 693. The sad condition of his army, 695. Betrayed and murdered by him, 697, (U).

Optatus, a *Donatist* bishop, imprisoned for treason, 19. His death, *ibid.*

Optila, the murderer of *Valentinian*, 131.

Orchanes invades the *Greeks*, 383. Stratagem by which he takes *Nice*, 388.

Orestes insulted by the monks at *Alexandria*, 76. Raised by *Nepos*, 155. Revolts against him, *ibid.* His extract, &c. *ibid.* Governs as tutor to his son, *ibid.* Disobliges the barbarians, 156. Put to death, 157.

Origo, one of the antient names of *Carthage*, 539. And of *Dido*, *ibid.*

Orleans besieged by *Attila*, 112. Relieved by *Ætius*, *ibid.*

Orosius's mistake concerning the first treaty between *Rome* and *Carthage*, rectified, 637.

Orthodox persecuted by *Anastasius*, 172. Restored by *Justin*, 175. Persecuted by the *Persians*, 207.

Ostragoths, where settled by *Marcian*, 128. Driven out of *Illyricum*, 144.

Ostroui heads the *Goths* against *Leo*, 152.

Othoman invades the *Greek* empire, 376, 383. His death, 387.

P.

P*acuvianus's* singular friendship for the *Comneni*, 328, 331. Defeated by the *Scythians*, 334.

Paganism, laws against it revoked, 56. Renewed, 77.

Pagans, laws against them, 77.

Palæologus's

- Paleologus's* timely zeal for *A. Comnenus*, 329. Noble defence of *Dyrrbachium*, 331.
- *Michael's* success against the *Servii*, 348, & seq. Goes over to the *Turks*, 370. Recalled *ibid.* Declared guardian, 371. Proclaimed emperor, *ibid.* Vain attempt on *Pera*, 372. Grand entry into *Constantinople*, 373. Cruely to the young emperor, 374. Defeated by the *Bulgarians*, *ibid.* Submits to the pope for quietness sake, 375. Cruelty to the recusants, *ibid.* Excommunicated for the *Sicilian* massacre, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
- *Andronicus* shakes off the pope's supremacy, 375. Cruelty to his brother *Constantine*, &c. 376. Defeated by the *Turks*, *ibid.* Marches against them, 378. Defeated by them, 379. Fatal fondness for his worthless grandson, 381. Makes him his colleague, 382. Falls out with him, 383. Makes peace with him, 384. Surprised and deposed by him, 385, 386. Retires and dies, 388.
- his grandson's wretched character, 381. Public submission, 382. Escape, *ibid.* Obtains half of the empire, *ibid.* Falls in and out with the emperor, *ibid.* & seq. Stratagem against his uncle, 383. Treachery to his grandfather, 384. Seizes on several of his provinces, 385. Prepares to besiege *Constantinople*. *ibid.* Takes it by surprise, *ibid.* Deposes his grandfather, 386. Success against the *Bulgarians*, *ibid.* Wounded and defeated by the *Turks*, 387. His death and character, 389.
- *John*, the son of *Andronicus*, 389. Severity to his two sons, 394. Imprisoned, 395. Restored, *ibid.* Dies, *ibid.*
- *Andronicus*, the son of *John*, his treason and punishment, 394. Escape and revenge, 395. Obtains *Selymbria* for his retreat, *ibid.*
- *John*, his son's treaty with *Bajazet*, 396. Crowned, 397. Banished, *ibid.*
- *John*, the son of *Manuel*, crowned, 398. Goes to the council of *Florence*, 400. His death, *ibid.*
- *Constantine*, his embassy to *Mohammed II.* 400. Revives the union of the Greek and Latin churches, 402. Invaded by *Mohammed*, *ibid.* Besieged, 403. Offers of peace and tribute rejected, 405. Brave and pious defence, 406. Death, 407.
- Paleologus Philes* begs to head the army against the *Turks*, 379. Surprises and defeats them, 380. Cuts them all off, *ibid.*
- Palestine* infested with grasshoppers, 43. By the *Bulgarians*, 169. Subdued by the *Saracens*, 212.
- Palici* at *Carthage*, their worship, 488.
- Palladius's* incredible 700 miles journey in three days, 82.
- the son of *Maximus* chosen *Cæsar*, 132. Marries *Eudoxia's* daughter, *ibid.*
- Pamphilus* put to death, 201.
- Pancratius*, a lying astrologer, his death, 239.
- Pandects* of *Justinian*, 188.
- Panormitan* coins, some account of, 503, not.
- Paris* taken by *Childeric*, 146. Made a metropolis by *Clowis*, 172.

- Pasiphilus* surprises *Messana*, 668.
Pataici at *Carthage*, what, 488.
Patibulum, whether the same with *crux*, 547, not.
Patricius the son of *Aspar*, marries *Leo's* daughter, 151. Narrowly escapes death, 152. Defeated by the *Persians*, 170.
Patzinaca, who, 313. Defeated by the *Romans*, *ibid.*
Pavia taken and burnt by *Attila*, 126.
Pavium overturned by an earthquake, 253.
Paulinus, *Eudocia's* favourite, why put to death, 104.
Paulus, count, governor in *Gaul*, 146.
 ——— exarch of *Ravenna*, excommunicated, 228. Murdered, 229.
Peloponnesus ravaged by *Genferic*, 148.
Pentacontalitra, a *Sicilian* coin, whence so called, 564, & (C).
Pentadia, wife of *Timasus*, refuges into a church, 13.
Pentapolitans oppose the iconoclasts, 229. When and how they became subject to the pope, *ibid.* & 230, 235.
Pepin presents *Ravenna* to the pope, 235.
Pergamus taken by the *Saracens*, 225. A just punishment for their horrid witcheries, *ibid.* & seq.
Peronia, the betrayer of *Constantine*, 201.
Perizes defeated by the *Romans*, 177.
Persarmenians, defeated by the *Romans*, 177. Submit to them under *Justin II.* 191.
Persians renew the war against the *Romans*, 81. Defeated by *Arda-burius*, 82. Make peace, 84. Invade them anew, 106. And make a new peace, *ibid.* Renew the war, 175. Defeated, 177. Defeated in *Syria*, 178. Outwitted before *Martyropolis*, 179. Conclude a perpetual peace, *ibid.* 4,000 defeat 30,000 *Romans*, 183. Defeated by the *Lazians*, 185. Invade *Lazica*, *ibid.* Defeated, 186. Ravaged by *Justinian*, 193. By *Mauritius*, *ibid.* & seq. By *Heraclius*, 195. By *Germanus* and *Philippicus*, *ibid.* & seq. By *Heraclius*, 206, & seq. End of their kingdom, 210. Court the *Romans*, 257.
Perstalba rebuilt, and called *Joannopolis*, 289.
Peter tortured to death by *Honorius*, 49.
 ——— a frier, stirs up the mob against *Hypatia*, 76.
 ——— made duke of *Naples*, 229.
 ——— ordered over the *Danube*, 198. Put to death by *Phocas*, 199.
 ——— the hermit, stirs up the christians to the holy war, 337. Goes at the head of it, 338. His ill conduct, 339. And defeat, 340.
 ——— earl of *Auxerre*, crowned emperor, 366. Put to death by *Theodorus*, *ibid.*
Petra, besieged and abandoned by the *Lazians*, 184. Taken and dismantled by *Bessus*, 185.
Peutinger's itinerary, 90, sub. not.
Philadelphia besieged by the *Turks*, 377.

- Philæni* worshipped at *Carthage*, 483. The reason of it, 568.
Philænorium aræ, their distance from *Hercules's* pillars, 424, (I).
Philanthropenus's success against the *Turks*, 376. Revolts, *ibid.* Betrayed and punished, *ibid.*
Philinus's writings and character, 514.
Philip emperor of *Germany's* treaty to throne *Alexius III.* 358.
 — of *Sida*, his voluminous works lost, 116, not.
Philippicus's success against the *Persians*, 195. Put to flight by *Cardariga*, *ibid.* Recalled, *ibid.* Sent back and repulsed by the army, *ibid.* Reconciled and victorious, 196. Banished by *Tiberius*, 221. Proclaimed emperor, 223. Marches to *Constantinople*, *ibid.* Favours the *Monothelites*, *ibid.* Blinded and deposed, 224.
Philostorgius's writings and character, 115, not.
Philistus's shameful advice to *Diomysius*, 598, & seq. His character, 597, (E).
Phocas declared and crowned emperor, 198. Cruelty to *Mauritius*, 199. And to his friends, *ibid.* His image sent to *Rome*, *ibid.* Character, *ibid.* & seq. Calamities of his reign, 200. Treachery to *Narjes*, 201. Horrid butcheries, *ibid.* & seq. Insulted and conspired against, 203. Butchered by *Heraclius*, *ibid.*
Phœceans war with the *Carthaginians*, 556, & seq.
Phœnice subdued by the *Saracens*, 213.
Phiditia at *Carthage*, what, 455. (M).
Photinus's revenge on *Phocas*, 203.
Photius's treachery and deposition, 268.
Pissamene, the mother of *Lætus*, her extraordinary charity, during the siege of *Rome*, 53.
Placidia, the mother of *Valentinian II.* consents to *Serena's* death, 53. Carried captive by *Alaric*, 65. Married to *Ataulphus*, 73, (P). Ill used by *Sigeric*, 75. Sent back to *Honorius*, 77. Married to *Constantius*, 78. Retires to *Theodosius's* court, 84. Restored to her former titles, &c. 92. Returns to the west with her son, *ibid.* Declared regent, 93. Instigated by *Felix* against *Bonifacius*, 94. Invites him into *Italy*, 98. Reconciled to him, *ibid.* Carried captive by *Genseric*, 134.
 — daughter of *Eudoxia*, married to *Olybrius*, 145.
Plague under *Constantine IV.* 233.
Plintha's revolt and rise, 79.
Pollentia, the famed battle of, 37.
Pompeius defeated by the *Getæ*, 173. Put to death for treason, 180.
Popes, their power, how founded, 229, & seq. By whom granted, 235.
Portugal, where sitèd, 138.
Prætors at *Carthage*, their office, 452.
Priscus assisted in his history by *Euphemius*, 116, not.
 — *Mauritius's* general, repulsed by the army, 195. Destroys 30,000 *Avari*, 198. Conspires against *Phocas*, 202.
Proba opens *Rome's* gates to the *Goths*, 63.

- Procheiron*, what, and by whom written, 272, 273.
Proclus dissuades the adoption of *Cosroes*, 175.
Procopia crowned empress, 247. Banished by *Leo*, 248.
Procopius, an upright judge of *Timasius*, 12. Bravery against the *Persians*, 83.
Profuturus his writings and character, 35, (R).
Proserpine worshipped at *Carthage*, 454, 477.
 — her temple plundered by *Himilco*, 618.
Prostitutes forced to pay a tax, 165. Banished by *Theophylus*, 261.
Proterus, an orthodox bishop, murdered by the *Eutychians*, 140.
Protopaschites suppressed, 72.
Prusa taken by *Orchanes*, 383.
Pulcheria, daughter of *Arcadius*, her character, 46. Takes the administration upon her, 74. Her signal piety, *ibid.* Marries her brother to *Eudocia*, 80.
 — sister of *Theodosius*, her stratagem to make him read what he signed, 113. Reigns after his death, 118. Marries *Marcianus*, *ibid.* & seq. Her death, and character, 120.
Punic tongue, allied to the *Hebrew*, 492. Its numbers of the same nature, 496.
Pygmalion murders *Sichæus*, 535. Over-reached by *Dido*, 536.
Pyrrhus, the worthless patriarch of *Constantinople*, 213. Flees into *Afric*, *ibid.* Betrays *Antioch* to the christians, 341.

Q.

- Q***uadriremes* first invented by the *Carthaginians*, 517.
Quæstors at *Carthage*, their office, &c. 452.
Quinquæremes, by whom invented, 601.
Quinquévrate at *Carthage*, what, 448.
Quintus Curtius's anachronism about the *Tyrians* embassy, rectified, 662.

R.

- R***adagaisus*, king of the *Hunns*, invades the *Romans*, 32. His second formidable invasion, 41. Defeated before *Florence*, 42. Taken and put to death, *ibid.*
Ram, battering, described, 593, (O).
Ravenna becomes the seat of the western empire, 40. Described, *ibid.* (N). Taken by *Theodoric*, 167. When become subject to the pope, 229, 230. The exarchate of, *ibid.* & seq. Its extent, 235. Given to pope *Stephen III.* *ibid.*
 — *Valentinian's* tomb at, 131.
Raymond succeeds *Gualtier* in the crusade, 340.
Razastes, a *Persian* general, defeated and killed by *Heraclius*, 208.
Rebaptizers suppressed by *Theodosius II.* 72.
Rechila's success in *Spain*, 109. Death, 111.
Regium, an imperial palace near *Constantinople*, 14.

- Remismond* wastes *Orenzo* in *Spain*, 143. Makes peace with *Theodoric*, 146.
- Remphan*, some conjectures concerning that deity, 460, (P).
- Requarius's* success in *Spain*, 111. Ravages *Carthagina* and *Tarraco*, 137. Defeated and put to death, *ibid.* & seq.
- Retiarium* taken by *Attila*, 108.
- Rhegians* outwit the *Carthaginians*, 642.
- Rhodes* conquered by the *Saracens*, 213. Plundered, 245.
- Ricimer's* success against *Genferic*, 138. His rise and character, *ibid.* Causes *Avitus* to be deposed, 139. And *Majorianus* to revolt, 140. Treachery to him, 143. Raises *Severus* to the throne, 144. Absolute sway during the inter-regnum, 146. Marries *Anthemius's* daughter, 148. Revolts and besieges him in *Rome*, 152. Puts him to death, 153. His own death, *ibid.*
- Rictum* defeated by *Euric*, 151.
- Rismizus* ravages *Palestine*, 204.
- Riverins*, who, and where sited, 122.
- Rivers* worshipped by the *Carthaginians*, &c. 481.
- Robert* crowned *Latin* emperor, 366. Defeated by *John Ducas*, 367. His death, and the occasion of it, *ibid.*
- Roche-taille*, the castle of, by whom built, 70, (O).
- Roger*, king of *Sicily*, wars with *Manuel*, 348. Makes peace with him, *ibid.*
- Roman* empire under a pestilence, 110. End put to it by *Odoacer*, 157, & seq.
- Romania*, whence so called, 40.
- Romans* forbid to follow the *Gothic* dress, 16. Their famine and distress in *Spain*, 60. Submit to the barbarians, 61. Seized with a panic before *Nisibis*, 83. In *Italy*, revolt from *Leo*, 229. Submit to the pope as a temporal prince, *ibid.*
- Romanus* defeats the *Scenitæ* in *Palestine*, 169. Put to death by *Phocas*, 201.
- *Zoe's* general, his treason, 276. Cruelty to *Leo*, *ibid.* Takes the purple upon him, *ibid.* Allies with the *Bulgarians*, 277. Outwitted and dethroned, 278. His banishment and death, *ibid.* & seq.
- the son of *Constantine*, crowned, 279. Poisons his father, 280. His reign and character, 281. Success against the *Saracens*, 282. Death, *ibid.*
- II. forced to marry *Constantine's* daughter, 303. Ill success against the *Saracens*, *ibid.* & seq. Works of piety, 305. Death, *ibid.* & seq.
- *Diogenes*, vide sub *Diogenes*, 321, & seq.
- Rome* suffers under a famine, caused by *Gildo*, 16. Greatly streightened by *Alaric*, 52. Relieved at a vast expence, *ibid.* Blocked up afresh by him, 55. Submits to him, 58. Under a grievous famine, 60, 61. Taken and burnt by the *Goths*, 63, 64. Entered and plundered by *Genferic*, 133. Besieged by *Ricimer*, 152. Submits to *Odoacer*, 157.
- Ronzerius*, or *Rouzerius*, revolts against the *Greeks*, 377. Put to death by *Michael*, *ibid.*

- Roffi* invade the *Romans*, 278. Defeated by *Bardas*, 287. By *Zimisces*, 289. By *Monomachus*, 310.
Rotdrudis taught *Greek* by *Elizeus*, 237.
Rouas's design against the *Boschi*, 107. Proud message to the *Romans*, *ibid.* Makes peace with them, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
Rouas killed by lightning, 94.
Rufinus, his rise and character, 1. Avarice and ambition, 2, & seq. Cruelty to *Lucianus*, 4. Sets the empire in a flame, 5. Sues to be the emperor's colleague, 8. Murdered by *Gainas*, *ibid.* Indignities offered to his corpse, *ibid.*
Rufus revolts against *Philippicus*, 224.
Rugula, the *Hunn*, assists *Ætius*, 98. Killed by lightning, 107.
Rufelius's revolt, 325. Taken prisoner, *ibid.* New revolt, *ibid.* & seq. Sent in chains to *Constantinople*, 326.
Ruspina, where situate, 434.
Rutilius's rise, writings, and character, 86, not. Itinerary, *ibid.* & seq.

S.

- S** *Abbatians* suppressed, 72.
Sabinianus's success against the *Ostrogoths*, 161. Defeated by *Pitzia*, 171.
Sacred cohort at *Carthage*, what, 679, (L).
Saes, the *Persian*, his treachery to *Heraclius*, 206. Flayed alive, *ibid.*
Saladin bribes *Isaac* against *Barbarossa*, 355.
Salone taken by *Theodosius*, 92.
Salvianus's character of all the northern nations, 103, & seq.
Salust, the stately palace of, burnt, 64.
Samaritan character, whether the same with the *Phœnician*, 498, & seq.
Samath, or the great city, taken and razed, 677.
Samonas's rise, and treachery to *Leo*, 270, & seq. Disgraced, 271.
Samofata taken by *Heraclius*, 207.
Samuel defeated by the *Romans*, 298. Dies of grief, 299.
Santabarenius's treachery to *Leo*, 266. His punishment, 268.
Saracens waste *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. 69. Desperate panick under *Alamundarus*, 83. Repulsed by *Marcian*, 128. Join themselves to *Mohammed*, 211. Success against the *Romans*, *ibid.* Swift conquests, 212. Obtain a peace from *Constans II.* 214. Cruel ravages in *Afric*, 216. In *Sicily*, *ibid.* Repulsed before *Constantinople*, *ibid.* Make peace with *Constantine III.* 217. Defeated in *Syria*, 220. Repulsed before *Antaradus*, 221. Driven out of *Armenia*, *ibid.* Fresh invasion, 224. Defeated at sea, 232. By *Leo III.* 236. Persecute the christians, *ibid.* Repulsed by *Irene*, 237. Bought off by the *Persians*, *ibid.* Repulsed

- Repulsed in *Cilicia*, 240. Success against *Irene*, 241. Against *Nicephorus*, 245. Defeated by *Leo*, 247. Settle in *Crete*, 253. Signal victory there, *ibid.* Seize on *Sicily*, 255. Defeated by *Petrus*, 263. By *Basilus*, 266. New conquests on the *Romans*, 270. Defeated by *Heraclius*, 271, & seq. 279. In the east, 282, 285, 287.
- Saragossa* plundered by the *Suevians*, 111.
- Sarbaras*, the *Persian*, ravages *Asia*, 206.
- Sarbarazes* repulsed before *Chalcedon*, 208, & seq. Revolts to 209. Put to death by *Cosroes*, *ibid.*
- Sardica* taken by *Crumus*, 245.
- Sardinia* taken by *Genferic*, 144. Reduced by *Marcellinus*, 149.
- Sarnebazar* sent against *Heraclius*, 206. Defeated, 208.
- Sarus* commands the *Goths*, 42. Against *Constantine*, 45. Repulsed by him, *ibid.* Disobliges *Alaric*, 62. Noble defence and death, 69.
- Saturacius* lays the *Sclavi* under tribute, 237. Conspires against *Irene*, 241. Dies of grief, *ibid.*
- made colleague with *Nicephorus*, 244. Narrow escape, 246. Retirement and death, *ibid.*
- Saturn's* inhuman worship at *Carthage*, 453. The chief deity of that nation, 458. Whence the fable of his devouring his children, 659, (O). The same with *Moloch*, 460, (P). Worshipped by other nations, 464, (Q).
- Saturninus*, the base judge of *Timasius*, 12. Delivered up to *Gaius*, and banished, 28. Escapes to *Constantinople*, 29.
- Saul*, a *Pagan* general under *Honorius*, 37.
- Saxons* settle at *Nantes*, &c. 146.
- Scenitæ* *Arabs* defeated, 169.
- Sclavi* join with the *Avari*, 197. Against *Heraclius*, 208. Defeated by *Constans II.* 214. Leave *Justinian* in the lurch, 218. Cruelly punished by him, *ibid.*
- Sclavonia*, whence so called, 214.
- Scyri* defeated in *Thrace*, 55.
- Scythians* desperate defence, 289. New invasion, 333. Total defeat, 334. New war, 335. Repulsed before *Adrianople*, 337. By *John Comnenus*, 345.
- Sebastian* made colleague to *Jovinus*, 69. Murdered by *Ataulphus*, *ibid.*
- Selinuntines* quarrel with the *Egestines*, 568. Defeated by the *Carthaginians*, 570.
- Selinus* taken by *Hannibal*, 575, & seq. Plundered and razed, 577.
- the temples of, plundered, 578.
- Selymbria* inclosed within *Anastasius's* long wall, 171. Noble defence against the *Turks*, 402. Taken, *ibid.*
- Severus* put to death, 53.
- Sergius's* revolt and death, 187.
- patriarch of *Constantinople*, left prime minister by *Heraclius*, 205.

Serpents,

I N D E X.

741

- Serpents*, a dangerous kind of, in *Numidia*, 695, (S). Which live upon dust, *ibid.* ad fin.
- Servii* defeated, 345.
- Seven*, some curious remarks on that number, 465, sub not.
- Severus*, a priest, put to death by *Theodosius*, 104.
- raised to the throne by *Ricimer*, 144. Consulship, *ibid.* Death, 146.
- Seville* taken by the *Suevians*, 109.
- Sibkah*, among the *Arabians*, what, 433, (C).
- Sicani* go over to the *Carthaginians*, 610.
- Sicca Venerea*. See *Succoth Benoth*, 491.
- Sicily* plundered by the *Vandals*, 103. Ravaged by the *Saracens*, 216.
- Siculi* assist *Hannibal*, 578. Discharged by him, 582. Desert *Dionysius*, 613.
- Siculo-Punic* coin, explained, 502.
- Sigeric* chosen king of the *Goths*, 75. Murders *Ataulphus's* children, *ibid.* Murdered, *ibid.*
- Sigismund* sent to assist *Manuel*, 395. Defeat and narrow escape 396.
- Sigisvult's* success against *Bonifacius*, 95.
- Silentiarii*, among the *Romans*, what, 165.
- Silenus's* writings and character, 515.
- Simeon* wars against the *Romans*, 268. Cruelty to them, *ibid.* New invasions, 274. Allies with *Romanus*, 276.
- Sinex's* treachery and death, 95.
- Sirmium*, taken by the *Avari*, 194.
- Siroes* dethrones and murders his father, 209. Makes peace with *Heraclius*, *ibid.* Murdered by *Barabanes*, 210.
- Sisibranum* taken by *Belisarius*, 183.
- Sittas* defeated by the *Persians*, 175. Success against them, 177.
- Slaves* encouraged by *Honorius* to take up arms, 43. 40,000 of them desert over to *Alaric*, 55.
- Socrates's* writings and character, 113, (S).
- Soissons* made a small kingdom, 146.
- Solyman's* irruption into *Thrace*, 226. Death, *ibid.*
- the son of *Cutlumoses*, makes peace with *Rome*, 330. Attempts to save *Nice*, 340.
- the successor of *Orchanes*, invades *Europe*, 394.
- Sophia*, the empress, inspires *Justin* with cruelty, 190. Moving letter to *Cosroes*, 192. Cabals against *Tiberius*, 193. Deprived of her treasure for it, *ibid.*
- Sosipater Cbar.* his writings and character, 90, not.
- Sosistratus* deposed by the *Syracusians*, 664, & seq. Applies to the *Carthaginians*, 665. Received again into *Syracuse*, *ibid.*
- Sozomen's* writings and character, 114, not.
- Sozopetra* destroyed by *Theophylus*, 259.
- Sozopolis* taken by stratagem, 345.
- Spain* submits to the *British Constantine*, 47. Invaded by the *Alans* and barbarians, 60. Cruelly ravaged by them, *ibid.* How divided

- divided amongst them, 61. Part of, subdued by the *Goths* and *Suevians*, 109, 157. When first invaded by the *Carthaginians*, 553.
- Spaniards* brave soldiers, 556.
- Spendoſthalbus* makes peace with the *Romans*, 290.
- Spire* taken by the *Vandals*, 44.
- Squiri*, &c. settled in *Scythia Minor*, 128.
- Statues*, heathen, demolished in *Rome* by the *Goths*, 64.
- Stephen*, a cruel minister of *Justinian*, 219. Burnt alive, 220.
- the son of *Basilus*, turns monk, 265. Made patriarch of *Constantinople*, 268.
- the son of *Romanus*, crowned, 276.
- over-reaches *Basilus*, 295.
- Stilicho* made guardian to young *Honorius*, 1. His rise and character, 2, & seq. Avarice, 3. Hatred against *Rufinus*, 4. Arrogates an unlimited power, 5. Makes peace with the *Germans*, 6. Marches to *Arcadius's* assistance, 7. Stopped short by him, *ibid.* Sends him forces by *Gainas*, *ibid.* Defeats *Alaric* in *Greece*, 10. Suffers him to escape, *ibid.* Undetermined by *Eutropius*, 11. Falls out with *St. Ambrose*, 14. Preparations and success against *Gildo*, 18, & seq. Treachery to *Mascezel*, 20. Exploits in *Britain*, *ibid.* & seq. Chosen consul, 28. Supposed to have stirred up *Alaric*, 35. Marches against him, 37. Makes peace with him, 38. Success against *Radagaisus*, 42. Invites the northern nations into *Gaul*, 43. Holds private correspondence with *Alaric*, 48. Disgraced and put to death, *ibid.* With all his friends after him, *ibid.* His character, 49, & seq. Estate confiscated, 50.
- Strasburg* taken by the *Vandals*, 44.
- Succoth Benoth*, probable conjectures concerning that deity, 491.
- Suevians* enter *Gaul*, 43. *Spain*, 109. Submit to *Theodoric*, 138. Chuse *Malara* for their king, *ibid.* Fall out among themselves, 141. Reconciled by him, 142.
- Suffetes* at *Carthage*, their office, 445, (E), (F). Whence so called, 450, (I).
- Sun* worshipped at *Carthage*, 476.
- Suniator*, a betrayer of his country, 454, (K), 636.
- Sunieric's* success in *Lusitania*, 143.
- Sunno* makes peace with *Stilicho*, 6. His treachery to him punished, 7.
- Suphiam* repulsed before *Constantinople*, 226.
- Suphianus* defeated by *Florus*, 216.
- Sygarius*, the son of *Ægidius*, king of *Soissons*, 146.
- Synadenus's* success against the rebel *Andronicus*, 384.
- Syracusians* war with the *Carthaginians*, 570, & seq. Defeat them at sea, 584. New preparations against them, *ibid.* March to the relief of *Agrigentum*, 586. Beat the *Carthaginians*, *ibid.* Receive the fugitive *Agrigentines*, 589. Send *Dionysius* against *Amilcar*, 592. Disarmed and enslaved by him, 599, &c. Approve

- prove of his war against the *Carthaginians*, 602. Cruelty and injustice to them, *ibid.* Signal victory and rejoicings; 622, & seq. Make peace with them, 665, & seq. Besieged by *Hamilcar*, 672. Deceived by him into a belief of *Agathocles's* death, 683. Undeceived, and raise the siege, 684. Revenge on the *Carthaginian* general, 688.
- Syracuse* plundered by the *Saracens*, 216. Taken by them, 266. The rest see under the precedent article.
- Syrgiannes*, a wicked tool of *Andronicus*, 381. Forsaken by the *Turks*, 384.
- Syria* ravaged by the *Persians*, 181, & seq. Subdued by the *Saracens*, 212.
- Syra Dea* worshipped at *Carthage*, 480.
- Syrophœnicians*, who, and whence, 443.

T.

- T** *Alicius's* success against the *Scythians*, 334.
- Tamocofrboes* defeated by *Mauritius*, 194.
- Tancred* the Norman, his rise and progeny, 330.
- Tangripermes* repulsed by *Alexius*, 342.
- Tangrolipix's* success against *Mohammed*, 311. Made king of *Persia*, 312. Ill success against the *Arabians*, *ibid.* Huffing message to the emperor, 313. Excursions into *Iberia*, 314.
- Tarbigild*. Vide *Tribigild*, 23.
- Tarichiæ*, islands, where situate, 439, not. 2.
- Tarshish* sometimes denotes *Carthage*, 549.
- Tartars* success against the *Turks*, 397, 370, 375.
- Tartesa* often mistook for *Gadir* or *Cadiz*, 554, (A).
- Tatitius* destroys the *Cruisado* fleet, 342.
- Taurominium* taken by the *Saracens*, 270. Yielded to *Dionysius*, 630.
- Taurus*, mount, where situate, 614, (L).
- Teichomeres* betrayed and murdered, 308.
- Telemachus*, a hermit, stoned to death, 39.
- Temples*, pagan, demolished under *Arcadius*, 27. Or turned into churches, *ibid.*
- Terence's* writings and character, 516, (N).
- Terentius* sacrificed to the mutinous soldiers, 56.
- Terillus* invites the *Carthaginians* into *Sicily*, 561.
- Tbala*, where situate, 435.
- Tbapsus*, where situate, 434.
- Thena*, where situate, 435.
- Theocritus* executed for treason, 175.
- Theodomir*, where settled with his *Goths*, 128. Invades the eastern empire, 153. His death, *ibid.*
- Theodora*, her magnanimity supports the frightened emperor *Justinian*, 180. Inclined to *Eutychinism*, 189.

Theodora

- Theodora*, widow of *Theophylus* takes the administration, 261. Severity to the *Manichees*, *ibid.* Resigns, 262. Her death, *ibid.*
- *Constantine's* daughter raised to the imperial government, 309. Mounts the throne, 315. Her good but short reign, *ibid.*
- Theodoric* succeeds *Vallia* in *Spain*, 79. Besieged by *Litorius*, 101. Takes him prisoner, 102. Makes peace with the *Romans*, *ibid.* Success against *Attila*, 122, & seq. Bravery at the battle of *Chalons*, 123. Death, *ibid.*
- the murderer and successor of *Theodismond*, 127. Embassies to *Requarius* in *Spain*, 137. Defeats him, *ibid.* Returns to *Tholouse*, 141. Defeated by *Majorianus*, 142. Sues for peace, *ibid.* Murdered by his brother, 147.
- the son of *Triarius* invades *Zeno*, 160. Enters *Macedonia*, 161. Makes peace with *Zeno*, *ibid.* Success against *Leontius*, 162. Makes a new treaty with *Zeno*, *ibid.* Invades and subdues *Italy*, 163, & seq. Acknowledged king of it by the emperor, 168. Pays a kind of submission to him, *ibid.* Assists *Mundon* against him, 171. Favours the *Arians*, 176.
- king of *Italy* delivered up hostage to *Leo*, 144.
- Theodoropolis*, whence so called, 291.
- Theodorus Manlius's* consulship, 21. Rise and character, *ibid.* & seq.
- the reader, his history imperfect, 115, not.
- joins in *Longinus's* revolt, 167. Defeated, *ibid.*
- prefect of the east, put to death, 201.
- *Cappadocian*, conspires against *Phocas*, 203. Put to death, *ibid.*
- brother of *Heraclius's* success against *Sais*, 208. Defeated by *Haumar*, 211.
- revolt and banishment, 316.
- despot of *Epirus*, 366. Treachery to *Peter*, *ibid.* Assumes the purple, 367. Defeated by *John*, *ibid.* His eyes put out, *ibid.* & seq. Restored by *Azen*, 369.
- Theodosiopolis* defended by bishop *Eunomius* against the *Persians*, 82. Taken by *Gabades*, 169. Retaken by *Constantine IV.* 233.
- Theodosius* driven out of *Spain*, 47.
- Theodosius II.* the son of *Arcadius* born and baptized, 34. Created emperor, 35. But eight years old when his father dies, 46. The peaceful state of his empire, 53, & seq. Piously brought up by his mother, 74. Removes to *Eudoxiopolis*, 77. Refuses to acknowledge *Constantius*, 80. Marries *Eudocia*, *ibid.* Wars against the *Persians*, 81. Defeats them, 82. Makes peace with them, 84. Kind reception of *Placidia*, *ibid.* Proclaimed emperor of the west, 90. Sends *Placidia* thither, 92. Makes her son emperor, 93. Makes peace with the *Vandals*, 99. Destroys all the relics of paganism, 100. His code published, 101. Jealousy of *Eudocia*, 104, & seq. Sends a fleet to *Valentinian*, 105. Shameful peace with the *Hunns*, 107. Slavery to *Attila*, 108. Makes a more shameful peace with him, 111. His death and character, 112, & seq.

—— the

- the son of *Ataulphus* born, 73. Dies in *Spain*, 74.
 — the son of *Mauritius* put to death by *Phocas*, 199.
 — the brother of *Constantius II.* put to death by him, 214.
 — an obscure person proclaimed emperor, 224. Enters *Constantinople*, *ibid.* Resigns to *Leo*, 225.
Theodota married to *Constantine Porphy.* 240. Brought to bed of a prince, *ibid.*
Theodulus's writings and character, 164, (U).
 — a cruel minister of *Justinian*, 219. Burnt alive, 220.
Theophanes put to death, 201.
Theophania married to *Saturacius*, 245. Retires from the world, 246.
Theophano takes the government upon her, 282. Intrigues with *Nicephorus*, 283. Married to him, 284. Treachery to him, 285. Banished, 286. Recalled, 291.
Theophobus, his extract, success, and stratagem against the *Saracens*, 257. Singular fidelity to *Theophylus*, 259. Death, 260.
Theophylact, the son of *Romanus*, designed for the church, 276. Falls out with his brother, 278. Banished, *ibid.*
Theophylus, one of the compilers of the *Justinian* pandects, &c. 188.
 — stratagem against the murderers of *Leo*, 255, & seq. Ingratitude to *Manuel*, 258. Great honours to him, *ibid.* Pardons the revolted *Persians*, 259. Grief for the loss of *Amorium*, 260. Death and character, *ibid.* Burns his wife's ship, *ibid.* & seq.
Thermae in *Sicily* founded by the *Carthaginians*, 583.
Theron's monument struck with lightning, 585.
Theismantia the daughter of *Stilicho* born, 3. Married to *Honorius*, 49. Divorced, *ibid.* Her death, *ibid.* & seq. Stately tomb discovered, 50.
Thessalians defeat *Alaric*, 35.
Thessalonica taken by the *Saracens*, 270. Betrayed to the king of *Sicily*, 353.
Thomas's extract, treason, and conquests, 251. Repulsed before *Constantinople*, *ibid.* Defeats and kills *Gregory*, 252. Defeated by the *Bulgarians*, *ibid.* Imprisonment and death, *ibid.*
Thorismond's bravery at the battle of *Chalons*, 123. Proclaimed king of the *Goths*, 124. Returns home, *ibid.* Repulses *Attila*, 127. Murdered, *ibid.*
Toulouse. Vide *Tolouse*, 72.
Thrace ravaged by the *Hunns*, 94. Repeopled by the barbarians, 128. Wasted by the *Hunns*, 156. Ravaged by the *Turks*, &c. 378. & seq.
Tiberius, *Justin's* prime minister, governs during his madness, 192. Created *Cæsar*, *ibid.* Chosen emperor, 193. Creates *Anastasia* his empress, *ibid.* Generosity to *Hormisdas*, 194. Death and character, *ibid.*
 — brother of *Constantine III.* disfigured by him, 216.
 — *Aspimar* deposes and confines *Justinian*, 220. Driven out by him, 221. Put to death, 222.

- Tiberius* the son of *Justinian* II. murdered in a sanctuary, 223.
Tigranes yields his share of *Armenia* to *Theodosius*, 106.
Timaeus Siculus's writings and character, 572, (F).
Timasius basely betrayed by *Eutropius*, 12. Dreadful banishment, *ibid.*
Timoleon sent into *Sicily*, 640, & seq. His success against *Ictas*, 641, & seq. Outwits the *Carthaginians*, 642. Defeats them, 643, & seq. Defends the citadel of *Syracuse*, 646. Takes *Messana*, 648. Sends a merry cry after the *Carthaginians*, 649. Storms *Ictas*, *ibid.* & seq. Deposits several tyrants, 650. Quells a sudden mutiny among his mercenaries, 652. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 653, & seq. Gets an immense plunder, 658. Defeats *Ictas* afresh, 659. Puts him and his family to death, *ibid.* Defeats *Mamercus*, 661. Makes peace with *Carthage*, *ibid.*
Timotheus, the *Eutychian*, raises new troubles, 172.
Toulouse taken by *Ataulphus*, 71. Made the metropolis of the *Gothish* kingdom, 79. Besieged by *Litorius*, 81.
Trading forbid to men of quality, 51.
Trapezond, the kingdom of, by whom founded, 363.
Traustila the assassin of *Valentinian*, 131.
Trebelis's kindness to *Justinian*, 221. Recompensed by him, 222. Success against him, *ibid.*
Trebonianus a compiler of the *Justinian* code, &c. 188.
Treves burnt by the *Franks*, 71.
Tribigild revolts against *Arcadius*, 23. In great distress, 24. Succoured by *Gainas*, *ibid.* Plundering march against *Constantinople*, 28. Death, 29.
Tripod, an immense one presented by *Gelon*, 565.
Triton, river, 436.
—— worshipped at *Carthage*, 480.
Trocondus sent against *Zeno*, 159. Revolts, *ibid.* Taken and beheaded, 162.
Tunes described, 427, & seq. By whom founded, *ibid.* Taken by the revolted *Africans*, 628. By *Agathocles*, and razed, 677. Besieged by the *Carthaginians*, 685. Relieved, 686.
Turks, their first appearance, 311. Inlarge their conquests, 319. Defeated by *Diogenes*, 322. Make new inroads, 330. Success in *Asia*, 334. Defeated by the cruisadors, 341. By *Alexius*, 343. By *John*, 345. Make peace, *ibid.* With *Manuel*, 349. Totally defeated by him, *ibid.* Driven out by the *Tartars*, 367, 370. Success in the *Mediterranean*, 376. First invited into *Europe*, 377. Betrayed by the *Greeks*, 378. Their revenge, 379. Defeated by *Philes*, 380. Shut up by sea and land, *ibid.* & seq. Intirely cut off, *ibid.* New invasion, 382. Success against *Andronicus*, 387, & seq.
Turpilio sacrificed to the mutinous soldiers, 56.
Tusca, river, one of the limits of *Africa Propria*, 425.
Tyrach defeated by the *Romans*, 313.

Tyrans,

Tyrians, built cities in *Spain*, 413. Their bloody worship of *Hercules*, 478. Embassy to the *Carthaginians*, 662.
Tzacbus erects a new principality at *Smyrna*, 334, 335. His treachery to *Delassenus*, 335. Death, *ibid*.
Tzibus forces the *Lazians* to revolt, 182, 183.

V.

V *Alemir*, king of the *Goths*, where settled, 128.
Valens general of *Honorius*, his narrow escape, 55. Promotion, 56.
Valentinian III. the son of *Placidia*, born, 79. Betrothed to *Eudoxia*, and created *Cæsar*, 92. Crowned Emperor, 93. Marries *Eudoxia*, 100. Yields part of *Illyricum* to *Theodosius*. *ibid*. His offspring by *Eudoxia*, *ibid*. Embassy to *Attila*, 121. Over-reached by him, *ibid*. Second embassy and truce with him, 126. Murders *Ætius* and his friends, 130. Murdered by *Maximus*, 131. His character, 132.
Vallia chosen king of the *Goths*, 75. Makes peace with *Honorius*, 77. Wholesome advice to him, *ibid*. Success against the *Silingi*, 78. And *Alani*, *ibid*. His reward and death, 79.
Vandals enter *Gaul*, 43. Defeated by the *Franks*, *ibid*. Over-run *Gaul*, 59. *Spain*, 60. Defeated by *Ætius*, 94. Over-run *Afric*, 98. Make peace with the *Romans*, 99. Conquests in *Afric*, 102. Repulsed by *Majorianus*, 142.
Vandalusia, whence so called, 61.
Varans murdered, 22.
—— chosen consul of the east, 61.
Vararanes renews the war against the *Romans*, 82. Repulsed before *Theodosiopolis*, *ibid*. Defeated, 83. Makes an hundred years peace, 84.
Vatts, among the *Carthaginians*, in great esteem, 507.
Venetia, the country of, abandoned, 125.
Venetians, antient, described, 126. Support *Gregory II.* 229. Success against *R. Guiscard*, 331, 333. Assist young *Alexius*, 358. At the siege of *Constantinople*, 362. Their share of the empire, 363. Settle at *Constantinople*, 374. Recover the islands of the *Archipelago*, 375.
Venice, the foundation of, 126.
Venus worshipped at *Carthage*, 469.
Verianus driven out of *Spain*, 47. Put to death, *ibid*.
Verina obtains *Basiliscus's* pardon, 150. Conspires against *Zeno*, 156.
Vesuvius, a dreadful eruption of, 153.
Vibo, the antient *Hippo*, 635.
Victims, human, offered by the *Carthaginians*, 453, 455. Abolished by *Tiberius*, 488. The horrid excess of them, 489. Especially in calamitous times, *ibid*, & (A).
Videmir invades *Italy*, 153.

- Vidimir's* son abandons it, 153.
Vienne taken by *Gerontius*, 66.
Vigilantius sacrificed to the mutinous soldiers, 56.
Viminacium taken by the *Huns*, 108.
Vindelicii Subdued by *Ætius*, 97.
Virgil, whether guilty of anachronism in coupling *Dido* and *Æneas*, 540, & seq.
Visigoths, who, and where settled, 128. Defeated by *Ægidius* 14 5
 More successful in *Spain*, *ibid.* In *Gaul*, 146.
Vitalianus raises a revolt in favour of the orthodox, 172, & seq.
 Over-reached by *Anastasius*, 173. Consulship, and death for treason, 175.
Vitus defeated in *Spain*, 109.
Uladislav defeated and killed, 399.
Uldes defeats *Gainas*, and sends his head to *Arcadius*, 32.
Uldin sent against the *Goths*, 42. Driven out of *Thrace*, 55.
Ulphilas's stratagem against *Constantine*, 67, 68.
Urania worshipped at *Carthage*, 466, & seq.
Urban II. encourages the holy war, 337, 338.
 ——— IV. supports the tyrant *Paleologus*, 375.
Ursus the murderer of *Maximus*, 133.
Usher, archbishop, vindicated and cleared up, 533, (B).
Utica described, 426. Becomes the metropolis of *Afric*, 427.
Uticans come to congratulate *Dido's* arrival, 538.
Uzians, who, 319. Invade the *Romans*, *ibid.* Defeated by the
Hungarians, 320.
Uzita, where situated, 435.

W.

- W** *A R*, the noble, why so called, 234.
 ——— holy. See *Cruisade*, 337, & seq.
William, lord of *Sicily*, wars against *Andronicus*, 352, & seq.
Wine forbid the *Carthaginian* soldiers whilst in the field, 506. And
 to the magistrates during their office, 507.
Worms taken by the *Vandals*, 44.

X.

- X** *ENE* sent prisoner to *Constantinople*, 383. Released, 384.
Xenodichus chosen general of the *Agrigentines*, 688. His
 success in *Sicily*, *ibid.* & seq.
Xiphilin, the patriarch, outwitted by *Eudocia*, 321.
Xiphius's revolt and submission, 300.

Y.

- Y** *Alejid* king of *Persia*. See *Isdegerdes*, 22.
Yea, of the *Carthaginians*, how computed, 520, & seq.

Z.

Z.

Zacharias, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, carried prisoner by the *Persians*, 205.

Zagan diverts *Mohammed* from raising the siege of *Constantinople*, 406.

Zagoria given to *Trëbelis*, 222.

Zea, St. the church of, built by *Marcian*, 140.

Zeno marries *Ariadne*, 150. His extract and rise, *ibid.* Promotion opposed by the *Romans*, 154. Declared his son's colleague, *ibid.* His wicked character and flight, 156. Pursued into *Isauria*, 159. Dethrones *Basiliscus*, *ibid.* & seq. Shameful peace with *Theodoric*, 160. Besieged by *Marcian*, 161. Yields *Italy* to *Theodoric*, 162. Cruelties and death, 163. Character, 164.

Zenonides, Zeno's wife, declared *Augusta*, 156. Her death, 160.

Zeugitana described, 426. The sea and inland towns of, *ib.* & seq.

Zimisces, *John*, his success against the *Saracens*, 284. Ill requited by *Nicephorus*, 285. Murders him, *ibid.* Submission to *Poliencius*, 286. Crowned, *ibid.* Takes *Basilus* and *Constantine* for his colleagues, *ibid.* Success against the *Rossi*, 287. Peace with them, 290. Poisoned, 291. His character, *ibid.*

Ziza put to death by *Phocas*, 201.

Zochares defeated before *Antioch*, 287.

Zoe I. married to *Leo*, and dies, 269.

—— II. the mother of *Constantine*, *ibid.* Banished by *Alexander*, 273. Recalled by her son, 274. Takes the government upon her, *ibid.* & seq. Defeated by the *Bulgarians*, 275. Confined by *Romanus*, 276.

—— *Constantine's* daughter, married to *Romanus II.* 303. Poisons and murders him, 305. Marries *Michael*, and makes him emperor, 306. Over-reached by his brother, *ibid.* Confined by *Calaphates*, 309. Recalled, *ibid.* Marriage, 310. Death, 315.

Zoganus commands at the siege of *Constantinople*, 413.

Zorus's expedition to *Carthage*, 413.

Zow-aan, mount, where situate, 685, (M).

Zuphons, a tribe of the *Numidians*, 692, (Q).

The end of the sixteenth Volume.